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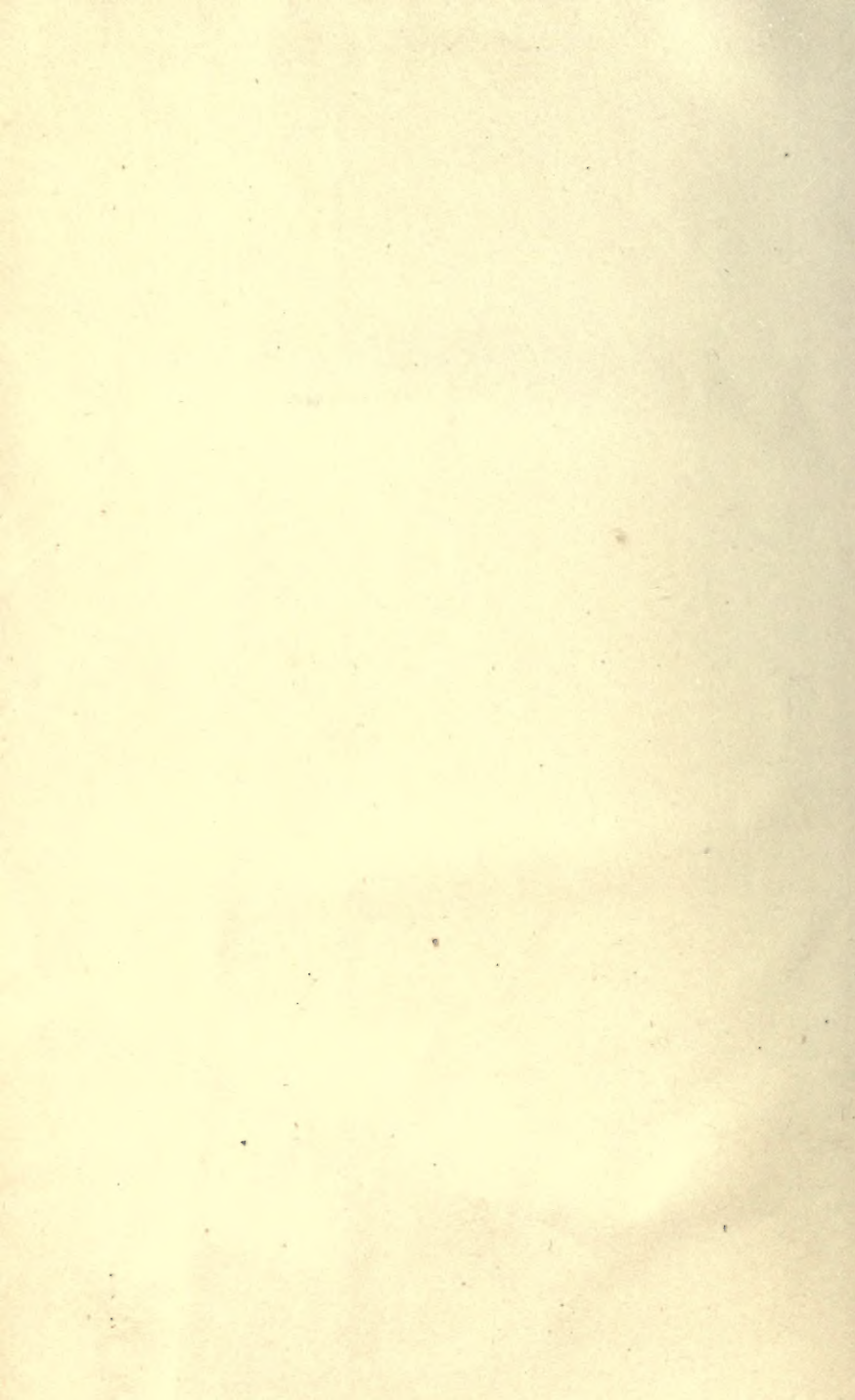


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THE HISTORY

OF MODERN EUROPE

FROM 1815 TO 1871

BY

JOHN A. ARNOLD

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

AND

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

AND

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

AND

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE,

BY
D^R. W. RUSSELL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



HENRY V. BEFORE THE GATES OF HARFLEUR.

NEW-YORK:
HARPER & BROTHERS.



THE
HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE:

WITH
A VIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY FROM THE RISE OF THE MODERN
KINGDOMS TO THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763.

By WILLIAM RUSSELL, LL.D.

AND
A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

By WILLIAM JONES.

With Annotations by an American.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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FREDERICK J. BETTS,
Clerk of the Southern District of New York.

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PART I. •

FROM THE RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS TO THE PEACE
OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648.

LETTER I.

Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, and the Settlement of the Barbarians.

You have already, my dear Philip, finished your course of Ancient History, under your preceptor: in the elements of Modern History I myself will undertake to instruct you. The establishment of the present European nations; the origin of our laws, manners, and customs; the progress of society, of arts, and of letters, demand your particular attention, and were ill committed to the disquisitions of a mere scholar.

Europe is the theatre on which the human character has appeared to most advantage, and where society has attained its most perfect form, both in ancient and modern times; its history will, therefore, furnish us with every thing worthy of observation in the study of men or of kingdoms. I shall, however, turn your eye occasionally on the other parts of the globe, that you may have a general idea, at least, of the state of the universe. But before I proceed to the history of Modern Europe, it will be proper to say a few words concerning its ancient inhabitants, and its situation at the settlement of the present nations.

The inhabitants of Ancient Europe may be divided into three classes, Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians; or those nations the two former were pleased to call so, because less civilized than they. With the Greek and Roman story you are well acquainted. I shall, therefore, only remind you, that the Greeks, the most polished people of antiquity, inhabited the maritime parts of the country now known by the name of European Turkey; that, when corrupted, they were conquered by the Romans; and that, after the conquest of Greece, the Romans turned their arms against the Barbarians or northern nations, the Gauls, the Britons, the Germans, whom they also in a great measure subdued, by their superiority in the art of war, but not with the same facility they had overcome the voluptuous nations of Asia. A single battle did not decide the fate of a kingdom. Those brave and independent people, though often defeated, resumed their arms with fresh valour, and defended their possessions and their liberties with obstinate courage. But after a variety of struggles, in which many of them perished in the field, and many were carried into slavery, a miserable remnant submitted to the Romans; while others fled to their mountains for freedom, or took refuge in the inaccessible corners of the North. There, defended by

lakes and rivers, the indignant Barbarians lived, until time had ripened the seeds of destruction. Then rushing forth, like an impetuous flood, and sweeping every thing before them, they overturned the vast fabric of the Roman Empire, the work and the wonder of ages, taking vengeance on the murderers of mankind; established on its ruins new governments, and new manners, and accomplished the most signal revolution in the history of nations.(1)

Here we must make a pause, in order to consider the moral and political causes of that great event, and its influence on the state of society.

As soon as the Romans had subdued the north of Europe, they set themselves to civilize it. They transferred into the conquered countries their laws, manners, arts, sciences, language, and literature. And some have thought these a sufficient compensation for the loss of liberty and independency. But you, my dear Philip, will judge very differently, I hope, whatever veneration you may have for the Roman name.

Good laws are essential to good government, arts and sciences to the prosperity of a nation, and learning and politeness to the perfection of the human character. But these, in order to exalt a people, must be the result of the natural progress of civilization, not of any adventitious ferment, or violence from abroad. The fruits of summer are ripened in winter by art; but the course of the seasons is necessary to give them their proper flavour, their proper size, or their proper taste. The spontaneous produce of the forest, though somewhat harsh, is preferable to what is raised by such forced culture. and the native dignity, the native manners, and rude virtues of the Barbarian, are superior to all that can be taught the slave. When mankind are obliged to look up to a master for honour and consequence, to flatter his foibles, and to fear his frown, cunning takes place of wisdom, and treachery of fortitude; the mind loses its vigour, the heart its generosity, and man, in being polished, is only debased.

This truth was never, perhaps, more strikingly exemplified than in the history of the Roman empire. The degrading influence of its dominion, more than any other circumstance, hastened its final dissolution; for although the conquered nations were by that means more easily kept in subjection, they became unable to resist a foreign enemy, and might be considered as decayed members of the body politic, which increased its size without increasing its strength. An appearance of prosperity, indeed, succeeded to the havoc of war; the ruined cities were rebuilt, and new ones founded; population flourished; civilization advanced; the arts were cultivated; but the martial and independent spirit of the people of the northern provinces was so totally extinct in a few centuries, that instead of preferring death to slavery, like so many of their illustrious ancestors, they patiently submitted to any contribution which a rapacious governor was pleased to levy, and the descendants of those gallant warriors who had disputed the field with the Roman legions under Cæsar and Germanicus were unable to oppose the most desultory inroads of a troop of undisciplined Barbarians. They were become incapable of either thinking or acting for themselves. Hence all the countries which have been subjected to the Roman yoke, fell a prey to the first invader, after the imperial forces were withdrawn.

Many other causes contributed to the dissolution of the Roman empire, beside the debility occasioned by its unwieldy corpulence.

Rome owed her dominion as much to the manners as to the arms of her citizens.(2) Their dignity of sentiment; their love of liberty and of their country; their passion for glory; their perseverance in toils; their contempt

(1) It was long fashionable with modern writers, but especially those of a classical turn, to rail against their rude ancestors, and lament the fall of the Roman empire as a great misfortune to the human race. This mistake seems to have arisen from an admiration of ancient literature, and an imperfect knowledge of history; from not sufficiently distinguishing between the extinction of Roman liberty, and the destruction of Roman despotism.

(2) "Think not," said the Elder Cato to the Roman senate, "it was merely by force of arms that our forefathers raised this republic from a low condition to its present greatness;—no! but by things of a very different nature—Industry and discipline at home, abstinence and justice abroad, a disinterested spirit council, unblinded by passion, and unbiassed by pleasure." Sallust. *Bell. Catilin.*

of danger and of death; their obedience to the laws; and, above all, their civil constitution and military discipline, had extended and cemented the conquests of the Romans. The very usurpations of that sovereign people (for I speak of the times of the republic) were covered with a certain majesty, which made even tyranny respectable. But their government carried in its bosom the seeds of destruction. The continual jealousy between the patricians and plebeians, the senate and the people, without any balancing power, made the ruin of the republic inevitable, as soon as the manners were relaxed: and a relaxation of manners was necessarily produced, by the pillage of Greece, and the conquest of Asia,⁽¹⁾ by the contagious refinements of the one, and the influx of wealth from the other.

The fall of Carthage, and the expulsion of the Gauls out of Italy, though seemingly the two most fortunate events in the Roman history, contributed also to a change of manners, and to the extinction of Roman liberty. While Carthage subsisted, the attention of all parties was carried toward that rival state; to defend themselves, or annoy their enemies, was the only care of the Romans; and as long as the Gauls had possessions in the neighbourhood of Rome, her citizens were united by the sense of a common danger; but no sooner were their fears from abroad removed, than the people grew altogether ungovernable. Ambitious men took advantage of their licentiousness; party clashed with party. A master became necessary, in order to terminate the horrors of civil war, as well as to give union and vigour to the state. Interest and vanity, made courtiers; force or fear, slaves. The people were disarmed by the jealousy of despotism, and corrupted by the example of an abandoned court. Effeminacy, debauchery, profligacy, and every atrocious vice, was common upon the throne.

A new source of ruin disclosed itself. Some disputed successions having made the army sensible that the sovereignty was in their hands, they thenceforth sold it to the highest bidder. Sporting with the lives of their princes, as formerly with the laws of the republic, they created emperors only to extort money from them, and afterward massacred them, in order to extort like sums from their successors. Emperors were opposed to emperors, and armies disputed the pretensions of armies. With obedience, discipline was lost. Wise princes endeavoured, but in vain, to restore it: their zeal to maintain the ancient military regulations only exposed them to the fury of the soldiery; the very name of discipline was a signal for revolt. The armies of Rome did not now consist of free men, who had voluntarily chosen a military life; or who, in obedience to the laws, served for a term of years; but of mercenaries collected from the provinces, or Barbarians bribed into the service, as more able to undergo the fatigues of war. Her soldiers were no longer citizens armed in defence of their country: they were its oppressors; they were licensed robbers, insatiable of plunder.

In order to prevent the continual treasons of the soldiery, but especially the Pretorian bands, the emperors associated with themselves in the supreme power, their sons, their brothers, or such persons as they could trust; and every emperor elected a Cæsar, or successor. They likewise subdivided, and consequently diminished, the power of the Pretorian prefects, who were the grand viziers of their time, appointing four instead of two. By these means the imperial seat was rendered more secure: the emperors were permitted to die in their beds; manners were softened, and less blood was shed by ferocity; but the state was wasted by an enormous expense, and a new species of oppression took place, no less disgraceful to humanity than the former massacres. The tyranny was transferred from the soldiery to the prince; the cause and the mode was changed, but the effect was the same. Shut up within the walls of a palace, surrounded by flatterers and women, and sunk in the softness of Eastern luxury, those masters of empire governed in secret

(1) It was in the delicious climate and pleasurable groves of Asia (says Sallust) that the army of the Roman people first learned to abandon themselves to wine and women—to admire pictures, statues, and vases of curious workmanship—and to spare nothing civil or sacred to come at the possession of them *Bell. Catilin.*

by the dark and subtle artifices of despotism. Iniquitous judgments, under the form of justice, seemed only to set death at a distance, in order to make life more miserable, and existence more precarious. Nothing was said, all was insinuated: every man of prime reputation was accused; and the warrior and the politician daily saw themselves at the mercy of sycophants, who had neither ability to serve the state themselves, nor generosity to suffer others to serve it with honour.(1)

The removal of the imperial court to Constantinople, to say nothing of the subsequent division of the empire into Eastern and Western, was a new blow to the grandeur of Rome, and likewise to its security: for the veteran legions, that guarded the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, were also removed to the East, in order to guard another frontier; and Italy, robbed of its wealth and inhabitants, sunk into a state of the most annihilating languor. Changed into a garden by an Asiatic pomp, and crowded with villas, now deserted by their voluptuous owners, this once fertile country was unable to maintain itself; and when the crops of Sicily and Africa failed, the people breathed nothing but sedition.

These discontents, occasioned by the removal of the imperial court, were heightened by those of religion. Christianity had long been making progress in the empire: it now ascended the throne of the Cæsars. As the Christians had formerly been persecuted, they, in their turn, became persecutors. The gods of Rome were publicly insulted, their statues were broken, their votaries were harassed. Penal statutes were enacted against the ancient worship: the punishment of death was denounced against the sacrifices formerly ordained by law: the altar of Victory was overturned, the cross was exalted in its stead, and displayed in place of that triumphant eagle, under which the world had been conquered.(2) The most dreadful hates and animosities arose. The Pagans accused the Christians of all their misfortunes: they rejoiced in the midst of the greatest calamities, as if the gods had been come in person to take vengeance on the destroyers of their altars; while the Christians affirmed, that the remains of Paganism alone had drawn down the wrath of Omnipotence. Both parties were more occupied about their religious disputes than the common safety; and, to complete the miseries of this unhappy people, the Christians became divided among themselves. New sects sprang up; new disputes took place; new jealousies and antipathies raged; and the same punishments were denounced against Heretics and Pagans. A universal bigotry debased the minds of men. In a grand assembly of the provinces, it was proposed; That, as there are three persons in the Trinity, they ought to have three emperors. Sieges were raised, and cities lost, for the sake of a bit of rotten wood, or withered bone which was supposed to have belonged to some saint or martyr. The effeminacy of the age mingled itself with this infatuation; and generals, more weak than humane, sat down to mourn the calamities of war, when they should intrepidly have led on their troops to battle.(3)

The character of the people with whom the Romans had to contend, was in all respects, the reverse of their own. Those northern adventurers, or Barbarians as they were called, breathed nothing but war. Their martial spirit was yet in its vigour. They sought a milder climate, and lands more fertile than their forests and mountains: the sword was their right: and they exercised it without remorse, as the right of nature. Barbarous they surely were, but they were superior to the people they invaded, in virtue as well as

(1) Montesq. *Considerat. sur les Causes de la Grandeur des Romains, et de leur Decad.* chap. xv. xvi. xvii. and the authors there cited, but especially Tacitus, Ammianus, Marcellinus, and Zosimus.

(2) Four respectable deputations were successively voted to the imperial court, representing the grievances of the priesthood, and the senate, and soliciting the restoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this important business was intrusted to Symmachus, a noble and eloquent orator, who thus makes Rome herself plead, before the imperial tribunal, in favour of the ancient worship: "These rites have repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the Capitol. Were my gray hairs reserved for such intolerable disgrace? I am ignorant of the new system that I am required to adopt; but I am well assured, that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful and ignominious office." Symmach. lib. x. epist. 54.

(3) Montesq. *Considerat. &c.* chap. xviii.—xxii. See also Gibbon's *Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (in four vols.) vol. II.—III. and the authors there quoted.

in valour. Simple and severe in their manners, they were unacquainted with the name of luxury; any thing was sufficient for their extreme frugality. Hardened by exercise and toil, their bodies seemed inaccessible to disease or pain: war was their element; they sported with danger, and met death with expressions of joy. Though free and independent, they were firmly attached to their leaders; because they followed them from choice, not from constraint, the most gallant being always dignified with the command. Nor were these their only virtues. They were remarkable for their regard to the sanctity of the marriage bed; their generous hospitality, their detestation of treachery and falsehood. They possessed many maxims of civil wisdom, and wanted only the culture of reason to conduct them to the true principles of social life.(1)

What could the divided, effeminate, and now dastardly Romans, oppose to such a people? Nothing but fear and folly; or, what was still more ignominious, treachery. Soon convinced that the combat was unequal, they attempted to appease their invaders by money: but that peace could not be of long continuance which put those who sold it in a better condition to sell another. Force is seldom just. These voluntary contributions were changed into a tribute which was demanded as a right; and war was denounced when it was refused, or fell short of the customary sum. Tributes were multiplied upon tributes, till the empire was drained of its treasure. Another expedient was then fallen upon: large bodies of the Barbarians were taken into pay, and opposed to other Barbarians. This mode of defence, so contrary to the practice of the first Romans, answered for the moment, but terminated in ruin: those auxiliaries proved the most dangerous enemies to the empire. Already acquainted with the Roman luxuries, the Roman wealth, and the Roman weakness, they turned their arms against their masters, inviting their countrymen to come and share with them in the spoils of a people unworthy of so many accommodations. They were likewise become acquainted with what little military skill yet remained among the Romans; and that, superadded to their natural intrepidity, made them perfectly irresistible. A third expedient, yet more unworthy of the Roman name, was had recourse to:—assassination was employed by the emperors against those princes, or leaders, whose arms they feared: it was even concealed beneath the mask of friendship, and perpetrated under the roof of hospitality—in the convivial hour, and at the festive board!(2)

This diabolical practice, the want of faith, and other unmanly vices of the Romans, not only account for the total subversion of their empire, but also for many of the cruelties of the conquerors. Inflamed with the passion of revenge, no less than the thirst of conquest or the lust of plunder, the inflexible and high spirited, though naturally generous Barbarians, were equally deaf to the offers of treaty and the voice of supplication. Wherever they marched, their route was marked with blood. The most fertile and populous provinces were converted into deserts. Italy and Rome itself was often pillaged. New invaders, from regions more remote and barbarous, drove out or exterminated the former settlers: and Europe was successively laid waste, till the North, by pouring forth its myriads, was drained of people, and the sword of slaughter tired of destroying.

In less than a hundred years after the first northern invasion, scarce any remains of the laws, manners, arts, or literature of the Romans were left in our quarter of the globe. By the beginning of the sixth century, the Visigoths had possessed themselves of Spain; the Franks of Gaul; the Saxons of the Roman provinces in South Britain; the Huns of Pannonia; the Ostrogoths of Italy, and the adjacent provinces. New governments, laws, languages; new manners, customs, dresses; new names of men and of

(1) Tacit. *de Moribus Germ.* Priscus, *Excerpt. de Logat.* Jornandes, *de reb. Get.* "As in polished societies," says Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of the Huns, "ease and tranquillity are courted, they delight in war and dangers. He who falls in battle is reckoned happy; while they, who die of old age or disease, are held infamous." *Hist. lib. xxxi.*

(2) Montesquieu and Gibbon, *ubi sup.*

countries every where prevailed. A total change took place in the state of Europe.(1)

How far this change ought to be lamented is not now a matter of much dispute. The human species was reduced to such a degree of debasement by the pressure of Roman despotism, that we can hardly be sorry at any means, however violent, which removed or lightened the load. But we cannot help lamenting at the same time, that this revolution was the work of nations so little enlightened by science or polished by civilization: for the Roman laws, though somewhat corrupted, were yet in general the best that human wisdom had framed; and the Roman arts and literature, though much declined, were still superior to any thing found among rude nations, or which those who spurned them produced for many ages.

The contempt of the Barbarians for the Roman improvements is not wholly, however, to be ascribed to their ignorance, nor the suddenness of the revolution to their desolating fury; the manners of the conquered must come in for a share. Had the Romans not been in the lowest state of national degeneracy, they might surely have civilized the conquerors; had they retained any of the virtues of men among them, they might have continued under the government of their own laws. Many of the northern leaders were endowed with great abilities, and several of them were acquainted both with the policy and literature of the Romans: but they were justly afraid of the contagious influence of Roman example; and therefore avoided every thing allied to that name, whether hurtful, or otherwise.(2) They erected a cottage in the neighbourhood of a palace, breaking down the stately building, and burying in its ruins the finest works of human ingenuity: they ate out of vessels of wood, and made the vanquished be served in vessels of silver; they hunted the boar on the voluptuous parterre, the trim garden, and expensive pleasure ground, where effeminacy was wont to saunter, or indolence to loll; and they pastured their herds where they might have raised a luxurious harvest. They prohibited their children the knowledge of literature, and of all the elegant arts; because they concluded, from the dastardliness of the Romans, that learning tends to enervate the mind, and that he who has trembled under the rod of a pedagogue will never dare to meet a sword with an undaunted eye.(3) Upon the same principles they rejected the Roman jurisprudence. It reserved nothing to the vengeance of man: they therefore, not unphilosophically, thought it must rob him of his active powers. Nor could they conceive how the person injured could rest satisfied, but by pouring out his fury upon the author of the injustice. Hence all those judicial combats, and private wars which for many ages desolated Europe.

In what manner light arose out of this darkness, order out of this confusion, and taste out of this barbarism, we shall have occasion to observe in the course of history: how genius and magnificence displayed themselves in a new mode, which prevailed for a time, and was exploded; how the sons came to idolize that literature which their fathers had proscribed, and wept over the ruins of those sculptures, paintings, buildings, which they could not restore; digging from dunghills, and the dust of ages, the models of their future imitations, and enervating themselves with the same arts which had enervated the Romans.

In the mean time we must take a view of the system of policy and legislation established by the Barbarians on their first settlements.

(1) A similar change was soon to take place in the state of Asia, great part of which was still subject to the emperors of Constantinople. These emperors, though gradually robbed of their Asiatic provinces by the followers of Mahomet, continued to preserve, in the East, as we shall have occasion to see, an image of Roman greatness, long after Rome had been sacked by the Barbarians, and the Roman dominion finally extinguished in the West. The Roman provinces in Africa were already overrun by the Vandals, who had spread desolation with fire and sword.

(2) "When we would brand an enemy," says an enlightened Barbarian, "with disgraceful and contemptuous appellations we call him a *Roman*: a name which comprehends whatever is base, cowardly, avaricious, luxurious—in a word, lying, and all other vices." Liutprand. *Legat. ap. Murat.* vol. ii.

(3) Procop. *Bell. Goth.* lib. i.

LETTER II.

The system of Policy and Legislation established by the Barbarians, on settling in the Provinces of the Roman Empire.

THE ancient Gauls, the Britons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the nations of the north of Europe, had a certain degree of conformity in their government, manners, and opinions. The same leading character, and the same degree of conformity, was also observable among their more modern descendants, who, under the names of Goths and Vandals, dismembered the Roman empire. Alike distinguished by a love of war and of liberty, by a persuasion that force only constitutes right, and that victory is an infallible proof of justice, they were equally bold in attacking their enemies, and in resisting the absolute domination of any one man. They were free even in a state of submission. Their primitive government was a kind of military democracy, under a general or chieftain, who had commonly the title of king. Matters of little consequence were determined by the principal men, but the whole community assembled to deliberate on national objects. The authority of their kings or generals, who owed their eminence entirely to their military talents, and held it by no other claim, was extremely limited: it consisted rather in the privilege of advising, than in the power of commanding. Every individual was at liberty to choose whether he would engage in any warlike enterprise. They therefore followed the chieftain who led them forth in quest of new settlements from inclination, not control; (1) as volunteers who offered to accompany him, not as soldiers whom he could order to march. They considered their conquests as common property, in which all had a right to share, as all had contributed to acquire them: nor was any obligation whatsoever entailed on the possessors of lands thus obtained. Every one was the lord of his own little territory.

But after settling in the Roman provinces, where they had their acquisition to maintain not only against the ancient inhabitants, but also against the inroads of new invaders, the northern conquerors saw the necessity of a closer union, and of relinquishing some of their private rights for public safety. They continued therefore to acknowledge the general who had led them to victory: he was considered as the head of the colony; he had the largest share of the conquered lands; and every free man, or every subordinate officer and soldier, upon receiving a share according to his military rank, tacitly bound himself to appear against the enemies of the community. (2)

This new division of property, and the obligations consequent upon it, gave rise to a species of government formerly unknown, and which is commonly distinguished by the name of the FEUDAL SYSTEM. The idea of a feudal kingdom was borrowed from that of a military establishment. The victorious army, cantoned out in the country which it had siezed, continued arranged under its proper officers, who were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to assemble whenever occasion should require their united operations or counsels.

But that system of policy apparently so well calculated for national defence or conquest, and which prevailed for several centuries in almost every kingdom of Europe, did not sufficiently provide for the interior order and tranquillity of the state. The bond of political union was feeble; the sources of dissension were many; and corruption was interwoven with the very frame of the constitution. The partial division of the conquered lands, which

(1) *Cæsar. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. Tacit. de Moribus German. cap. xi.—xlv. Amm. Marcel. lib. xxxi. Pris. Rhæt. ap. Byz. Script. vol. i.*

(2) *Du Cange, Gloss. voc Miles et Mledis.*

were chiefly swallowed up by the great officers, gave the few a dangerous ascendancy over the many. The king or general, by his superior allotment, had it amply in his power to reward past services or attach new followers, for the purpose of future wars. With this view he parcelled out his lands; binding those, on whom he bestowed them, to attend them in all his military enterprises, under the penalty of forfeiture. The nobles, or great officers, followed his example, annexing the same conditions to their benefices or grants of land, and appearing at the head of their numerous vassals, like so many independent princes, whenever their pride was wounded or their property injured. They disputed the claims of the sovereign; they withdrew their attendance, or turned their arms against him.(1) A strong barrier was thus formed against a general despotism in the state; but the nobles themselves, by means of their warlike retainers, were the tyrants of every inferior district, holding the people in servitude, and preventing any regular administration of justice, every one claiming that prerogative within his own domain. Nor was this the only privilege those haughty nobles usurped; they also extorted from the crown the right of coining money in their own name, and of carrying on war against their private enemies.(2)

In consequence of these encroachments on the royal prerogative, the powerful vassals of the crown obtained grants during life, and afterward others including their heirs, of such lands as they had originally enjoyed only during pleasure; and they appropriated to themselves titles of honour, as well as offices of power and of trust, which became hereditary in many families. The ties which connected the principal members of the constitution with its head were dissolved; almost all ideas of political subjection were lost, and little appearance of feudal subordination remained. The nobility openly aspired at independence; they scorned to consider themselves as subjects; and a kingdom, considerable in name and extent, was often a mere shadow of monarchy, and really consisted of as many separate principalities as it contained baronies. A variety of feuds and jealousies subsisted among the barons, and gave rise to so many wars.(3) Hence every country in Europe, wasted or kept in continual alarm by these internal hostilities, was filled with castles and places of strength, in order to protect the inhabitants from the fury of their fellow-subjects.

Kingdoms so divided, and torn by domestic broils, were little capable of any foreign effort. The wars of Europe, therefore, during several centuries, as we shall have occasion to see, resembled more the wild and desultory incursions of pirates, or banditti, than the regular and concerted operations of national force. Happily, however, for posterity, the state of every kingdom was nearly the same; otherwise all must have fallen a prey to one; the independent spirit of the North might have been extinguished for ever: and the present harmonious system of European policy, which so gloriously struggled from the chaos of anarchy, would have sunk in eternal night.

The particular manner in which the Barbarians conducted their judicial proceedings, when they first settled in the provinces of the Roman empire, cannot now be ascertained; but their form of government, their manners, and a variety of other circumstances, lead us to believe that it was nearly the same with that which prevailed in their original countries; where the authority of the magistrate was so limited, and the independence of individuals so great, that they seldom admitted any umpire but the sword.(4)

Our most ancient historical records justify this opinion; they represent the exercise of justice in all the kingdoms of Europe, and the ideas of men with respect to equity, as little different from those which prevail in a state of nature, and deform the first stages of society in every country. Resentment was almost the sole motive for prosecuting crimes; and the gratification of that passion, more than any view to the prosperity and good order of society, was the end, and also the rule in punishing them. He that suffered

(1) Montesquieu, *L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. xxx. xxxi.

(2) Montesquieu, *ubi supra*. Robertson's *Introd. Hist. Charles V.*—Hume's *Hist. Eng.* (University Ed.) Append. ii.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

(4) Ferguson, *Essay on the Hist. of Civil Society*, part ii.

the wrong was the only person who had a right to pursue the aggressor—to demand or remit the punishment: and he might accept a compensation for any offence, how heinous soever. The prosecution of criminals in the name and by the authority of the community, in order to deter others from violating the laws, now justly deemed the great object of legislation, was a maxim of jurisprudence then little understood in theory, and still less regarded in practice. The civil and criminal judges could, in most cases, do no more than appoint the lists, and leave the parties to decide their cause by the sword. Fierce and haughty nobles, unfriendly to the restraints of law, considered it as infamous to give up to another the right of determining what reparation they should accept of, or with what vengeance they should rest satisfied: they scorned to appeal to any tribunal but their own right-arm. And if men of inferior condition sometimes submitted to award or arbitration, it was only to that of the leader whose courage they respected, and whom in the field they had been accustomed to obey.(1) Hence every chieftain became the judge of his tribe in peace, as well as its general in war.—The pernicious effects of this power upon government and upon manners, and the many absurd modes of trial established before its abolition, we shall have frequent occasion to observe in the history of every modern kingdom.

The feudal system, however, with all its imperfections, and the disorders to which it gave birth, was by no means so debasing to humanity as the uniform pressure of Roman despotism. Very different from that dead calm which accompanies peaceful slavery, and in which every faculty of the soul sinks into a kind of somnolency, it kept the minds of men in continual ferment, and their hearts in agitation. If animosities were keen, friendships also were warm. The commonalty were unfortunately degraded to the condition of slaves, but the nobility were exalted to the rank of princes. The gentry were their associates: and the king, without the form of compact, was in reality but chief magistrate, or head of the community, and could literally do no wrong; or none, at least, with impunity.

LETTER III.

Rise of the French Monarchy, and the History of France, under the Kings of the First Race.

In history, as in all other sciences, it is necessary to set certain limits to our inquiries, if we would proceed with certainty; and, where utility more than curiosity is our object, we must even contract these boundaries. We must not only confine ourselves to those periods where truth can be ascertained, but to those events chiefly which were followed by some civil or political consequence, which produced some alteration in the government or the manners of a people; and, even of such events, we should be more particularly attentive to those which continue to operate upon our present civil or political system.

In these few words, my dear Philip, in order to avoid egotism, I have indirectly given you an account of the manner in which I mean to conduct that *History of Modern Europe* which is intended for your instruction. The first epochs of modern, as well as ancient history, are involved in fable; and the transactions of the immediately succeeding periods are handed down to us in barren chronicles, which convey no idea of the character of the agents, and consequently are destitute alike of instruction and amusement; while the events of latter ages are related with a copiousness so profuse and undistinguishing, that a selection becomes absolutely necessary for such as would

(1) This subject has been finely illustrated by Dr. Robertson, (Introd. *Hist. Charles V.*) and by the president Montesquieu, (*L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. xviii.—xxxi.) who has written a philosophical commentary on the *Laws of the Barbarians*. It has also been treated with much learning and ingenuity, by Dr. Stuart in his *View of Society*, and by Mr. Gibbon in his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* chap. xxxviii.

not willingly spend a life time in acquiring a knowledge of the transactions of those who have lived before them. And as I would rather have you acquainted with the character of one living than of ten dead statesmen or heroes, I shall be as concise in my narration as is consistent with perspicuity, and as select in my matter as information will allow; yet always taking care to omit no anecdote which can throw light on the history of the human heart, nor any circumstance that marks the progress of civil society.

Modern History is of little importance before the time of Charlemagne; and a late celebrated writer has fixed upon the coronation of that prince at Rome, in the year 800, as the proper era of its commencement. But for the sake of order, as well as to gratify the curiosity we naturally have to become acquainted with the origin of nations, I shall give you a short sketch of the state of Modern Europe previous to that era.

The French monarchy first claims our notice; not on account of its antiquity only, but because of its early and continued consequence. Gaul was shared by the Romans, the Visigoths, and the Burgundians, when Clovis king of the Franks (son of Childeric, and grandson of Merovius, head of the Salian tribe), defeated Syagrius, a Roman usurper in that province, and established a new kingdom, to which he gave the name of France, or the *Land of Free Men*. (1) How ill applied in latter times!

Though Clovis was only nineteen years of age when he obtained this victory, his prudence appears to have been equal to his valour. And many circumstances conspired to his farther aggrandizement. The Gauls hated the dominion of the Romans, and were strongly attached to Christianity: Clovis gained on their piety, by favouring their bishops; and his marriage with Clotilda, niece to Gondebaud, king of Burgundy, made them hope that he would speedily embrace the faith. The attachment of his countrymen to their ancient worship was the sole objection; the pious exhortations of the queen had some effect; and the king having vanquished the Allemanni at Tolbiac, near Cologne, after an obstinate engagement, politically ascribed that victory to the God of Clotilda, whom he said he had invoked during the time of battle, under promise of becoming a Christian, if crowned with success. He was accordingly baptized by St. Remigius, bishop of Rheims, and almost the whole French nation followed his example. (2)

This was a grand circumstance in favour of Clovis; and he did not fail to take advantage of it. The Gauls were stanch Catholics; but the Visigoths and Burgundians were Arians. Clotilda, however, happily was a Catholic, though nursed in the bosom of Arianism; and Clovis himself overflowed with zeal for the same faith, as soon as he found it would second his ambitious views. Under colour of religion, he made war upon Alaric, king of the Visigoths, who possessed the country between the Rhone and the Loire. The Gallic clergy favoured his pretensions; and the battle of Vouillé, in which the king of the Visigoths was vanquished and slain, near Poitiers, added to the kingdom of France the province of Aquitaine. (3)

But Clovis, instead of enjoying his good fortune with dignity, disfigured the latter part of his reign by perfidies and cruelties towards the princes of his house, whom he extirpated. He died in 511, after attempting to atone for his crimes by building and endowing churches and monasteries, and assembling a council at Orleans for the regulation of church-discipline. (4)

The death of Clovis was a severe blow to the grandeur of the French monarchy. He left four sons, who divided his extensive dominions among them. Thierry, the eldest, had the largest share: he was king of Austrasia, or that part of the Oriental France which lies between the Rhine and the

(1) Gregor. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 27.

(2) *Gest. Franc.* cap. xv. Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 31. Of the miracles said to have been wrought on the conversion of Clovis, the author of this work says nothing, as he would not wish to foster pious credulity; but the lovers of the marvellous will find sufficient food for their passion in Hincmar. (*Vit. St. Remig.*) It may not, however, be improper to observe, that Clovis, when warmed with the eloquence of the bishop of Rheims, in describing the passion and death of Christ, started up, and seizing his spear, violently exclaimed, "Had I been there with the valiant Franks, I would have redressed his wrongs!" *Fredig. Epitom.* cap. xxi.

(3) Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 37.

(4) *Ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 40—43

Meuse: Metz was his capital. Childebert was king of Paris, Clodomir of Orleans, and Clotaire of Soissons.(1) This division of the empire of the Franks, into four independent kingdoms, not only weakened its force, but gave rise to endless broils. The brothers became enemies whenever their interests jarred. The most frightful barbarities were the consequence of their dissensions. Murders and assassinations grew common events.

The experience of these evils, however, did not prevent a like division taking place after the death of Clotaire, the sole successor of his brothers and nephews. His four sons divided the four kingdoms by lot.(2) The kingdom of Paris fell to the lot of Caribert; Soissons to Chilperic; Austrasia to Sigebert; and Orleans to Gontran, in whose lot also was included Burgundy, which had been conquered by the united forces of Childebert and Clotaire. This new division was followed by consequences still more fatal than the former. Two queens, more deserving the name of furies than of women, sacrificed every thing to their bloody ambition—Brunechilda, princess of Spain, wife to Sigebert king of Austrasia, and Fredegonda, first concubine and afterward wife to Chilperic King of Soissons. Their mutual hatred, conjoined with their influence over their husbands, was productive of an infinite number of crimes, equally ruinous to the people and the royal family, and the most enormous to be met with in the history of mankind.

After the murder of a multitude of princes, and many years of civil war, carried on with the most vindictive spirit, and accompanied with every form of treachery and cruelty, Clotaire II. son of Chilperic and Fredegonda, was left sole monarch of France.(3) He re-established tranquillity, and gained the hearts of the people by his justice and generosity: and he attached the nobility to him by augmenting their consequence. He committed the government of the provinces of Austrasia and Burgundy to the Mayors of the Palace, as they were called; a kind of viceroys, who, daily acquiring power, at last made their way to the throne.

The vices of Dagobert, the son of Clotaire; the taxes with which he loaded the people, to furnish his debauches, or to atone for them, according to the custom of those times, by pious profusions, weakened the royal authority, at the same time that they debased it. His two sons, Sigebert II. and Clovis II. were only the founders of new convents. They were nobody in their kingdoms, the mayors were every thing.

On the death of Sigebert, Grimoald, mayor of Austrasia, set his own son upon the throne of that kingdom. The usurper was deposed; but the seducing example remained as a lure to future ambition. The succeeding sovereigns were as weak as their predecessors; and Pepin Heristel, duke of Austrasia, governed France twenty-eight years, under the title of mayor, with equal prudence and fortitude. The kings were not more than decorated pageants, to be shown to the people occasionally. The appellation of *sluggards*, which was given them, aptly expresses their stupid inactivity.

After the death of Pepin, who, by restoring national assemblies, which the despotism of former mayors had abolished, by turning the restless impetuosity of the French against foreign enemies, whom he always overcame, and other wise measures, had quietly enjoyed a power hitherto unknown in the monarchy: his authority passed into the hands of his widow Plectrude, whose grandson, yet an infant, was created mayor. So high was the veneration of the French for the memory of that great man!—but the government of a woman was ill suited to those turbulent times, though the insignificant kings were content to live under the guardianship of a child. Charles Martel, natural son of Pepin, was suspected of ambitious views by Plectrude, and imprisoned. He found means, however, to make his escape, and was received by the Austrasians as their deliverer. His superior talents soon exalted him to the same degree of power which his father had enjoyed, and he was no less worthy of it. He saved France from the sword of the Saracens, who had already subjected Spain, and he kept all the neighbouring nations

(1) Greg. Tur. lib. iii. cap. 3

(3) Fredig. Chron. cap. xliii

(2) Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 22. Gest. Franc. cap. xxix.

in awe by his wise and vigorous administration; yet he never styled himself any more than Duke of France, conscious that the title of King could add nothing to his power. But his son Pepin, less modest or more vain, assumed the sovereignty in name as well as reality: excluding for ever the descendants of Clovis, or the Merovingian race, from the throne of France.(1)

The circumstances of that revolution I shall soon have occasion to relate. At present we must take a view of the other states of Europe.

LETTER IV.

Spain under the Dominion of the Visigoths, and under the Moors, till the Reign of Abdurrahman.

SPAIN, my dear Philip, next merits your attention, as the second great kingdom on this side of the Alps. Soon after the Visigoths founded their monarchy in that Roman province, already overrun by the Vandals and the Suevi, the clergy became possessed of more power than the prince. So early was the tyranny of the church in Spain! Almost all causes, both civil and ecclesiastical, were referred to the bench of bishops: they even decided in their councils the most weighty affairs of the nation. Along with the nobles, among whom they held the first rank, they often disposed of the crown which was more elective than hereditary.(2) The kingdom was one theatre of revolutions and crimes. The number of kings assassinated fills the soul with horror. The Barbarians, after their establishment, contracted new vices. Their ferocity became bloody. What crimes did not bigotry alone produce!

In order to make you fully sensible of this, as well as acquainted with all that is necessary to be known in the history of the Visigoths in Spain, I need only mention the principal reigns.

Leovigild, who died in 585, and who is so much celebrated for his victories over the Suevi, whom he entirely subdued, put to death his son Hermenegild, because he had embraced the Catholic faith, he himself being an Arian. Recared, however, his other son and successor, abjured Arianism. The Arians were persecuted in their turn. The spirit of persecution daily increased. Sisebut, a prince in other respects wise, and whose valour dispossessed the Greek emperors of what territory they had continued to hold on the coasts of the Mediterranean, obliged the Jews, on pain of death, to receive baptism. In the reign of this monarch the empire of the Visigoths was at its height; comprehending not only Spain, but also some neighbouring provinces of Gaul, and part of Mauritania. Chintila, a subsequent king, banished all the Jews; and a council, or assembly of divines, convoked during his reign, declared that no prince could ascend the Spanish throne without swearing to enforce all the laws enacted against that unfortunate people. Under the reign of Recesuint, the election of kings was reserved by a council to the bishops and palatines. These palatines were the principal officers of the crown.—Thus the Spanish nobility lost one of their most essential rights.

Wamba, who defeated the Saracens in an attempt upon Spain, was excluded the throne, because he had been clothed in the habit of a *penitent*, while labouring under the influence of poison, administered by the ambitious Erviga! This stroke of priestcraft, the first of the kind we meet with in history, shows at a distance what might be expected from clerical finesse. A council adjudged the throne to Erviga; and another council, held during his reign, prohibited the kings, under penalty of damnation, from marrying a king's widow. This canon is a sufficient proof of the spirit of legislation which at that time prevailed in Spain. The debauchery, cruelty, and impiety of Witiza, whose wickedness knew no bounds, occasioned a civil war in 710.

(1) Adon. *Chron. Annal. Metens.*

(2) Geddes's *Tracts*, vol. ii. See also Saavedra, *Corona Gothica*

Roderic, or Roderigue, dethroned this prince, and was himself dethroned by a people whom nothing could withstand.(1)

The Mahometan religion was already established in many countries. Mahomet, its founder, who erected at Mecca a spiritual and temporal monarchy, had died 632; and his countrymen, the Arabs or Saracens, soon after overran great part of Asia, and all the part of Africa which was under the Roman dominion. Animated by the most violent spirit of fanaticism, their valour was altogether irresistible. The Koran promised heaven and eternal sensuality to such as fell in battle, and the conquerors always tendered liberty and protection to those who embraced their superstition. They threatened the whole world with subjection. Count Julian, whose daughter king Roderic had dishonoured, invited them, it is said, to land in Spain. Nor is this circumstance by any means improbable, considering the character of the times, more revolutions being then occasioned by the private vices of princes than any other cause.

The Saracens, already masters of Mauritania, now Bârbary (a name which the lawless ferocity of their descendants has given to that country, as it gave to them the name of Maures or Moors), made a descent upon Spain; and by the decisive battle of Xeres, in Andalusia, put an end to the empire of the Visigoths.(2) Muza, viceroy of Africa, under the caliph Walid, came over to finish the conquest. According to the prudent policy of the Mahometans (the only enthusiasts who ever united the spirit of toleration with a zeal for making proselytes), he offered the inhabitants their religion and laws, on condition that they should pay to him the same subsidy they had paid their former sovereigns: and such as embraced the religion of the conquerors were entitled to all their privileges. Most cities submitted without resistance. Those that held out he reduced by force, burning and pillaging them. Oppas, Archbishop of Seville, and uncle to the children of Witiza, was not ashamed on this occasion to join the Saracens, and sacrificed his country and his religion to his hatred against Roderic. But Pelagius, a prince of the royal blood, remained firm in his faith and his duty; and when he could no longer keep the field against the Infidels, he retired to the mountains of Asturias, followed by a number of faithful adherents. There he founded a Christian kingdom, which he defended by his valour, and transmitted to his posterity.(3)

Meanwhile the Saracens or Moors, little willing to confine their ambition within the limits of the Pyrenees, made an unsuccessful attack upon Eudes, duke of Aquitaine. But that check was soon forgot. Abdurrahman, the new emir or governor of Spain, made a second irruption with superior forces, and penetrated as far as Sens. Repelled there by bishop Ebbo, he fell upon Aquitaine, vanquished the duke, and advanced towards the heart of France. Charles Martel put a stop to his career, between Poitiers and Tours, by a memorable battle in which Abdurrahman himself was slain; and, if we believe the historians of those times, the Saracens lost in this action above three hundred thousand men. But such exaggerations are only fit for romance.

Spain was at first very miserable under the dominion of the Moors. The emirs being dependent on the viceroy of Africa, who allowed them to continue but a short time in their government, were more busy in fleecing the Spanish nation, than in the administration of justice or the preservation of good order. Civil wars arose among the Moslems themselves, and the caliphs or vicars of the prophet, the successors of Mahomet, who had made Damascus the seat of their court, were unable to quell those disorders. The competitions for the caliphate, as may be expected, even favoured the projects of the rebels. At length that august dignity, which included both the highest regal and sacerdotal eminence, passed from the family of the Omniades to that of the Abbassides. This revolution, which was bloody, gave birth to another, truly advantageous to Spain, but injurious to the Christian faith.

(1) Isidor. *Cron. Goth.* Ferreras, *Hist. Hisp.* vol. ii. Mariana, *ibid.* Greg. Turon. lib. vi.

(2) Rod. Tolet. *Hist. Arab.* Ferreras, *ubi sup.*

(3) Mariana, vol. i. Ferreras, vol. II.

Abdurrahman, called also Almanzor, a prince of the blood royal, who escaped in the massacre of the Omniades, founded in Spain an independent kingdom, consisting of all those provinces which had been subject to the caliphs.(1) He fixed his residence at Cordova, which he made the seat of the arts, of magnificence, and of pleasure. Without persecuting the Christians, he was able, by his artful policy, almost to extinguish Christianity in his dominions: by depriving the bishops of their diocesses; by reserving all honour and offices for the followers of his prophet; and by promoting intermarriages between the Christians and Mahometans. No prince in Europe equalled Abdurrahman in wisdom, nor any people the Arabs, in whatever tends to the aggrandizement of the human soul. Lately enemies to the sciences, they now cultivated them with success, and enjoyed a considerable share both of learning and politeness, while the rest of mankind were sunk in ignorance and barbarism.(2)

I shall afterward have occasion to be more particular on this subject. In the mean time, we must cast an eye on Italy, Rome, Constantinople, and France, from the time of Charles Martel to that of Charlemagne.

LETTER V.

Italy under the Dominion of the Ostrogoths, and under the Lombards, till the reign of Luitprand.

ITALY experienced a variety of fortunes after it lost its ancient masters, before it fell into the hands of Charlemagne. It was first wholly conquered by the Heruli, a people from the extremity of the Euxine or Black Sea, who held it only a short time, being expelled by the Ostrogoths. Theodoric the first Gothic king of Italy, and several of his successors, were princes of great prudence and humanity. They allowed the Italians, or Romans, as they still affected to be called, to retain their possessions, their laws, their religion, their own government, and their own magistrates, reserving only to the Goths the principal military employments. They acknowledged the emperors of Constantinople their superiors in rank, but not in jurisdiction. Ravenna was the seat of their court, and in real magnificence vied with ancient Rome, as their equitable administration did with the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus.(3) They were at last subdued by Belisarius and Narses, the generals of Justinian, who, having recovered Africa from the Vandals, had the pleasure of uniting Italy once more to the Roman Eastern, or Greek empire; the Western empire, which took its rise, as a separate state, on the death of Theodosius in 395, being totally annihilated by Odoacer king of the Heruli.

Soon after the expulsion of the Ostrogoths, great part of Italy was seized by Alboinus, king of the Lombards or Langobards, a Gothic nation. He and his successors made Pavia the place of their residence. The government of Italy was now entirely changed. Alboinus established the feudal policy in those countries which he had conquered, settling the principal officers of his army, under the name of duke, in the chief cities of every province.(4) A similar kind of government prevailed in that part of Italy which remained subject to the emperors of Constantinople; the exarch or supreme governor, who resided at Ravenna, appointing the dukes or chief magistrates of the other cities, and removing them at pleasure. Even Rome itself was governed by a duke, the very name of the senate and consuls being abolished.

(1) Ferreras, ubi sup.

(2) Ockley, *Hist. Sarac.* vol. i. li.

(3) Procop. *Bell. Goth.* Cassiodor. lib. viii. The lenity of the Ostrogoths, on first settling in Italy may be accounted for from two causes: partly from that polish which their manners may be supposed to have received during their intercourse with the Romans, whom they had long served as auxiliaries against the Huns and other barbarous nations; partly from the character of Theodoric the Gothic conqueror, who having been educated at Constantinople, and initiated in all the learning of the times, retained ever after a just admiration of the Roman laws and arts.

(4) Paul. Diacon. *de Gest. Langob.* l'v. iii.

Alboinus was one of the greatest princes of his time, and no less skilled in the science of reigning than in the art of war; but he was slain by the treachery of his wife Rosamund, before he had leisure to perfect the government of his kingdom. Clephis, his successor, was an able, but a barbarous prince. His cruelties gave the Lombards such an aversion against regal power, that they resolved, after his death to change their form of government; accordingly, for the space of twelve years, they chose no other king, but lived subject to their dukes. These dukes had hitherto acknowledged the royal authority: but, when the kingly power was abolished, each duke became sovereign of his own city and its district.

The Lombards, during that interregnum, extended their conquests in Italy. But, being threatened by foreign enemies, they saw the necessity of a closer union; of restoring their ancient form of government; and committing the management of the war to a single person.

For this purpose the heads of the nation assembled, and with one voice called Autharis, the son of Clephis, to the throne. Autharis perfected that form of government which had been established by Alboinus. Sensible that the dukes, who had ruled their several districts like independent princes, for so many years, would not willingly part with their authority, he allowed them to continue in their governments, but reserved to himself the supreme jurisdiction. He made them contribute a part of their revenues towards the support of his royal dignity, and take an oath that they would assist him to the utmost of their power in time of war.⁽¹⁾ After settling the government of his kingdom, he enacted several salutary laws for its tranquillity and good order. He was the first of the Lombard kings who embraced Christianity, and many of his subjects followed his example: but being of the Arian persuasion, like most of the northern conquerors, whose simple minds could not comprehend the mysteries of the Trinity and incarnation, many disputes were by that means occasioned between the Arian and Catholic bishops; for the Romans, or native Italians, were then as stanch Catholics as at this day.

Liberty of conscience, however, was allowed under all the Lombard kings; and Rotharis, who surpassed all his predecessors in wisdom and valour, was so moderate in his principles, and so indulgent to his people, that during his reign most cities of Italy had two bishops, one Catholic, and the other Arian. He was the first prince who gave written laws to the Lombards. For that purpose he summoned at Pavia a general diet of the nobles; and such regulations as they approved he ordered to be digested into a code, and observed over all his dominions. His military talents were not inferior to his civil. He very much extended the limits of his kingdom, and gained so many advantages over the imperial forces, that no future hostilities passed between the exarchs and the kings of the Lombards, till the reign of Luitprand.

But the emperor Constans, before that time landed in Italy with a considerable army, which he commanded in person, determined to expel the Barbarians, and reunite the kingdom of Lombardy to his dominions. He at first gained some inconsiderable advantages; but his army was afterward totally routed by Romuald, duke of Benevento, whose father, Grimoald, had been elected king of the Lombards.—Grimoald was a prudent prince, and in all respects worthy of the dignity to which he had been raised. As soon as he was free from the alarms of war, he applied himself wholly to the arts of peace. He reformed the laws of Rotharis, which were now from choice appealed to by the Italians, as well as the Lombards; revoking some, and enacting others more applicable to the circumstances of the times. Influenced by the arguments of John, Bishop of Bergamo, he renounced the tenets of Arius. His successors followed his example, all professing the Catholic faith; so that Arianism was in a short time forsaken by the whole nation of the Lombards.⁽²⁾

Luitprand gave strong proofs of his wisdom and valour from the moment he ascended the throne; but his courage sometimes bordered on rashness

(1) Paul. Diac. *de Gest. Langob.* lib. iii.

(2) Paul. Diac. lib. v.

Informed that two of his attendants had conspired against his life, and only waited an opportunity to put their design in execution, he walked out with them alone, and upbraided them with their guilt. Struck with such heroic firmness, they threw themselves at his feet, as wretches unworthy of mercy. The king, however, thought otherwise: he not only pardoned them, but received them into favour, promoting them afterward to principal employments. Having thus won his domestic enemies by kindness, and strengthened his interests abroad by marrying the daughter of the duke of the Boioarii, Luitprand applied himself in imitation of his two illustrious predecessors, Rotharis and Grimoald, to the formation of new laws. In one of these, his sagacity appears highly conspicuous. He blames "the ridiculous custom of trials by duel, in which we would force God to manifest his justice according to the caprice of men;" adding, "that he has only tolerated the abuse, because the Lombards are so much attached to it." (1)

But Luitprand's great qualities were in some measure shaded by his boundless ambition. Not satisfied with the extensive dominions left him by his predecessors, he formed the design of making himself sole master of Italy: and a favourable opportunity soon offered for the execution of that enterprise.

Leo Isauricus, then emperor of Constantinople, where theological disputes had long mingled with affairs of state, and where casuists were more common upon the throne than politicians, piously prohibited the worship of images; ordering all the statues to be broken in pieces, and the paintings in the churches to be pulled down and burnt. The populace, whose devotion extended no further than such objects, and the monks and secular priests, interested in supporting the mummary, were so highly provoked at this innovation, that they publicly revolted in many places. The emperor, however, took care to have his edict put in force in the East; and he strictly enjoined the exarch of Ravenna, and his other officers in the West, to see it as punctually obeyed in their governments. In obedience to that command, the exarch began to pull down the images in the churches and public places at Ravenna; a conduct which incensed the superstitious multitude to such a degree, that they openly declared they would rather renounce their allegiance to the emperor than the worship of images. They considered him as an abominable heretic, whom it was lawful to resist by force, and took arms for that purpose. (2)

Luitprand judging this the proper season to put his ambitious project in execution, suddenly assembled his forces, and unexpectedly appeared before Ravenna; not doubting but the reduction of that important place would be speedily followed by the conquest of all the imperial dominions in Italy. The exarch, though little prepared for such an assault, defended the city with much courage; but finding he could not long hold out against so great a force, and despairing of relief, he privately withdrew. Luitprand, informed of this, made a vigorous attack, carried the city by storm, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who found in it an immense booty, as it had been successively the seat of the western emperors, of the Gothic kings, and of the exarchs. Alarmed at the fate of Ravenna, most other cities in the exarchate surrendered without resistance. (3) Luitprand seemed, therefore, in a fair way to become master of all Italy. But that conquest neither he nor any of his successors was ever able to complete: and the attempt proved fatal to the kingdom of the Lombards.

(1) *Leg. Langob.* in Codex Lindenbrog.

(2) *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi.

(3) *Memb. Hist. Iconoclast.*

LETTER VI.

Rise of the Pope's temporal Power, with some Account of the Affairs of Italy, the Empire of Constantinople, and the Kingdom of France, from the Time of Charles Martel to that of Charlemagne.

THOUGH Rome was now governed by a duke, who depended on the exarch of Ravenna, the pope, or bishop, had the chief authority in that city. He was yet less conspicuous by his power, than the respect which religion inspired for his see, and the confidence which was placed in his character. St. Gregory, who died 604, had negotiated with princes upon several matters of state, and his successors divided their attention between clerical and political objects. To free themselves from the dominion of the Greek emperors, without falling a prey to the kings of Italy, was the great object of these ambitious prelates. In order to accomplish this important purpose, they employed successively both religion and intrigue; and at last established a spiritual and temporal monarchy, which of all human institutions, perhaps, most merits the attention of man, whether we consider its nature, its progress, or its prodigious consequences.

Gregory II. had offended the emperor Leo, by opposing his edict against the worship of images: but he was more afraid of the growing power of the Lombards, than of the emperor's threats; he therefore resolved to put a stop, if possible, to the conquest of Luitprand. The only prince in Italy to whom he could have recourse, was Ursus, duke of Venice, the Venetians making already no contemptible figure. Not less alarmed than Gregory at the progress of so powerful a neighbour, Ursus and the Venetians promised to assist the exarch (who had fled to them for protection) with the whole strength of the republic. They accordingly fitted out a considerable fleet, while the exarch conducted an army by land, and retook Ravenna before Luitprand could march to its relief.

As the recovery of Ravenna had been chiefly owing to the interposition of Gregory, he hoped to be able to prevail on the emperor to revoke his edict against the worship of images in the West. Leo, however, being sensible that the pope had been influenced merely by his own interest in the measures he had taken relative to that event, was only more provoked at his obstinacy, and resolved that the edict should be obeyed even in Rome itself. For this purpose he recalled Scholasticus, exarch of Ravenna, and sent in his stead, Paul, a Patrician, ordering him to get the pope assassinated, or to seize him, and send him in chains to Constantinople. But Gregory, far from being intimidated by the emperor's threats, solemnly excommunicated the exarch for attempting to put the imperial edict in execution, exhorting all the Italian cities to continue steadfast in the Catholic faith. Luitprand, though highly incensed against Gregory, assisted him in his distress; and the populace rose at Ravenna, and murdered the exarch, making prodigious slaughter of the Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, as the abettors of the edict were called. The duke of Naples shared the same fate with the exarch; and as Leo still insisted that his favourite edict should be enforced at Rome, the people of that city, at the instigation of Gregory, withdrew their allegiance from the Greek emperor. (1) Hence the rise of the pope's temporal power.

Informed of this revolt, and not doubting who was the author of it, Leo ordered a powerful army to be raised, with a design both to chastise the rebels and take vengeance on the pope. Gregory, alarmed at these warlike preparations, looked round for some power on which he might depend for protection. The Lombards were possessed of sufficient force, but they were too near neighbours to be trusted; and the Venetians, though zealous Catholics, were not yet in a condition to withstand the strength of the empire.

(1) Anast. in Vit. Greg. II. Meimb. Hist. Iconoclast

Spain was at that time overrun by the Saracens: the French seemed, therefore, the only people to whom it was advisable to apply for aid, as they were at once able to oppose the emperor, and enemies to his edict. France was then governed by Charles Martel, the greatest commander of his age. Gregory sent a solemn embassy to Charles, entreating him to take the Romans and the church under his protection, and defend them against the attempts of Leo. The ambassadors were received with extraordinary marks of honour: a treaty was concluded; (1) and the French, glad to get any concern in the affairs of Italy, became the protectors of the church.

In the mean time considerable alterations were made by death. Gregory II. did not live to see his negotiation with France finished. He was succeeded in the see of Rome by Gregory III., and, some years after, Leo Isauricus was succeeded on the imperial throne by his son Constantine Copronymus, who not only renewed his Father's edict against the worship of images, but prohibited the invocation of saints. This new edict confirmed the Romans in the resolution they had taken of separating themselves entirely from the empire; more especially as, being now under the protection of France, they had nothing to fear from Constantinople. They accordingly drove out of their city such of the imperial officers as had hitherto been suffered to continue there; and abolished, by that means, the very shadow of subjection to the emperor. Soon after Leo, died Charles Martel, and also Gregory III. who was succeeded in the see of Rome by Zachary, an active and enterprising prelate. Immediately after his election, he waited upon Luitprand, and obtained the restoration of four cities in the territory of Rome, which had been yielded to that prince as a ransom for the capital, when ready to fall into his hands. (2)

Luitprand henceforth laid aside all ambitious thoughts, dying in peace with the church and with men. Rachis, his successor, confirmed the peace with Zachary; but being afterward seized with a thirst of conquest, he invaded the Roman dukedom, and laid siege to Perugia. Zachary, before he solicited the assistance of France, the only power on which he could depend, resolved to try once more his personal influence. He accordingly went in person to the camp of Rachis; and being respectfully received by that prince, he represented so forcibly to him the punishment reserved for those who unjustly invade the property of others, that Rachis not only raised the siege, but was so much subdued by the eloquence of the pontiff, that he renounced his crown, and retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino; prostrating himself first at Zachary's feet, and taking the habit of St. Benedict. (3)

While things were in this situation in Italy, Pepin, son of Charles Martel, governed France in the character of mayor, under Childeric III. and, acquainted no doubt with the sentiments of his Holiness, proposed to Zachary a case of conscience, which had not hitherto been submitted to the bishop of Rome. He desired to know, Whether a prince incapable of governing, or a minister invested with royal authority, and who supported it with dignity, ought to have the title of king. Zachary, decided in favour of the minister; and the French clergy supported the pretensions of Pepin, because he had restored the lands of which Charles Martel had robbed them. The nobles respected him, because he was powerful and brave; and the people despised the sluggard kings, whom they scarcely knew by name. The judgment of the pope therefore silenced every scruple. Childeric was deposed; or more properly, degraded, for he could never be said to reign. He was shut up in a monastery. Pepin was raised to the throne; and St. Boniface, bishop of Mentz, the famous apostle of the Germans, anointed him solemnly at Soissons. (4)

This ceremony of anointing, borrowed from the Jews, and hitherto unknown to the French nation, or at most only used on the conversion of Clovis, seemed to bestow on the king a kind of divine character: and so far it was useful, by inspiring respect. But as ignorance abuses all things, the

(1) *Sigon. Reg. Ital.*(2) *Paul. Diac. lib. vi.*(3) *Id. ibid.*(4) *Sigon. Reg. Ital.*

bishops soon imagined they could confer royalty by anointing princes—an opinion which was followed by many fatal consequences. The eastern emperors had long been crowned by the patriarchs of Constantinople; the popes, in like manner crowned the emperors of the West. Crowning and anointing were supposed necessary to sovereignty. A pious ceremony gave the church a power of disposing of kingdoms.

These observations, my dear Philip, you will find frequent occasion to apply. I offer them here, in order to awaken your attention. We must see things in their causes, to reason distinctly on their effects.

Success soon attended the crafty policy of the popes: the new king of France repaid their favour with interest. Astulphus, the successor of Rachis, less piously inclined than his brother, thought only of conquest. In imitation of Luitprand, he resolved to make himself master of all Italy: and as the emperor Constantine Copronymus was now engaged in a war with the Saracens and Bulgarians, and in a still more hot and dangerous war against images, Astulphus judged this a proper season to invade the imperial dominions. He accordingly entered the exarchate at the head of a considerable army; took Ravenna, subdued the whole province, and also Pentapolis, which he added to the kingdom of the Lombards, reducing the exarchate and its ancient metropolis to the condition of a dukedom.(1)

Ambition is only increased by accession of dominion. Astulphus no sooner saw himself master of Ravenna and its territory, than he began to lay claim to the Roman dukedom, and to Rome itself. He urged the right of conquest. This, he alleged, entitled him to the same power over that city and its dukedom which the emperors, and also the exarchs, their viceroys, had formerly enjoyed, as he was now in possession of the whole exarchate. And, in order to enforce his demand, he marched an army towards Rome, reducing many cities in its neighbourhood, and threatening to put the inhabitants to the sword, if they refused to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Stephen III. then pope, no less alarmed at the approach of so powerful a monarch than at the severity of his message, endeavoured to appease him by a solemn embassy. But presents, prayers, and entreaties were employed in vain; Astulphus wanted to govern Rome.

Made sensible at last that force must be repelled by force, Stephen resolved, in imitation of his predecessors, to crave the protection of France. He accordingly applied to Pepin, who, mindful of his obligations to Zachary, and now firmly seated on the throne of Clovis, readily promised the pope his assistance, and sent two ambassadors to conduct him to Paris. Astulphus permitted him to pass: and a treaty was concluded between both, at the expense of the emperors of Constantinople and the kings of Italy. Stephen anointed Pepin anew, with the holy unction, and also his two sons Charles and Carloman, declaring each of them *Romanorum Patricius*, or Protector of the Roman people; and the French monarch in return for these honours, promised to make a donation of the exarchate and Pentapolis to the Romish church.(2)

Pepin however endeavoured, before he set out for Italy, to persuade Astulphus to be content with the dominions of his predecessors; to restore what he had conquered; and thus prevent the effusion of Christian blood. But finding the king of the Lombards deaf to his entreaties, he crossed the Alps, and advanced to Pavia. Astulphus now, convinced of his danger, sued for peace, and obtained it, on condition that he should deliver up to the pope, not to the emperor, all the places he had taken. He consented, but, instead of fulfilling his engagements, no sooner did he think the storm blown over by the departure of Pepin, than he broke again into the Roman dukedom, took several cities, and laid siege to Rome.

In this extremity, Stephen had again recourse to his protector the king of France, writing to him those famous letters which are still extant, and in which he artfully introduces St. Peter, to whom the donation of the ex-

(1) Sigon. *Reg. Ital.*

(2) Leo Oetiensis. lib. i.

archate had been made, conjuring Pepin, his two sons, and the states of France to come to his relief; promising them all good things, both in this world and the next, in case of compliance, and denouncing damnation as the reward of refusal. (1) Pepin, much affected by this eloquence, wild as it may seem, crossed the Alps a second time, and Astulphus again took refuge in Pavia.

Meanwhile the emperor Constantine Copronymus, informed of the treaty between the king of France and the Pope, by which the latter was to be put in possession of the exarchate and Pentapolis, remonstrated by his ambassadors against that agreement, offering to pay the expenses of the war. But Pepin replied, that the exarchate belonged to the Lombards, who had acquired it by the right of arms, as the Romans had originally done: that the right of the Lombards was now in him, so that he could dispose of that territory as he thought proper. He had bestowed it, he said, on St. Peter, that the Catholic faith might be preserved in its purity, free from the damnable heresies of the Greeks; and all the money in the world, he added, should never make him revoke that gift, which he was determined to maintain to the church with the last drop of his blood. In consequence of this resolution, the ambassadors were dismissed, without being suffered to reply. Pepin pressed the siege of Pavia; and Astulphus, finding himself unable to hold out, agreed to fulfil the former treaty, giving hostages as a pledge of his fidelity, and putting the pope immediately in possession of Commachio, a place of great importance at that time. (2)

Before Pepin returned to France he renewed his donation to St. Peter, yielding to Stephen and his successors the exarchate; Emilia, now Romagna, and Pentapolis, now Marca d'Ancona, with all the cities therein, to be held by them for ever; the kings of France, as patricians, retaining only an ideal superiority, which was soon forgot. (3) Thus was the sceptre added to the keys, the sovereignty to the priesthood, and the popes enriched with the spoils of the Lombard kings and the Roman emperors.

Astulphus, soon after ratifying his treaty with France, was killed by accident, when he was preparing to recover his conquests. Pepin continued to extend his sway and his renown till the year 768; when, after having imposed tribute on the Saxons and Slavonians, having made the duke of Bavaria take an oath of fidelity, and reunited Aquitaine to his crown,—equally respected at home and abroad, he died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. He never affected absolute power, but referred all matters of importance to the national assemblies, of which he was the oracle. By the consent of the nobles, he divided his kingdom between his two sons, Charles and Carloman.

The reign of Charles, known by the name of Charlemagne or Charles the Great, introduces a new era, and will furnish the subject of a future Letter. In the mean time, we must trace the settlement of other Barbarians, and the rise of another great kingdom.

LETTER VII.

Britain from the time it was relinquished by the Romans, to the end of the Saxon Heptarchy.

THE affairs of our own island, my dear Philip, now claim your attention. It was ultimately evacuated by the Romans about the year 448, after they had been masters of the southern and most fertile part of it for almost four centuries.

(1) Anastas. in *Vit. Steph.* III.

(2) Leo Ostiensis, ubi sup.

(3) Many disputes have arisen concerning the nature of Pepin's donation, and some writers have even denied that such a donation was ever made; but, on comparing authorities, and observing the scope of history, the matter seems to have been nearly as represented in the text. The impertinences of Voltaire on this subject, under the form of reasoning, are too contemptible to deserve notice.

Never, perhaps, was the debasing influence of despotism so fully displayed as in its effect on our ancient countrymen. No people were ever more brave, none more jealous of liberty, than the Britons. With ordinary weapons, and little knowledge of military discipline, they struggled long with the Roman power, and were only subdued at last by reason of their want of union. But after three centuries of tranquil submission, when the exigencies of the empire obliged the Romans to recall their legions from this island, and resign to the inhabitants their native rights, the degenerate Britons were incapable of prizing the gift. Conscious of their inability to protect themselves against their northern neighbours, and wanting resolution to attempt it, they would gladly have lived in security and slavery.(1) They had therefore recourse, again and again, to their conquerors: and the Romans, beside occasionally sending over a legion to the aid of the Britons, assisted them in rebuilding the wall of Antoninus, which extended between the friths of Forth and Clyde. This wall was esteemed by the Romans a necessary barrier first against the Caledonians, and afterward against the Scots and Picts.

Much time has been spent in inquiring after the origin of the Scots and Picts, and many disputes have arisen on the subject.(2) The most probable opinion, however, seems to be, that they were two tribes of native Britons, who at different times had fled from the dominion of the Romans, choosing liberty and barren mountains rather than fertile plains and slavery. But whoever they were, they are allowed to have been brave and warlike adventurers, who often invaded the Roman territories, and were greatly an overmatch for the now dastardly and dispirited Britons.

These two nations or tribes no sooner heard of the final departure of the Romans, than they considered the whole British island as their own. One party crossed the frith of Forth, in boats made of leather, while another attacked with fury the Roman wall, which the Britons had repaired for their defence, but which they abandoned on the first assault, flying like timorous deer, and leaving their country a prey to the enemy. The Scots and Picts made dreadful havoc of the fugitives; and, meeting with no opposition, they laid all the southern part of the island waste with fire and sword. Famine followed, with all its horrid train. The miserable Britons, in this frightful extremity, had once more recourse to Rome. They wrote to Ætius, then consul the third time, that memorable letter entitled *The Groans of the Britons*, and which paints their unhappy condition strongly as it is possible for words: "We know not," say they, "even which way to flee. Chased by the Barbarians to the sea, and forced back by the sea upon the Barbarians, we have only left us the choice of two deaths; either to perish by the sword, or be swallowed up by the waves."(3) What answer they received is uncertain; but it is well known they received no assistance, Rome being then threatened by Attila, the most terrible enemy that ever invaded the empire.

The Britons, however, amid all their calamities, had one consolation: they had embraced Christianity; a religion which above all others teaches the endurance of misfortunes, which encourages its votaries to triumph in adversity, and inspires the soul with joy in the hour of affliction. Many of them fled over to Gaul, and settled in the province of Armorica, to which they gave the name of Brittany; part of them submitted to the Scots and Picts; and part, collecting courage from despair, sallied from their woods and caves upon the secure and roving invaders, cut many of them to pieces, and obliged the rest to retire into their own country. But the enemy threatening to return next season with superior forces, the distressed Britons, by the advice of Vortigern, prince of Dunmonium, who then possessed the principal authority

(1) Gildas, Bede, lib. i. Mr. Gibbon, whose historical skepticism is as well known as his theological incredulity, has attempted to controvert the degeneracy of the Britons under the Roman government. But facts will speak for themselves: these he has not been able to destroy. The Britons, who fled before their naked and barbarous neighbours, were surely inferior to those that intrepidly contended with the Roman legions, under Julius Cæsar and other great commanders.

(2) See Macpherson's *Introd. Hist. Brit. Origin, &c. of the Caledonians*, Whitaker's *Hist. of Manchester, Genuine Hist. Brit.* and Hume's *Hist. of England*, vol. i. note A.

(3) Bede, Gildas, ubi sup. Gul. Malms. lib. i.

among them, called over to their assistance, by a solemn deputation, the Saxons and Angles, or Anglo-Saxons.(1)

The Saxons, like all the ancient German tribes, were a free, brave, independent people. They had arrived at that degree of civilization in which the mind has acquired sufficient force for enterprise, and seems to derive energy from the unimpaired vigour of the body. A nation, taken collectively, is never perhaps capable of such great achievements as in this state of half-civilization. The Saxons had spread themselves over Germany and the Low Countries from the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now Jutland, taking possession of the whole territory between the Rhine and the Elbe; and, when the Britons sent to implore their assistance, they were masters not only of the present Westphalia, Saxony, East and West Friesland, but also of Holland and Zealand. They readily complied with the request of Vortigern; and having fitted out three large transports, about fifteen hundred of them put to sea under the command of Hengist and Horsa, two brother chiefs, said to be descended from Woden, their tutelary god. The Saxon chiefs landed in the isle of Thanet, which was assigned them as a possession, and a league was entered into between them and the British prince.(2) Soon after their arrival, they marched against the Scots and Picts, who made a new irruption, and advanced as far as Stamford. These northern ravagers, unable to withstand the steady valour of the Saxons, were routed with great slaughter; and the Britons, felicitating themselves on an expedient by which they had freed their country from so cruel an enemy, hoped thenceforth to enjoy security under the protection of their warlike auxiliaries.

But mankind, in the possession of present good, are apt to overlook the prospect of future evil. The Britons did not foresee that their deliverers were to be their conquerors; though it must have been evident to any disinterested observer, that the day of subjection was nigh. The reflections of Hengist and Horsa, after their victory over the Scots and Picts, were very different from those of the Britons. They considered with what ease they might subdue a people, who had been unable to resist such feeble invaders; and sent to their countrymen intelligence of the fertility and opulence of Britain, inviting them to come and share in the spoils of a nation, without union and without valour, sunk in indolence and sloth.(3)

The invitation was readily accepted. Seventeen vessels soon arrived with five thousand men, who, joined to those already in the island, formed a considerable army.(4) Though now justly alarmed at the number of their allies, the Britons sought security and relief only in passive submission; and even that unmanly expedient soon failed them. The Saxons pulled off the mask: they complained that their subsidies were ill paid, and demanded larger supplies of corn and other provisions. These being refused, as exorbitant, they formed an alliance with the Scots and Picts; and proceeded to open hostilities against the people they had come over to protect.

The Britons were at last under the necessity of taking arms; and having deposed Vortigern, who was become odious by his vices, and the unfortunate issue of his rash councils, they put themselves under the command of his son Vortimer. Many battles were fought between the Saxons and Britons with various success, though commonly on the side of the former: and, in one of these battles, the Saxon general, Horsa, was slain. The sole command now devolved upon Hengist; who, continually reinforced with fresh adventurers from Germany, carried desolation to the most remote possessions of the Britons. Anxious to spread the terror of his arms, he spared neither age, sex,

(1) Bede, lib. i. Gul. Malm. ubi sup.

(2) Gildas, Bede, ubi sup. *Chron. Sax.* p. 13. Mr. Gibbon, on the authority of Nennius, gives a different account of this matter. (*Hist.* chap. xxviii.) He represents Hengist and Horsa as two fugitive adventurers; who, in a piratical cruise, were taken into the pay of the British prince. But I can see no reason for adopting such an opinion; for, independent of circumstances, which are greatly in favour of the common manner of telling the story, the authority of the venerable Bede is surely superior to that of the fabulous Nennius.

(3) *Chron. Sax.* ubi sup. *Ann. Beverl.* p. 49.

(4) Had Hengist and Horsa been a couple of exiles, they would not soon have found so many followers.

nor condition.(1) The description is too horrible to read; and, for the honour of humanity, I am willing to suppose it to be partly untrue.

Of the unhappy Britons who escaped the general slaughter, some took refuge among inaccessible rocks and mountains; many perished by hunger; and many, forsaking their asylum, preserved their lives at the expense of their liberty. Others, crossing the sea, sought shelter among their countrymen in Armorica. They who remained at home suffered every species of misery: they were not only robbed of all temporal, but spiritual benefits.(2) In this extremity, a British and a christian hero appeared. Arthur, prince of the Silures, revived the expiring valour of his countrymen. He defeated the Saxons in several engagements; and particularly in the famous battle of Badon-hill, which procured the Britons tranquillity for upwards of forty years. But the success of Hengist and his followers having excited the ambition of other German tribes, who arrived at different times, and under different leaders, yet all speaking one language, being governed by the same regulations, and passing under the common appellation of Saxons or Angles, they were naturally led to unite against the ancient inhabitants of the island. The Britons, therefore, ultimately found themselves unequal to the contest, and retired to the mountains of Cornwall and Wales, where they formed independent principalities, protected by their remote and inaccessible situation.(3)

The Saxons and Angles, or Anglo-Saxons (for they are mentioned under both these denominations), were now absolute masters of the whole fertile and cultivated part of South Britain, which had changed not only its inhabitants, but its language, customs, and political institutions.(4) History affords an example of few conquests more bloody, and few revolutions so violent as that effected by the Saxons. In the course of their wars with the Britons, which continued a hundred and thirty-five years, they had established many separate kingdoms, the seventh and last of which was that of Northumberland. The names of the other kingdoms were Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex, Mercia, and East Anglia. These seven kingdoms formed what is commonly called the Saxon Heptarchy.(5)

While the Saxons had to struggle with the Britons for dominion, their several princes leagued against the common enemy, and a union of councils and interests was preserved. But after the wretched natives were shut up in their barren mountains, and the conquerors had nothing to fear from them, the bond of alliance was in a great measure dissolved among the princes of the Heptarchy; and although one prince seems still to have assumed, or to have been allowed, some ascendancy over the rest, his authority was so very limited, that each state acted as if entirely independent. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the Saxon chiefs, and these were followed by perpetual wars; which, in Milton's opinion, are no more worthy of a particular narration, than the combats of kites or crows. And, independent of so great an authority, which however it would be presumption to slight, it may be safely affirmed, that the barren records transmitted to us, and the continued barbarities of the times, render it impossible for the most eloquent and discerning writer to make this portion of our history either instructive or entertaining. It will therefore be sufficient for me to observe, that after a variety of inferior revolutions, the seven kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy were united under Egbert, king of Wessex, in the year 827.(6) His dominions were nearly of the same extent with what is now properly

(1) Bede, lib. i. Gildas, sec. xxiv. Usher, p. 226.

(2) Bede, Gildas, Usher, ubi sup.

(3) Gul. Malm. lib. i. H. Huntingdon, lib. ii. *Chron. Sax.* p. 20.

(4) The Saxons and Angles were originally distinct tribes; but, at the time they landed in Britain, they were so much incorporated, as to pass sometimes under the one name, sometimes under the other (Alford. ad Ann. 449.) Hence the compound name of Anglo-Saxons, given them by most writers. The Jutes had also a considerable share in the conquest of South Britain, and settled themselves in Kent and the Isle of Wight. Essex, Middlesex, Surry, Sussex, and all the southern counties, as far as Cornwall, were peopled by Saxons. The Saxons also took possession of the northern counties. Norfolk, Suffolk, and all the midland counties were inhabited by Angles. Bede, lib. i. ii. Ethelwerd, lib. i. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Hume, vol. i. chap. i.

(5) The extent of the different kingdoms is of too little importance now to deserve particular description.

(6) Wessex, or the kingdoms of the West Saxons, extended over the counties of Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Berks, and the Isle of Wight.

alled ENGLAND; a name which was given to the empire of the Saxons in Britain, immediately after the termination of the Heptarchy.

The Anglo-Saxons before this period had been converted to Christianity by the preaching of Augustine, a Roman monk, and the zeal of Bertha, daughter of Garibert, king of Paris, and wife to Ethelbert, king of Kent; but as they received that doctrine through the polluted channels of the church of Rome, though it opened an intercourse with the more polished states of Europe, it had not hitherto been very effectual either in purifying their minds, or in softening their manners. The grossest ignorance and superstition prevailed among them. Reverences to saints and relics seemed to have supplanted the worship of the Supreme Being; donations to the church atoned for every violation of the laws of society; and monastic observances were more esteemed than moral virtues. Even the military virtues so habitual to the Saxons began to fall into neglect. The nobility themselves began to prefer the indolence and security of the cloister to the toils and tumults of war; and the crown, impoverished by continual benefactions to the church, had no rewards for the encouragement of valour.

This corrupt species of Christianity was attended with another train of inconveniences, proceeding from a superstitious attachment to the see of Rome. The Britons had conducted all ecclesiastical matters by their own synods and councils, acknowledging no subordination to the Roman pontiff; but the Saxons, having received their religion through the medium of Italian monks, were taught to consider Rome as the capital of their faith. Pilgrimages to that city were accordingly represented as the most meritorious acts of devotion; and not only noblemen and ladies of rank undertook this tedious journey, but kings themselves, resigning their crowns, implored a safe passport to heaven at the foot of St. Peter's chair, and exchanged the purple for the sackcloth.⁽¹⁾

But England, even in those times of British darkness, gave birth to some men equal at least to any of the age in which they lived. Offa, king of Mercia, was thought worthy the friendship of Charlemagne, the greatest prince that Europe had produced for many centuries; and Alcuin, an English clergyman, had the honour of instructing that illustrious monarch in the sciences, at the time when he was surrounded by all the literati of Christendom.

Having mentioned Charlemagne, I think it necessary to observe, That I shall finish the history of that great conqueror and legislator, before we proceed to the reign of Egbert, the first English monarch; who, as you will afterwards have occasion more fully to know, was educated in the court, and in the armies of the new emperor of the West. Meanwhile, my dear Philip, I must say a few words of the government, laws, and manners of the Saxons, after their settlement in Britain.

LETTER VIII.

Government and Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.

HAD the Saxons, on their settlement in Britain, established the same form of government with the other northern nations that seized the provinces of the Roman empire, this letter would have been in a great measure unnecessary; but as they rather exterminated than subdued the natives, and were under few apprehensions from foreign enemies, they had no occasion to burden themselves with feudal services. They therefore retained entire their civil and military institutions; they transplanted into this island those principles of liberty and independency which they had so highly cherished at home, which had been transmitted to them from their ancestors, and which still continued to flourish among their descendants. Their original constitution was a kind of military democracy, in which the protection of the state

(1) Bede, lib. I. li. Spell. Conc. H. Hunting. lib. iii

was the voluntary care of its members, as every free man had a share in the government; and conquest was the interest of all, as all partook in the acquisitions. Their king, or chief, was only the first citizen of the community: his authority was extremely limited; and depended, as did his station, principally on his personal qualities. The succession was neither elective nor hereditary. A son who inherited his father's virtues and talents was sure to succeed to his sway: but if he happened to be weak, wicked, or under age, the next in blood was generally raised to the throne, or the person of most eminence in the state.(1)

We owe to the masterly pen of Tacitus this account of the primitive government of the Saxons, who were a tribe of the ancient Cimbri. Unfortunately the Saxon annals are too imperfect to enable us to delineate exactly the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the people, after their settlement in Britain. The government might be somewhat different in the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and might also undergo several changes before the Norman conquest; but of those changes we are in a great measure ignorant. We only know, that at all times, and in all the kingdoms, there was a national council, a Wittenagemot, or Assembly of the Wise Men, whose consent was necessary to the enacting of laws, and to give sanction to the measures of public administration. But who the constituent members of that assembly were, has not hitherto been determined with certainty. The most probable conjecture however seems to be, that it consisted of the nobility, the dignified clergy, and all freeholders possessing a certain portion of land.

The Saxons were divided into three orders of men; the noble, the free, and the servile. These distinctions they brought into Britain with them. The nobles were called Thanes, and were of two kinds, the greater and less Thanes. The latter seem to have had some dependence on the former, as the former had on the king, but of what nature is uncertain. The lower kind of freemen among the Saxons were denominated ceorles, and were chiefly employed in husbandry—whence a husbandman and ceorle came to be synonymous terms. They farmed the lands of the nobility, or higher orders, and appear to have been removable at pleasure. But the slaves, or villains, were by much the most numerous class in the community; and being the property of their masters, were consequently incapable of holding any property themselves. They were of two kinds; household slaves, after the manner of the ancients; and rustic slaves, who were sold and transferred, like cattle, with the soil. The long wars between the Saxons and Britons, and afterward between the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, seem to have been the cause of the disproportionate number of these unhappy men: for prisoners taken in battle were reduced to slavery by the laws of war, and entirely at the disposal of their masters.(2)

The higher nobility and dignified clergy among the Anglo-Saxons possessed a criminal jurisdiction within their own territories, and could punish without appeal such as they judged worthy of death. This was a dangerous privilege, and liable to the greatest abuse. But although the Anglo-Saxon government seems at last to have become in some measure aristocratical, there were still considerable remains of the ancient democracy. All the freeholders assembled twice a year in the county-courts, or Shiremotes, to receive appeals from the inferior courts—a practice well calculated for the preservation of general liberty, and for restraining the exorbitant power of the nobles. In these courts they decided all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil, the bishop and aldermen, or earl, presiding over them. The case was determined by a majority of voices, without much pleading, formality, or delay; the bishop and earl having no farther authority than to keep order among the freeholders, and offer their advice when necessary.(3) Though it should therefore be granted, that the Wittenagemot was composed entirely

(1) Tacit. de Moribus Germ. cap. xl.

(2) L. Edg. sec. xiv. ap. Spelman, Conc. vol. i. Brady Gen. Pres. p. 7, 8, 9. Nithard. Hist. lib. iv.

(3) Hickes, Dissert. Epist. ii—viii

of the greater Thanes and dignified clergy, yet in a government where few taxes were imposed by the legislature, and few statutes enacted, where the nation was less governed by laws than by customs, which allowed much latitude of interpretation, the county courts, where all the freeholders were admitted, and which regulated all the daily occurrences of life, formed a wide basis for freedom.

The criminal laws of the Anglo-Saxons, as of most barbarous nations, were uncommonly mild; a compensation in money being sufficient for murder of any species, and for the life of persons of any rank, not excepting the king and the archbishop, whose head, by the laws of Kent, was estimated higher than the king's. The price of all kinds of wounds was also settled: and he who was caught in adultery with his neighbour's wife, was ordered, by the laws of Ethelbert, to pay him a fine, and buy him another wife—a proof, though somewhat equivocal, of the estimation in which women were then held. The punishments for robbery were various, but none of them capital. If any person could track his stolen cattle into another's ground, the owner of the ground was obliged to show their tracks out of it, or pay the value of the cattle.(1)

But if the punishments for crimes among the Anglo-Saxons were singular, their proofs were no less so. When any controversy about a fact was too intricate for the ignorant judges to unravel, they had recourse to what they called the judgment of God; or, in other words, to chance. Their modes of consulting that blind divinity were various, but the most common was the ordeal. This method of trial was practised either by boiling water, or red-hot iron. The water or iron was consecrated by many prayers, masses, fastings, and exorcisms: after which the person accused either took up with his naked hand a stone sunk in the water to a certain depth, or carried the iron to a certain distance. The hand was immediately wrapped up, and the covering sealed for three days; and if on examining it there appeared no marks of burning or scalding, the person accused was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, he was declared guilty.(2) The same kinds of proof, or others equally extravagant, existed among all the nations on the continent; and money, in like manner, was every where a atonement for guilt, both in a civil and ecclesiastical sense.

LETTER IX.

The Reign of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, King of France and Emperor of the West.

CHARLES and Carloman, the two sons of Pepin, and his successors in the French monarchy, were men of very different dispositions. Charles was open and generous, Carloman dark and suspicious: it was therefore happy for mankind that Carloman died soon after his father, as perpetual wars must have been the consequence of the opposite tempers and interfering interest of the brothers. Now alone at the head of a powerful kingdom, Charles's great and ambitious genius soon gave birth to projects which will render his name immortal. A prosperous reign of forty-six years, abounding with military enterprises, political institutions, and literary foundations, offers to our view, in the midst of barbarism, a spectacle worthy of more polished ages.

But before we proceed to the history of this illustrious reign, I must say a few words of the state of Germany at that time.

Germany was anciently possessed by a number of free and independent nations, who bravely defended their liberties against the Romans, and were never totally subjected by them. On the decline of the Roman empire, many of those nations left their native country, as we have seen, and founded empires of their own; so that Germany, at the accession of Charlemagne to

(1) *Anglo Saxon Laws*, ap. Wilkins.

(2) *Spelman*, in *Verb. Ordeal*.

the crown of France, was principally occupied by the Saxons. Of their government I have already spoken. They were still Pagans. What was then considered as their territory comprehended a vast tract of country. It was bounded on the west by the German Ocean, by Bohemia on the east, on the north by the Baltic Sea, and on the south by Germanic France, extending along the lower Rhine and from Issel beyond Mentz. This extensive empire was governed by an infinite number of independent princes, and inhabited by a variety of tribes, under different names, who, by reason of their want of union, had become tributary to the French monarchs. But whenever the throne of France was vacated by death, or when the kings of France were engaged either in foreign or domestic wars, the Saxon princes threw off their allegiance, and entered the French territories. (1) Charles had occasion to quell one of those revolts immediately after the death of his brother: and the work was but imperfectly executed, when his arms were wanted in another quarter.

Charles and Carloman had married two daughters of Desiderius, king of the Lombards. Carloman left two sons by his wife Berta; but Charles had divorced his consort, under pretence that she was incapable of bearing children, and married Ildegarda, a princess of Suabia. Berta, the widow of Carloman, not thinking herself and her children safe in France after the death of her husband, fled to her father in Italy, and put herself and her two sons under his protection. Desiderius received them with joy. Highly incensed against Charles for divorcing his other daughter, he hoped by means of these refugees to raise such disturbances in France as might both gratify his revenge, and prevent the French monarch from intermeddling in the affairs of Italy. In this hope he was encouraged by his intimacy with pope Adrian I. to whom he proposed the crowning and anointing of Carloman's two sons. But Adrian, though sufficiently disposed to oblige him, refused to comply with the request; sensible that by so doing he must incur the displeasure of Charles, the natural ally of the church, and the only prince capable of protecting him against his ambitious enemies. Enraged at a refusal, Desiderius ravaged the papal territories, or, as they were called, the *Patrimony of St. Peter*, and threatened to lay siege to Rome itself. In order to avert the pressing danger, Adrian resolved to have recourse to France, in imitation of his predecessors. He accordingly sent ambassadors privately to Charlemagne, not only imploring his assistance, but inviting him to the conquest of Italy, his friendship for Desiderius being now converted into the most rancorous hate. The French monarch, who waited only an opportunity to revenge himself on that prince for keeping his nephews, and still more for wanting to crown them, received the pope's invitation with incredible satisfaction. He immediately left Germany, concluding a kind of treaty with the Saxons, and collected such an army as evidently showed that his object was nothing less than the extinction of the kingdom of the Lombards. (2)

Desiderius, informed of these preparations, put himself at the head of a great army, and sent several bodies of troops to guard the passes of the Alps. But Charlemagne, apprised of this precaution, sent a detachment under experienced guides to cross the mountains by a different route. The French completed their march; and falling unexpectedly upon the Lombards who guarded the passes, struck them with such terror, that they fled in the utmost confusion. Charles now entered Italy unmolested, and marched in quest of Desiderius. Finding himself unable to keep the field, the king of the Lombards retired to Pavia, his capital; sending his son Adalgisus, and his daughter Berta, the widow of Carloman, with her two sons, to Verona, a place not inferior in strength to Pavia.

As soon as Charlemagne understood that Desiderius had taken shelter in Pavia, he assembled his whole army, and laid siege to that city, resolving not to withdraw his forces till it had submitted; but, as the Lombards made a gallant defence, he changed the siege into a blockade, and marched with part of his troops to invest Verona. Adalgisus defended the place, for a

(1) Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.*(2) Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* Anast. in *Vit. Hadriani*

time, with great bravery, but finding himself, at last, reduced to extremities, and despairing of relief, he secretly withdrew, and fled to Constantinople, where he was cordially received by the emperor. Verona now surrendered to Charles; who having got Berta, his brother's widow, and her two sons, into his power, sent them immediately, under a strong guard, into France. What afterward became of them history has not told us. It is much to be feared, however, that their fate was little to the honour of the conqueror. Humanity was not the characteristic of those times.

The siege of Pavia was renewed, and pushed with fresh vigour. But the festival of Easter approaching, which Charles had resolved to spend at Rome, he left the conduct of the siege once more to his uncle Bernard. The pope received his deliverer in the most pompous manner, the magistrates and judges walking before him with their banners, and the clergy repeating, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" After Charles had satisfied his curiosity, and confirmed the donation which his father Pepin had made to St. Peter, he returned to the camp before Pavia. The Lombards still continued to defend that city with obstinate valour, so that the siege was little if at all advanced; but a plague breaking out among the besieged, the unfortunate Desiderius was obliged at last to surrender his capital, and deliver up himself, his wife, and his children, to Charles, who sent them all into France, where they either died a violent death, or languished out their days in obscurity, being never more heard of.⁽¹⁾

Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, after it had subsisted two hundred and six years. They are represented by the monkish historians as a cruel and barbarous people, because they opposed the ambitious views of the popes; but the many wholesome laws which they left behind them, and which devouring time has still spared, are convincing proofs of their justice, humanity, and wisdom.

A short account of the state of Italy at the time it was entered by Charlemagne will here be proper, and also of the new form of government introduced there by the conqueror.

Italy was then shared by the Venetians, the Lombards, the popes, and the emperors of the East. The Venetians were become very considerable by their trade to the Levant, and bore no small sway in the affairs of Italy, though it does not appear that they had yet any town on the *terra firma*, or continent. The pope, by the generosity of Pepin and his son Charles, was now master of the exarchate and Pentapolis. The dukedom of Naples, and some cities in the two Calabrias, were still held by the emperors of the East. All the other provinces of Italy belonged to the Lombards; namely, the dukedoms of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, together with the provinces of Liguria, Venetia, Tuscany, and the Alpes Cottiae, which were properly called the kingdom of the Lombards. These Charles claimed by right of conquest, and caused himself, in imitation of them, to be crowned king of Italy, with an iron crown,⁽²⁾ which is still preserved in the little town of Monza.

The ceremony of coronation being over, the conqueror thought it necessary to settle the government of his new kingdom, before he left Italy; and, after consulting with the pope, who declared him patrician of Rome, and protector of the apostolic see, he agreed that the people should be permitted to live under their former laws, and that all things should remain as established by his predecessors. Accordingly he allowed the dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, the same authority which they had enjoyed under the Lombard kings. He also permitted the other dukes to hold the dukedoms, contenting himself with an oath of allegiance, which he obliged them, and likewise the three great dukes, to take annually. It was conceived in these words: "I promise, without fraud or deceit, to be faithful to my sovereign Charles, and his sons, as long as I live; and I swear, by these holy Gospels, that I will be faithful to him, as a vassal to his lord and sovereign; neither will I divulge any thing which, in virtue of my allegiance, he shall

(1) Leo Ostiens. Monach. Engolism.

(2) Eginhard. in. *Vit. Car. Mag.*

commit to me.' He never transferred a dukedom from one family to another, unless when the duke broke his oath, or died without male issue. This translation from one to another was called *investiture*; and hence it came, that fiefs were not granted but by investiture, as was afterward the case with respect to other vassals and feudatories.(1)

Charles committed the boundaries of his new kingdom, and the territory of cities, to the care of counts, who were vested with great authority. These boundaries were called *Marchæ* or *Marches*, and those who had the care of them were styled Counts of the *Marches*, or *Marquisses*; whence the title *Marquis* had its rise. He also sent occasionally *missi*, or commissaries, who were vested with higher powers, and examined into the conduct of the counts, whose province it was to administer justice over all the dominions of Charlemagne.—That Italy might retain at least some shadow of liberty, he convened, as often as he returned thither, a general assembly of all the bishops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, in order to settle affairs of national importance. The Lombards had but one order in the state, composed of the barons and judges; but the French, in the time of Charlemagne, had two, the clergy and nobility; hence was added by Charles in Italy, after the manner of France, the order of ecclesiastics to that of the barons or nobles.(2)

The affairs of Italy being thus settled, Charles returned to France, and marched immediately against the Saxons, who had again revolted during his absence. But his wars with that barbarous, though brave and independent people, which lasted upwards of thirty years, and formed the principal business of his reign, could afford little pleasure to a humanized mind. I shall therefore only observe, that, after a number of battles gallantly fought, and many cruelties committed on both sides, the Saxons were totally subjected, and Germany became part of the empire of Charlemagne. A desire to convert the Saxons to Christianity seems to have been one of the principal motives for prosecuting this conquest; and as they were no less tenacious of their religion than their liberty, persecution marched in the train of war, and stained with blood the fetters of slavery.

Witikind, so deservedly celebrated by his nation, was the most eminent Saxon general during these hostilities. He frequently roused the drooping valour of his countrymen, and revived in their hearts the love of liberty and independency. Nor were they wanting to him in attachment, for which they severely paid. After an unsuccessful revolt, when they went to make submission to Charlemagne, he ordered four thousand five hundred of their principal men to be massacred, because they refused to deliver up their general.(3) An equal instance of severity is not, perhaps, to be met with in the history of mankind; especially if we consider, that the Saxons were not Charles's natural subjects, but an independent people struggling for freedom. Witikind at last submitted, and embraced Christianity, continuing ever after faithful to his engagements. But he could never inspire his associates with the same docile sentiments: they were continually revolting; and submitting, that they might have it in their power to revolt again. On the final reduction of their country, the more resolute spirits retired into Scandinavia, carrying along with them the vindictive hatred against the dominion and the religion of France.

A word here of religion.—Charlemagne very justly considered the mild doctrines of Christianity as the best means of taming a savage people; but he was mistaken in supposing that force will ever make Christians. His Capitulars for the Saxons are almost as barbarous as their manners. He obliged them, under pain of death, to receive baptism; he condemns to the severest punishments the breakers of Lent; in a word, he everywhere substitutes force for persuasion. Instead therefore of blaming the obstinacy of these barbarians, we ought to be filled with horror at the cruel bigotry of the conqueror.

Almost every year of Charles's reign was signalized by some military expe-

(1) Sigonius. ubi sup.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Eginhard. in *Annal.*

dition, though very different from those of our times. War was then carried on without any settled plan of operations. The troops were neither regularly disciplined nor paid. Every nobleman led forth his vassals, who were only obliged to serve for a certain time; so that there was a kind of necessity of concluding the war with the campaign. The army was dissolved on the approach of winter, and assembled next season, if necessary. Hence we are enabled to account for the circumstance which would otherwise appear inexplicable, in the reign of this great prince.—Beside the Lombards and Saxons, whom he conquered, Charles vanquished in several engagements the Abares or Huns, plundered the capital, and penetrated as far as Raab on the Danube. He likewise made an expedition into Spain, and carried his arms to the banks of the Ebro.(1)

Abdurrahman, the Moorish king, whom I have already mentioned, still reigned with lustre at Cordova. A superb mosque, now the cathedral of that city, six hundred feet in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth, supported by three hundred and sixty-five columns of alabaster, jasper, and black marble, continues to manifest the grandeur of this monarch. No other people but the Arabs could then either have conceived or executed such a work. The little Christian king of the Asturias had prudently sued for peace from Abdurrahman; but the Moorish governors of Saragossa and Arragon having revolted, implored the assistance of Charlemagne, offering to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Willing to extend his empire on that side, Charles crossed the Pyrenees with all expedition, took Pampeluna and Saragossa, and re-established the Moorish governors under his protection. In repassing the mountains, his rear-guard was defeated by the duke of Gascony, at Roncevaux.(2) Here fell the famous Roland, so much celebrated in romance, and represented as nephew to Charlemagne; though history only tells us that he commanded on the frontiers of Bretagne.

But Charles, though engaged in so many wars, was far from neglecting the arts of peace, the happiness of his subjects, or the cultivation of his own mind. Government, manners, religion, and letters, were his constant study. He frequently convened the national assemblies, for regulating affairs both of church and state. In these assemblies he proposed such laws as he considered to be of public benefit, and allowed the same liberty to others; but of this liberty, indeed, it would have been difficult to deprive the French nobles, who had been accustomed, from the foundation of the monarchy, to share the legislation with their sovereign. His attention extended even to the most distant corner of his empire, and to all ranks of men. Sensible how much mankind in general reverence old customs, and those constitutions under which they have lived from their youth, he permitted the inhabitants of all the countries that he conquered to retain their own laws, making only such alterations as he judged absolutely necessary for the good of the community. He was particularly tender of the common people, and every where studied their ease and advantage. This benevolence of mind, which can never be sufficiently admired, was both more necessary and more meritorious in those times, as the commonalty were then in a state of almost universal oppression, and scarcely thought entitled to the common sympathies of humanity. The same love of mankind led him to repair and form public roads; to build bridges, where necessary; to make rivers navigable, for the purpose of commerce; and to project that grand canal, which would have opened a communication between the German Ocean and the Black Sea, by uniting the Danube and the Rhine.(3) This illustrious project failed in the execution, for want of those machines which art has since constructed. But the greatness of the conception, and the honour of having attempted it, were beyond the power of contingencies: and posterity has done justice to the memory of Charles, by considering him, on account of that and his other public spirited plans, as one of those few conquerors who did not merely desolate the earth; as a hero

(1) Eginhard. in *Annal.*

(2) Eginhard. *Vit. Car. Mag.*

(3) Eginhard. *ubi sup.*

truly worthy of the name, who sought to unite his own glory with the welfare of his species.

This great prince was no less amiable in private life than illustrious in his public character. He was an affectionate father, a fond husband, and a generous friend. His house was a model of economy, and his person of simplicity and true grandeur. "For shame!" said he to some of his nobles, who were finer dressed than the occasion required; "learn to dress like men, and let the world judge of your rank by your merit, not your habit. Leave silks and finery to women, or reserve them for those days of pomp and ceremony when robes are worn for show, not use." On some occasions he himself appeared in imperial magnificence, and freely indulged in every luxury; but in general his dress was plain, and his table frugal. His only excess was in the pleasure of the sexes, at once the most natural and the most excusable: and this, it must be owned, he sometimes carried to such a height as to endanger his very athletic constitution, he being almost seven feet high, and proportionably strong. He had his set hours for study, which he seldom omitted, either in the camp or the court; and notwithstanding his continual wars, and unremitted attention to the affairs of a great empire, he found leisure to collect the old French poems and historical ballads, with a view to illustrate the history of the monarchy. The loss of this collection is much to be lamented, and could never have happened if every one had been as well acquainted with its importance as Charles. But he was the phoenix of his age; and, though not altogether free from its prejudices, his liberal and comprehensive mind, which examined every thing, and yet found time for all things, would have done honour to the most enlightened period. He was fond of the company of learned men, and assembled them about him from all parts of Europe, forming in his palace a kind of academy, of which he himself condescended to become a member. He also established schools, in the cathedrals and principal abbeys, for teaching writing, arithmetic, grammar, and church music; (1) certainly no very elevated sciences, yet considerable at a time when many dignified ecclesiastics could not subscribe to the canons of those councils in which they sat as members, (2) and when it was deemed a sufficient qualification for a priest to be able to read the Gospels and understand the Lord's prayer. (3)

Alcuin, our learned countryman, was the companion and particular favourite of Charlemagne; instructed him in the sciences, and was at the head of his royal academy. A circumstance so much to the honour of this island should not be omitted by a British historian. Three rich abbeys were the reward of the learning and talents of Alcuin. This benevolence has been thought to border on profusion; but in that age of darkness, when even an enthusiastic zeal for letters was a virtue, no encouragement could be too great for the illuminators of the human mind.

Had Charles's religious enthusiasm been attended with no worse consequences than his literary ardour, his piety would have been as deservedly admired as his taste. But a blind zeal for the propagation of Christianity, which extinguished his natural feelings, made him guilty, as we have already seen, of severities that shock humanity; and a superstitious attachment to the See of Rome, which mingled itself with his policy, led him to engage in theological disputes and quibbles unworthy of his character. The honours which his father Pepin and he owed to the popes can only render him in any degree excusable. But although the theological side of Charles's character is by no means the brightest, it merits your attention, as it serves to show the prejudices of the age, the littlenesses of a great man, and the great effects that frequently proceed from little causes.

As Charlemagne was equally a friend to religion and letters, and as any learning which yet remained among mankind, in our quarter of the globe, was monopolised by the clergy, it is not surprising that they obtained many

(1) Eginhard, *Vit. Car. Mag.*

(3) Reg. Brunleis. ap. Bruck. *Hist. Philos.*

(2) *Nov. Traite Diplom.*

singular marks of his favour. Even the payment of tithes, then considered as a grievous oppression, but which he ordered as a compensation for the lands withheld from the church; and the consequence which he gave to churchmen, by admitting them into the national assemblies, and associating them along with the counts in the administration of justice; appear less extravagant than his sitting himself in councils merely ecclesiastical, assembled about the most frivolous points of a vain theology. But, like some princes of later times, Charles seems to have been ambitious to be considered not only as the protector, but the head of the church; and his power, and munificence made this usurpation be overlooked, notwithstanding the height at which the papal dignity had then arrived. We accordingly find him seated on a throne in the council of Frankfort, with one of the pope's legates on each hand, and three hundred bishops waiting his nod.

The purpose of that council was to examine the doctrine of two Spanish bishops, who, in order to refute the accusation of polytheism, brought against the Christians by the Jews and Mahometans, maintained that Jesus Christ is the son of God only by adoption. The king opened the assembly himself, and proposed the condemnation of this heresy. The council decided conformably to his will: and in a letter to the churches of Spain, in consequence of that decision, Charles expresses himself in these remarkable words: "You entreat me to judge of myself: I have done so: I have assisted as an auditor, and an arbiter, in an assembly of bishops: we have examined, and, by the grace of God, we have settled, what must be believed!" Neither Constantine nor any other of the Greek emperors, so jealous of their theological prerogative, ever used a more positive language.

Charlemagne went still farther in the question of images. *LEC IV.* the son of Constantine Copronymus, as zealous an image-breaker as his father, had banished his wife Irene, because she hid images beneath her pillow. This devout and ambitious princess coming afterward to the government, during the minority of her son Constantine Porphyrogenetus, with whom she was associated in the empire, re-established that worship which she loved, from policy no less than piety. The second council of Nice accordingly decreed, That we ought to render to images an *honorary* worship, but not a real *adoration*, which is due to God alone. Unfortunately, however, the translation of the acts of this council, which Pope Adrian sent into France, was so defective, that the sense of the article relating to images was entirely perverted, running thus; "I receive and honour images according to that adoration which I pay to the Trinity." Charles was so much incensed at this impiety, that he composed, by the assistance of clergy, and published in his own name, what are called the *Caroline Books*, in which the council of Nice is treated with the utmost contempt and abuse. He sent these books to Adrian I. desiring him to excommunicate the empress and her son. The pope prudently excused himself on the score of images, making Charles sensible of the mistake upon which he had proceeded; but he insinuated at the same time, that he would declare Irene and Constantine heretics, unless they restored certain lands which had belonged to the church; artfully hinting at certain projects which he had formed for the *exaltation* of the Roman church and the French monarchy.⁽¹⁾ The exaltation of the monarchy was at hand, though Adrian did not live to be the instrument of it.

Leo III. who succeeded Adrian in the papacy, sent immediately to Charlemagne the standard of Rome, begging him to send some person to receive the oath of fidelity from the Romans;⁽²⁾ a most flattering instance of submission, as well as a proof that the sovereignty of Rome, at that time, belonged to the kings of France. Three years after, Pascal and Campule, two nephews of the late pope, not only offered themselves as accusers of Leo, but attacked him in the public streets, wounded him in several places, and dragged him half dead into the church of St. Mark. He made his escape by

(1) *Elemens d'Hist. Gen.* par M. Abbé Millot, par. II. tom. I.

(2) *Eginhard. In Vit. Car. Mag.*

the assistance of some friends; and the duke of Spoleto, general of the French forces, sent him under an escort to Charlemagne. Charles received him with all possible marks of respect, sent him back with a numerous retinue of guards and attendants, and went soon after to Italy in person to do him justice.(1)

On the arrival of the French monarch at Rome, he spent six days in private conferences with the pope; after which he convoked the bishops and nobles, to examine the accusation brought against the pontiff. "The apostolic see," exclaimed the bishops, "cannot be judged by man!" Leo, however, spoke to the accusation: he said the king came to *know the cause*; and, no proof appearing against him, he purged himself by oath.

The trial of a pope was doubtless an uncommon scene, but one soon followed yet more extraordinary. On Christmas-day, as the king assisted at mass in St. Peter's church, in the midst of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and while he was on his knees before the altar, the supreme pontiff advanced, and put an imperial crown upon his head. As soon as the people perceived it, they cried, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God!—Long live the great and pious emperor of the Romans." During these acclamations, the pope conducted him to a magnificent throne, which had been prepared for the purpose; and as soon as he was seated, paid him those honours which his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the Roman emperors, declaring that, instead of the title of Patrician, he should henceforth style him Emperor and Augustus. Leo now presented him with the imperial mantle; with which being invested, Charles returned amid the acclamations of the populace to his palace.(2)

The pope had surely no right to proclaim an emperor; but Charles was worthy of the imperial ensigns: and although he cannot properly be ranked among the successors of Augustus, he is justly considered as the founder of the New Empire of the West.

Charlemagne was no sooner proclaimed emperor than his title was universally acknowledged; and he received several embassies, which must have given him high satisfaction, as they did equal honour to the prince and the man. Irene, empress of the east, the most artful and ambitious woman of her time, who had deposed her son Constantine, that she might reign alone, made the new emperor a proposal of marriage. This proposal was made with a view to secure her Italian dominions, which she was informed Charles intended to seize; and the marriage treaty was actually concluded, when Nicephorus, the patrician, conspired against Irene, banished her to the island of Lesbos, and ascended the imperial throne. Nicephorus also fearing the power of Charles, sent ambassadors to him under the title of Augustus. They settled the limits of the two empires, by a new treaty; according to which, Calabria, Sicily, the sea-coast of Naples, Dalmatia, and Venice, were to continue under the dominion of the emperors of Constantinople.(3) This treaty proves that the Venetians were not yet altogether independent; but they aspired at independency, and soon deservedly obtained it.

The renown of Charles extended even into Asia. He kept a correspondence with the famous Harun-al-Raschid, the twenty-fifth caliph, and one of those who contributed most to enlighten and polish the Arabs. This prince valued the friendship of Charlemagne above that of all other potentates; as a proof of which, he complimented him with an embassy soon after he was proclaimed emperor, and ceded to him, if not the lordship of Jerusalem, as some authors affirm, at least the holy places in that city, whither devotion already led a great number of Christians. Among the presents which the ambassadors of Al-Raschid brought into France was a striking clock, the first ever seen in that kingdom; for, notwithstanding the efforts of Charlemagne to enlighten his nation, the scholars of his court were by no means equal to those of the caliph's in knowledge, nor his people in the arts, either liberal or mechanical. The Arabs might then have been preceptors to all Europe

(1) Anast. in *Vit. Leon.*(2) Id. ib. Eginhard. in *Annal.*(3) Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mar. Adon. Chron. Theoph. Chronographia.*

I must here say a few words of this surprising phenomenon.

The Abbassides having ascended the throne of Mahomet, transferred the seat of the caliphat from Damascus to Caffa, and afterward to Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris. Thither the caliph Al-Mansur attracted the arts and sciences. The Greeks had furnished ideas, and communicated taste to their barbarous conquerors—a species of triumph reserved for civilized nations, even in a state of servitude. Al-Mohdi, successor of Al-Mansur, cultivated these precious seeds; and Al-Raschid, successor of Al-Mohdi, augmented their fecundity by his knowledge and attention, being equally liberal and enlightened. Under Al-Mamun, Al-Motasem, Al-Watheck, and their immediate successors, the sciences flourished still more; but, at length, dissensions and civil wars robbed the Arabs, in their turn, of the fruits of genius and the lights of learning, which are almost inseparable from public tranquillity.

In all nations the same revolutions are produced by the same causes. Nothing merits your attention more in the study of history.

One of the principal causes of the fall of empires has ever been, but more especially in modern times, the error of dividing the same monarchy among different princes. The custom was established before Charlemagne: he followed it by a testamentary division of his dominions, among his three sons, Charles, Pepin, and Lewis. The particulars of this division are of little consequence, as Lewis only survived his father. It is necessary, however, to observe, that the Italian provinces were assigned to Pepin; a donation which was confirmed to his son Bernard, with the title of King of Italy, and proved the ruin of that prince, as well as the cause of much disturbance to the empire.

In the mean time, the emperor was threatened by a new enemy, and the most formidable he had ever encountered. The Normans, as the French call them, or the inhabitants of the great northern peninsula of Europe, (whom I shall afterward have occasion more particularly to mention) had long harassed the coasts of his extensive dominions with their robberies and piracies; and, notwithstanding the wise measures of Charles, who created a powerful marine, and took every other precaution against their ravages, they not only continued their depredations, but made a formal descent in Friezland, under Godfrey their king, laying every thing waste before them. Charles assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and was preparing for a decisive battle, which might perhaps have terminated the empire of the Franks, as Godfrey was not inferior to the emperor either in valour or military skill, and had a numerous body of fearless adventurers under his command. But the issue of this battle was prevented by the death of the Norman prince, who was assassinated by one of his followers. His forces were immediately re-embarked, and a peace was afterward concluded with his son.(1)

The satisfaction which Charles must have received from this deliverance, and the general tranquillity which he now enjoyed, was more than balanced by his domestic misfortunes. He lost his favourite daughter Rotrude (for whom he is supposed to have felt more than a fatherly affection), his son Pepin, and his son Charles. Soon after the death of Charles, he associated his son Lewis with him in the empire. The ceremony was very solemn. As if this great man had foreseen the usurpations of the church, he placed the imperial crown upon the altar, and ordered the prince to lift it, and set it on his own head;(2) intimating thereby, that he held it only of God.

The emperor died at Aix-la-Chapelle, his usual residence, in the seventy-first year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign. The glory of the French empire seemed to expire with him. He possessed all France, all Germany, part of Hungary, part of Spain, the Low Countries, and the Continent of Italy as far as Benevento.(3) But to govern such an extent of territory, a monarch must be endowed with the genius of a Charlemagne.

(1) Adon. Chron. Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.*

(2) *Vit. Ludovici Pii.*

(3) Eginhard. ubi sup.

LETTER X.

Empire of Charlemagne and the Church, from the Accession of his Son, Lewis the Debonnaire, to the Death of Charles the Bald.

THE history of Europe, for several ages after the death of Charlemagne, is little more than a catalogue of crimes, and a register of the debasing effects of ignorance and superstition. His empire soon experienced the fate of Alexander's. It had quickly attained its height; and yet, while animated by the superior genius of Charles, it possessed a surprising degree of strength and harmony. But these not being natural to the feudal system, the discordant elements began to separate under his son Lewis the Debonnaire, so called on account of the gentleness of his manners; and that vast body, no longer informed by the same spirit, was in a short time entirely dismembered.

Lewis, though a prince of some abilities, was unable to support so great a weight of empire: and his piety and parental fondness, however amiable in themselves, enfeebled a character already too weak, and an authority never respected. He rendered himself odious to the clergy by attempting to reform certain abuses, without foreseeing that this powerful body would not pay the same submission they had yielded to the superior capacity of his father. More religious than political, he spent less time in settling the affairs of his empire than those of his soul; ignorant that true religion consists in fulfilling the duties of our station, and that the practices of the cloister are improperly associated with the functions of the throne. But his greatest error was occasioned by his paternal affection, and a blind imitation of his father's example, in dividing his dominions among his children. Soon after his accession to the throne, he associated his eldest son Lothario with him in the empire; he created Pepin king of Aquitaine; Lewis, king of Bavaria; and, after the ceremony of coronation was over, he sent them to the government of their respective kingdoms.(1)

Bernard, king of Italy, the grandson of Charlemagne, was offended at that division. He thought his right to the empire superior to Lothario's, as his father Pepin was the elder brother of Lewis. The archbishops of Milan and Cremona flattered him in his pretensions; he revolted, and levied war against his uncle, in contempt of the imperial authority, to which his crown was subject. Lewis acted on this occasion with more vigour than either his friends or his enemies expected: he immediately raised a powerful army, and was preparing to cross the Alps, when Bernard was abandoned by his troops. That unfortunate prince was made prisoner, and condemned to lose his head; but his uncle, by a singular kind of lenity, mitigated the sentence to the loss of his eyes. He died three days after the punishment was inflicted; and Lewis, to prevent future troubles, ordered three natural sons of Charlemagne to be shaved, and shut up in a convent.(2)

In consequence of these rigours, the emperor was seized with keen remorse; accusing himself of the murder of his nephew, and of tyrannic cruelty to his brothers, inhumanly secluded from the world. He was encouraged by the monks in this melancholy humour; which at last grew to such a height, that he impeached himself in an assembly of the states, and begged the bishops to enjoin him public penance.(3) The clergy now sensible of Lewis's weakness, set no bounds to their usurpations. The popes thought they might do any thing under so pious a prince; they did not wait for the emperor's confirmation of their election, but immediately assumed the tiara, and were guilty of every other irregularity. The bishops exalted themselves above the throne, and the whole fraternity of the church claimed an exemption from all civil jurisdiction. Even that set of men who pretend to renounce the world, the monks, seemed to aspire at the government of it.

(1) Nithard. *de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.*
Reb Gest. Lud. Pii.

(2) *Vit. Lud. Pii.*

(3) Theophan. *de*

Lewis, by the advice of his ministers, who were desirous to divert him from his monastic habits, had married a second wife, whose name was Judith, descended from one of the noblest families in Bavaria, and distinguished both by her mental and personal qualities. That princess brought him a son, afterward known by the name of Charles the Bald, whose birth was the occasion of much joy, but proved eventually the cause of many sorrows. For this son there was no inheritance, the imperial dominions being already divided among the children of the first marriage. The empress, who had gained a great ascendancy over her husband, therefore, pressed Lewis to place her son Charles on a footing with his other children, by a new division of the empire.(1) Aquitaine and Bavaria were small kingdoms, from them nothing could be expected; but Lothario's share was large, and might spare a little. Sensible of the wishes of his indulgent father, and prevailed on by the entreaties of his fond mother, Lothario consented that some provision should accordingly be made for his brother Charles. But he soon repented of his too easy concession, and the three brothers joined in a rebellion against their father;(2) the most singular circumstance, perhaps, to be met with in history.

These disorders we refostered by Walla, abbot of Corbie, a monk of high birth, who had formally been in the confidence of Lewis, but was now in disgrace. He declaimed against the court, and against the empress in particular, accusing her of an adulterous commerce with count Bernard, the prime minister. His schemes succeeded. The emperor was abandoned by his army, and made prisoner, along with his wife Judith, and her son Charles. The empress was shut up in a cloister, and Lewis himself would have been obliged to take the monastic habit, had it not been supposed that he would make a voluntary resignation of his crown. He had the courage, however, to insist on the rectitude of his intentions, while he acknowledged his errors, and promised to act with more circumspection in future. The nobility pitied their humbled sovereign; and by the intrigues of the monk Gombaud, who sowed dissensions among the brothers, Lewis was restored to his dignity, and seemingly reconciled with his family.(3)

The first use that the emperor made of his liberty was to recall his consort to court, though not without the permission of the pope, as she had formally taken the veil. Bernard was also recalled, and Walla banished; yet Lewis did not long enjoy either peace or tranquillity. The monk Gombaud thought he had a right to be prime minister, as the reward of his services: and as women generally repay flattery with favour, they as generally reserve vengeance for insult; the empress brought her animosities along with her. Walla's friends were persecuted, and Lothario was deprived of the title of emperor, that the succession might be reserved for young Charles. The three brothers again associated themselves in a league against their father.(4) Count Bernard, dissatisfied with his master's conduct, joined the rebels; and Gregory IV. then pope, went to France in the army of Lothario, under pretence of accommodating matters, but really with an intention to employ against the emperor that power which he derived from him, glad of an opportunity to assert the supremacy and independency of the Holy See.

The presence of the pope, in those days of superstition, was of itself sufficient to determine the fate of Lewis. After a deceitful negotiation, and an interview with Gregory on the part of Lothario, the unfortunate emperor found himself abandoned by his army, and at the mercy of his rebellious sons. He was deposed in a tumultuous assembly held on the spot, and Lothario proclaimed in his stead.(5) After that infamous transaction the pope returned to Rome.

In order to give permanency to this revolution, as well as to apologise for their own conduct, the bishops of Lothario's faction bethought themselves of an artifice, like that which had been made use of to degrade king Wamba in Spain. "A penitent," said they, "is incapable of all civil offices; a royal

(1) *Vit. Lud. Pii.*(2) *Nithard. ubi. sup.*(3) *Theogan. de Gest. Lud. Pii*(4) *Nithard. de Dissent. Filior. Lud. Pii.*(5) *Theogan. de Gest. Lud. Pii.*

penitent must then be incapable of reigning; let us subject Lewis to a perpetual penance, and he can never ascend the throne." He was accordingly arraigned in the assembly of the states, by Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims (who had been raised by his bounty from the condition of a slave), and condemned to do penance for life.(1)

Lewis was then a prisoner in the monastery of St. Medard, at Soissons; and, being much intimidated, he patiently submitted to a ceremony no less solemn than debasing. He prostrated himself on a hair-cloth, which was spread before the altar, and owned himself guilty of the charge brought against him, in the presence of many bishops, canons, and monks; Lothario being also present, in order to enjoy the sight of his father's humiliation. But this acknowledgment was not enough; they gave him a written confession to read aloud, in which he is made to accuse himself of sacrilege and murder, and to number among his crimes the marching of troops in Lent, calling an assembly on Holy Thursday, and taking arms to defend himself against his rebellious children!—for superstition can transform into crimes the most innocent and even the most necessary actions. After having finished his confession, this unhappy prince, by order of the ungrateful archbishop, laid aside his sword and belt, divested himself of the royal robes, put on the penitential sackcloth, and had a cell assigned him.(2)

But the feelings of nature, and the voice of humanity, prevailed over the prejudices of the age, and the policy of the clergy. Lothario was universally abhorred, and his father no less generally pitied: his two brothers united against him in behalf of that father whom they had contributed to humble. The nobility returned to their obedience: they paid homage to Lewis as their lawful sovereign; and the ambitious Lothario was obliged to crave mercy, in the sight of the whole army, at the feet of a father, and an emperor, whom he had lately insulted in the habit of a penitent.(3) He received it, and was permitted to retain the kingdom of Italy.

Lewis immediately demanded absolution, (such was his weakness!) and an assembly held at Thionville formally restored him to his dignity, declaring void every thing that had been done at Soissons. He might now have ended his days in peace, but for the intrigues of the empress Judith, who, still ambitious of the aggrandizement of her son Charles, again entered into a negotiation with Lothario, in consequence of the death of his brother Pepin. An assembly was held at Worms, to which he was invited. His father received him kindly, the empress loaded him with caresses. The kingdom of Neustria had been lately added to the dominions originally assigned her son; and the object of all these intrigues was, to engage Lothario in a scheme by which Charles should also become possessed of the kingdom of Aquitaine, at the expense of Pepin's children. Lothario assented to what he was not in a condition to dispute. But Lewis, king of Bavaria, though not injured by this new division of the empire, was so much incensed at this injustice, as he pretended, that he assembled the whole force of his dominions. His father marched against him, but was suddenly taken ill; and an eclipse of the sun happening at the same time, the superstitious old man had the vanity to think that Heaven had taken the trouble to foretell to mankind the death of a prince whose very virtues dishonoured the throne, and who should never have stirred beyond the walls of a cloister. He therefore repeatedly received the communion, and scarce any other nourishment, till his piety fulfilled the prediction which his folly had suggested.(4)

Lewis died near Mentz, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his reign. He left a crown, a sceptre, and a very rich sword, to Lothario, by which it was supposed he also left him the empire, on condition that he should fulfil his engagement to the empress and her son Charles. His brother, the bishop of Mentz, observing that he had left nothing to his son Lewis, then in arms against him, reminded him that forgiveness at least was his duty. "Yes, I forgive him!" cried the dying monarch with

(1) Theogan. *de Gest. Lud. Pii.*

(2) *Act. Exavet. Lud. Pii.*

(3) Nithard. *de Dis. Lud. Pii.*

(4) *Vit. Lud. Pii. Annal. Bertiniani.* Theogan. *de Gest. Lud. Pii.*

much emotion; but tell him from me, to seek forgiveness also of God, for bringing my gray hairs in sorrow to the grave.(1)

A bad son, my dear Philip, is not likely to make a good brother; for the natural feelings in the second relation are necessarily weaker than in the first: you must therefore expect to see the sons of Lewis the Debonnaire armed against each other. No sooner was Lothario informed of his father's death, than he considered himself as emperor in the most extensive sense of the word, and resolved to make himself master of the whole imperial dominions, regardless of his engagements with Judith and her son Charles the Bald, or the right of his brother Lewis to the kingdom of Bavaria. And he seemed likely to obtain the object of his ambition. He was a prince of great subtlety and address, could wear the complexion of the times, and was possessed of an extensive territory, beside the title of emperor, which was still much respected: he therefore assured himself of success against his brothers; Charles being only a youth of seventeen, under the tuition of his mother, and Lewis a prince of no high reputation. He was deceived, however, in his conjectures. These two princes, united by a sense of common interest, gave him a battle at Fontenai, in Burgundy, where fraternal hatred appeared in all its horrors. Few engagements have been so bloody. A hundred thousand men are said to have fallen on the spot. Lothario and his nephew Pepin (who had joined him to assert his right to the crown of Aquitaine,) were totally defeated.(2) Pepin fled to Aquitaine, and Lothario towards Italy, abandoning France to the victorious army.

Nothing now remained for Lewis and Charles but to secure their conquests. For this purpose they applied to the clergy; and with hopes so much the better founded, that Lothario, in order to raise troops with more expedition, had promised the Saxons the liberty of renouncing Christianity, or, in other words, liberty of conscience—a thing held in abhorrence by the church of Rome. Several bishops assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle; and, after examining the misconduct of the emperor, asked the two princes, whether they chose to follow his example, or govern according to the laws of God? Their answer may be easily imagined. "Receive then the kingdom by the divine authority," added the prelates: "we exhort you, we command you to receive it."(3)

This command would have taken effect in its most extensive meaning, if Lothario had respected it as much as his brothers. But that artful prince, by means of his indulgence to the Saxons, and other political expedients, was enabled to set on foot a new army. He became again formidable. The two victorious princes, therefore, thought it advisable to negotiate with him. By a new treaty of division, he was left in possession of the kingdom of Italy, with the imperial dignity, and the countries situated between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine. Charles retained Neustria and Aquitaine; and Lewis, afterward styled the German, had all the provinces on the other side of the Rhine, and some cities on this side of it.(4)

The extinction of the civil war made but one evil less in the empire of Charlemagne, ravaged in different parts by the Normans, and by the Saracens, who pillaged Italy. The turbulent independency of the nobles, accustomed during the last reign to despise the prince and the laws, the discontents of the clergy, and the ambitious projects of both, were the source of new troubles. Every thing threatened the most fatal revolutions, every thing tended to anarchy.

In order to lessen these evils, the three brothers entered into an association, the effect of weakness more than affection, by which the enemies of one were to be considered as the enemies of all, (so low was the empire of the great Charles!) and in an assembly held at Mersen on the Meuse, they settled certain constitutions relative to the succession, and other public matters. By these it was established, that the children of the reigning prince, whether of age or under age, should succeed to his dominions, and owe

(1) *Vit. Lud. Pii.*

(2) Nithard. *de Dissent. Lud. Pii. Annal. Metens.*

(3) Nithard. *de Dissent. Lud. Pii.*

(4) Nithard. *ubi sup.*

nothing to the other princes of the monarchy but the respect due to the ties of blood;(1) a regulation well calculated to prevent civil wars, though it proved ineffectual in those disorderly times. But other constitutions of the assembly at Mersen tended to enfeeble the royal authority, which had already but too much need of support. They provide, that the crown vassals shall no longer be obliged to follow the king, unless in general wars, occasioned by foreign invasions; and that every free man shall be at liberty to choose, whether he will be the vassal of the king or of a subject.(2) The first of these regulations increased the independency of the crown vassals, and the second their power, by augmenting the number of their retainers; for many persons chose rather to depend upon some neighbouring nobleman, whose immediate protection they might claim (at a time when protection was necessary, independent of the laws), than on the sovereign, whose attention they had less reason to expect, and whose aid was more distant or doubtful.

Lothario, some years after, took the habit of a monk, that, according to the language of those times, he might atone for his crimes; and, though he had lived a tyrant, die a saint. In this pious disguise he expired before he had worn it quite a week. He had divided his dominions among his children; and, by virtue of the treaty of Mersen, they quietly succeeded to their allotments. Lewis had Italy with the title of emperor; Lothario the provinces between the Rhone, the Somme, the Meuse, the Escaut, and the Rhine, called from his own name the kingdom of Lotharingia, and by corruption Lorrain. Charles had Provence, Dauphiné, and part of Burgundy. He took the title of king of Provence. One might have imagined there were now kings enough in this monarchy; yet Charles the Bald declared his infant son king of Aquitaine.(3)

Thus was the empire of Charlemagne, split by continual subdivisions, the source of perpetual wars, till it became, to use the language of Shakspeare, only "a stage to feed contention on." Foreign invasions conspired with civil dissensions to spread terror and disorder in every quarter; but more especially through the dominions of Charles the Bald—a prince as weak as his father, and restless as his mother. The Normans carried fire and sword into the heart of his kingdom, to Rouen, and even to the gates of Paris. Young Pepin, son of the last king of Aquitaine, joined the invaders, and ravaged that country over which he had been born to reign. Nomenoe, duke of Bretagne, usurped the title of king, which Charles was obliged to confirm to his son Herispee, by whom he had been totally defeated. The spirit of revolt became every day more general. Some factious nobles invited Lewis the German to usurp his brother's kingdom. He came at the head of a powerful army, and received the homage of the principal nobility. Venilon, archbishop of Sens, and other prelates of Lewis's party, at the same time declared that Charles had forfeited his dignity by mal-administration, and crowned his brother the German.(4)

Charles, however, recovered his kingdom as quickly as he had lost it. The prelates of his party excommunicated those who had dethroned him; which brought the rebels into contempt, and even abhorrence. Lewis sent back his army into Germany, that he might not give umbrage to the French, and he was afterward obliged to take the same route himself.(5) Charles no sooner appeared than he was universally acknowledged; his restoration did not cost a single blow. The most terrible anathemas were now denounced against Lewis the German by the French clergy, unless he submitted to the rigours of the church, among which were included penance; and he was weak enough to reply, that he must first consult the bishops of his own kingdom.(6)

The weakness of Charles the Bald was still more extraordinary. Having assembled a council to judge the traitor Venilon, he presented a memorial against him, in which is the following singular passage: "I ought not to have been *deposed*, or at least not before I had been *judged* by the bishops,

(1) *Annal. Bertiniani.*(4) *Annal. Bertiniani. Concil. Gal. tom. ii.*(2) *Ibid.*(5) *Annal. Bertin.*(3) *Annal. Fuldens.*(6) *Ibid.*

who gave me the *royal authority*! I have always *submitted* to their *correction*, and am ready now to *submit* to it! Venilon escaped punishment by making his peace with the prince: and the bishops of the council bound themselves by a canon to remain united, “for the *correction* of *kings*, the *nobility*, and the *people*!”⁽¹⁾

A variety of circumstances show, that the clergy now aspired at the right of disposing of crowns, which they founded on the custom of anointing kings. They employed fictions and sophisms to render themselves independent: they refused the oath of fealty, “because sacred hands could not, without abomination, submit to hands impure!”⁽²⁾ One usurpation led to another; abuse constituted right—a quibble appeared a divine law. Ignorance sanctified every thing: and we may safely conclude from the abject language of Charles, in publicly acknowledging the right of the bishops to depose him, and other examples of a like nature, that the usurpations of the clergy were in a great measure occasioned by the slavish superstition of the laity, equally blind, wicked, and devout.

The zeal of the bishops to establish their independency was favourable to the projects of the court of Rome. Sergius II. the successor of Gregory IV. had taken possession of the Apostolic See, in 844, without the approbation of Lothario, then emperor. Incensed at such an insult, Lothario sent his son Lewis to Rome with troops and prelates. The pope having conducted the prince to St. Peter's gate, said to him, “I permit you to enter, if your intentions are good; if not, I will not suffer you to enter!” and the French soldiers being guilty of some irregularities, he actually ordered the gates to be shut. Lothario complained; Sergius was cited to appear before a council; he appeared, and justified himself in the eye of the priesthood.⁽³⁾ Leo IV. celebrated for the courage with which he defended Rome against the Saracens, and Benedict III. elected in spite of the emperor, both lived in peace with royalty; but Nicholas I. more bold than any of his predecessors, made himself the judge of kings and bishops, and realized the chimera of lying decretals.

A grand occasion offered in France for Nicholas to exercise that authority which he attributed to himself. Lothario, king of Lorraine, divorced his wife Teutberge, falsely accused of incest. She was cleared by the trial of boiling water, but afterward convicted by her own confession—if an involuntary acknowledgment, the effect of violence and fear, can be called conviction. A council held at Aix-la-Chapelle authorized Lothario to espouse Waldrade, a young lady whom he had seduced. The guilty parties were equally desirous of this marriage; a criminal amour had drawn them to the brink of dishonour. The scandal was horrible! Nicholas laid hold of the affair, and attempted to force the king to take back his first wife. For this purpose he ordered the bishops to hold a council at Metz, along with his legates, and there to cite and judge Lothario. They confirmed the divorce, contrary to the expectations of the pontiff; a decree which so much enraged him, that he deposed the bishops of Treves and Cologne, who had been appointed to present to him the acts of the council. These bishops complained to the emperor Lewis II. He went immediately to Rome, displayed his authority, and seemed determined to repress the papal power. But he fell ill: a superstitious fear seized him; and retired, after having approved the conduct of Nicholas, who became still more imperious. Lothario humbled himself in vain before the haughty pontiff; though he went so far as to offer to come and justify himself in person. The pope insisted, that Waldrade should first be dismissed; and a legate threatened the king with immediate excommunication, if he continued in disobedience. Lothario, intimidated, now submitted: he recalled Teutberge, and even consented that the legate should lead Waldrade in triumph to Rome. She set out on that mortifying journey, but escaped by the way: and, in a short time, resumed her place both as mis-

(1) *Concil. Galat. tom. ii. Fleury, Hist. Eccles.*

(3) *Concil. Gal. tom. ii. Fleury, Hist. Eccles.*

(2) *Hist. de l'Eglise &c. l'ie*

tress and queen. Meanwhile the unfortunate Teutberge, sinking beneath the weight of persecution and neglect, at last desired to be separated from Lothario, protesting that her marriage was void, and that Waldrade's was legitimate. But nothing could move the inflexible Nicholas: he continued obstinate.(1)

We may consider this pope as the forerunner of Gregory VII., and, in the same circumstances, he would likely have carried his ambition to the same height. The bishops of Treves and Cologne accused him, in an invective, of making himself *emperor* of the whole world; and that expression, though somewhat strained, was not altogether without foundation. He asserted his dominion over the French clergy, by re-establishing Rothade of Soissons, deposed by a provincial council; and he received appeals from all ecclesiastics dissatisfied with their bishops. By these means he accustomed the people to acknowledge a supreme tribunal at a distance from their own country, and consequently a foreign sway. He gave orders for the succession to the kingdom of Provence, which Charles the Bald disputed with the emperor Lewis, brother to the deceased king. "Let nobody hinder the emperor," says he, in a letter on that subject, "to govern the kingdoms which he holds in virtue of a succession confirmed by the Holy See, and by the crown which the sovereign pontiff has set upon his head."(2)

Nicholas died in 867; but his principles had taken such deep root, that Adrian II., his successor, though more moderate, and desirous of peace, thought his condescension great in permitting Lothario to come to Rome, in order to justify himself, or do penance. Charles the Bald and Lewis the German waited with impatience for the excommunication of their nephew, persuaded that they should then have a right to seize his dominions. Thus the blind ambition of princes favoured the exercise of a power, which they ought to have foreseen might be turned against themselves; which afterward became the scourge of royalty, and made every crowned head tremble.

Lothario, while at Rome, employed all possible means to soften the pope; he received the communion from his hand, after having sworn he never had any criminal commerce with Waldrade, since the prohibition of Nicholas, nor ever would have any in future.(3) He died at Placentia, in his way home. This accident was considered as a just vengeance; as a mark of the divine displeasure against perjury, and rendered the proof by the eucharist still more important.

The emperor Lewis II. brother of Lothario, ought legally to have succeeded to his dominions; but he being at that time employed in expelling the Saracens, who had plundered Italy, and consequently not in a condition to assert his right by arms, Charles the Bald laid hold of the succession, and retained it, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the pope. "The arms which God has put into our hand," wrote Adrian, "are prepared for his defence!"(4) Charles was more afraid of the arms of his brother the German, with whom he found it necessary to share the kingdom, though the nobility and clergy of Lorrain had voluntarily submitted to him.

The pope still continued his remonstrances in favour of the emperor, hoping at least to obtain something for him; but they were disregarded by the French monarch, who had now thrown off much of his piety, and answered in a spirited manner by the famous Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims. This bold and independent prelate desired the pope to call to mind that respect and submission which the ancient pontiffs had always paid to princes: he bid him know that his dignity gave him no right over the government of kingdoms; that he could not be at the same time pope and king; that the choice of sovereigns belongs to the people; that anathemas ill applied have no effect upon the soul; and that free men are not to be enslaved by a bishop of Rome.(5)

Adrian affected to despise these arguments, and continued for some time

(1) Hincmar de Divort. Lothar. et Teutberg.
(3) Adon. Chron. Lotharii. Reg. Gest. Rom.

(2) Epist. Nicol. Pap.
(4) Epist. Adrian.

(5) Fleury, Hist. Eccles

his menaces, both against Hinemar and the king; but, finding them ineffectual, he changed his tone and wrote several flattering letters to Charles, promising him the empire on the death of his nephew, then in a languishing condition. This project in favour of the French monarch was executed under John VIII., Adrian's successor. The emperor Lewis II. died without male heirs. Lewis the German claimed the succession, and the imperial dignity, as the elder brother of Charles; but the pope preferred the claim of Charles for political reasons, which, with the court of Rome, never fail to take place of equity. Lewis seemed fast approaching to his end, and had three sons among whom his dominions must be divided. Charles was a younger man, and had only one son; he therefore appeared the most proper person to choose as a protector. He crossed the Alps at the head of his army, and accordingly received the imperial crown as a present from the pope; but much in the same manner that many presents of the like kind are obtained in our days, by paying roundly for it. In an assembly at Pavia, the bishops, abbots, and Italian nobles recognised him in the following words: "Since the divine favour, through the merits of the holy apostles, and of their vicar pope John, has raised you to the empire, according to the judgment of the Holy Ghost, we elect you unanimously for our protector and lord." (1)

On the death of Lewis the German, a prince of considerable abilities both as a warrior and politician, Charles the Bald, always ambitious and imprudent, attempted to seize that part of Lorraine which he had granted to his brother, and was deservedly defeated. (2) His three nephews, Carloman, Lewis, and Charles preserved their possessions by maintaining a strict union among themselves. The first had Bavaria, the second Saxony, and the third Suabia.

About this time the Saracens renewed the ravages in Italy. They took and plundered Comachio. Pope John had recourse to the emperor; and desired him "to remember the hand that had given him the empire; lest," added he, "if driven to despair, we should change our opinion!" The menace, sufficiently intelligible, had its effect. Though France was then overrun by the Normans, whom Charles was unable to resist, he undertook to expel the Saracens; and he was scarce arrived in Italy, when he received intelligence of a new enemy. Carloman, his nephew, had advanced against him, with an intention to seize the imperial crown and the kingdom of Italy, in virtue of his father's will, and the right of primogeniture. Charles, betrayed by his nobles, retired with precipitation; fell ill, and died in a miserable cottage, at a village called Brios, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. (3)

A caputular in the last year of Charles's reign permits the nobility to transmit their employments to their sons, or other male heirs. (4) This privilege, extorted from the crown, as I have already observed, (5) was one of the principal sources of disorder in the feudal government, and tended, as we shall have occasion to see, to the abolition of all political subjection. In the mean time, I must speak of a people, who deserve your attention, no less on account of their manners than their warlike achievements.

LETTER XI.

The Normans or Danes before their Settlement in France and England.

THE bravest and most liberal-minded of the Saxons, my dear Philip, on the final reduction of their country by Charlemagne, having fled from the dominion and persecutions of the conqueror into the ancient Scandinavia, or that part of the northern peninsula of Europe which comprehends the present kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, carried with them (as already observed) (6) their vengeance and violent aversion against Christianity

(1) Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.*
(4) *Cavit. Caroli. Calvi.*

(2) *Annal. Fuldens.*
(5) Letter II.

(3) *Signon de Reg. Ital. Annal. Bertiniani.*
(6) Letter IX.

There meeting with men of dispositions similar to their own, and the same religion with themselves, they were cordially received, and soon stimulated the natives to deeds of arms; to enterprises which at once promised revenge to the fugitives, and subsistence to the inhabitants of countries then overstocked with people.

In their various incursions on the continent, these ferocious adventurers were known by the general name of Normans, from their northern situation; and in their attacks upon Britain, by the common appellation of Danes, to whatever country they might belong. They became the terror of all the maritime parts of Europe: but before I speak of their depredations, I must say a few words of their religion and manners.

The manners of a people, and their popular superstition, depend mutually on each other. Religion takes its complexion originally from the manners: men form a deity according to their own ideas, their prejudices, their passions; and the manners are, in a great measure, continued or altered by the established religion of any country, especially if calculated to affect the imagination. The religion of the ancient Scandinavians was highly so, and was preserved entire among the Normans, who also retained their unadulterated manners. They were worthy of each other: equally bloody and barbarous, but formed to inspire the most enthusiastic courage, and the most unremitted perseverance in toil. Odin, whom the Saxons called Woden, was their supreme divinity. They painted him as the God of terror—the Author of devastation—the Father of carnage!—and they worshipped him accordingly. They sacrificed to him, when successful, some of the captives taken in war:—and they believed those heroes would stand highest in his favour who had killed most enemies in the field; that, after death, the brave would be admitted into his palace, and there have the happiness of drinking beer (the favourite liquor of the northern nations) out of the skulls of their slaughtered foes.(1)

In consequence of this belief, fatigues, wounds, combats and perils, were the exercise of infancy, and the sport of youth. They were forbid to pronounce the word fear, even on the most trying occasions. Education, prejudice, manners, example, habit, all contributed to subdue in them the sensation of timidity; to make them covet danger, and seem greedy of death.(2) Military discipline was only wanting to have enabled them to enslave the whole Christian world, then sinking under the weight of a debasing superstition, and cringing beneath the rod of priestly tyranny.

Though Charlemagne, as I have had occasion to notice, took many wise precautions against the Normans, he was not able wholly to prevent their irruptions, and was only freed by the death of their leader from a dangerous competition. Under Lewis the Debonnaire, they threw all France into alarm; and under Charles the Bald, they committed frightful devastations. Their fleets, which were composed of light barks, braved the storms of the ocean, and penetrated every creek and river; so that they landed sometimes on the coasts, and sometimes in the interior parts of the kingdom. As the government took no effectual measures for repelling them, the unprotected people knew nothing but fear. Fire and sword, on all hands, marked the route of the ravagers. With their booty they carried off women, to whom they were much addicted, and boys to recruit their predatory bands. They were no sooner gone than they again returned. They pillaged Rouen twice; they surprised and burnt Paris; they laid waste Aquitaine and other provinces, and reduced the French monarch to the greatest distress.(3)

Shut up at St. Denis, while his capital was in flames, Charles the Bald was no less anxious about saving his people than the relics. Instead of en-

(1) See the *Edda*, or System of *Runic Mythology*. In that state of festivity, the departed warriors were supposed to be served at table by beautiful virgins called Valker, who ministered to other pleasures beside those of the feast. (*Edda Mythol.* xxxi.) And war and arms, the delight of the Scandinavians in this life, were believed to be their amusement in another world. *Edda Mythol.* xxxv.

(2) "The battle is as pleasing to me," says Lodbrog (who was a king and a warrior as well as a poet), "as the bed of a virgin in the glow of her charms, or the kiss of a young widow in her most secret apartment." *Epiced. Stroph.* xiv

(3) *Ver. Chron. Hist. Norm.*

countering the enemy, he bought a peace, or, in other words, he furnished the Normans with the means, while he inspired them with the motive of a new war. They returned accordingly; and Charles, to complete his disgrace, published, when going to assist the pope, in the last year of his reign, a capitular to regulate the contributions to be paid to the Normans.⁽¹⁾

England had also experienced a variety of calamities from the incursions of these plunderers, when it found a protector in the great Alfred. But before I exhibit the exploits, or consider the institutions of that illustrious prince, we must take a view of the reigns of his predecessors from the end of the Saxon Heptarchy.

LETTER XII.

England, from the End of the Saxon Heptarchy, to the Death of Alfred the Great.

EGBERT, the first sole monarch of England, was a prince of eminent abilities and great experience. He had enjoyed a considerable command in the armies of Charlemagne, by whom he was much respected, and had acted successfully against the Normans, and other enemies of the empire. After his return to Britain he was engaged in a variety of struggles before he obtained the supreme dominion; but having surmounted those difficulties, he found himself without a rival. Being the only remaining descendant of Hengist and Horsa, the first Saxon leaders who landed in this island, and who were supposed to be sprung from Woden, the chief divinity of the ancient Saxons, the people readily transferred their allegiance to a prince who appeared to merit it equally by his birth and talents; so that Egbert was no sooner seated on the throne of England, than the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy were strongly cemented into one monarchy. A union of government seemed to promise internal tranquillity; and the Saxons, from their insular situation, and their power, had little reason to be afraid of foreign enemies. The Britons were humbled; and the Scots and Picts, wasted by continual wars with each other, being in no condition to molest Egbert, he flattered himself with peace and security. But human foresight is very limited: a fleet of those northern adventurers, whom we have already seen ravaging France, under the name of Normans, soon gave the English monarch reason to alter his opinion. They first landed in the isle of Sheppey, pillaged it, and carried off their booty with impunity. They returned next year in thirty-five ships. Egbert gave them battle at Charmouth in Dorsetshire, where they were worsted, after an obstinate dispute, but made good their retreat to their ships. Now sensible what an enemy they had to deal with, they entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwall; and, landing in that country, their confederates and they made an irruption into the county of Devon. They were met by Egbert at Hengesdown, and totally defeated.⁽²⁾ But while England was threatened with new alarms from the same quarter, this warlike monarch, who alone was able to oppose the invaders, unfortunately died, and left the kingdom to his son Ethelwolf, a prince better fitted to wear the cowl than the crown.

Ethelwolf began his reign with dividing his dominions, according to the absurd custom of those times; delivering over to his eldest son Athelstan the counties of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. But no inconveniences seem to have arisen from this partition, the terror of the Danish invaders preventing all domestic dissensions. Time proved that this terror was but too just. The Danes returned with redoubled fury; and, though often repulsed, and sometimes defeated, they always obtained their end, by committing plunder, and carrying off their booty. They avoided coming to a general engagement, which was not suited to their plan of operations. Their vessels being

(1) *Capit. Caroli Calvi.*

(2) *Chron. Sax.*

small, ran easily up the creeks and rivers: they drew them ashore, and formed an entrenchment around them, leaving them under a guard. They scattered themselves over the face of the country in small parties, making spoil of every thing that came in their way—goods, cattle, and women. If opposed by a superior force, they betook themselves to their vessels, set sail, and invaded some distant quarter, not prepared for their reception. All England was kept in continual alarm: nor durst the inhabitants of one part go to the assistance of another, lest their own families and possessions should be exposed to the fury of the ravagers.⁽¹⁾ Every season of the year was alike: no man could compute on a moment's safety.

Encouraged by their past successes, the Danes at length landed in so large a body, as seemed to threaten the whole island with subjection. But the Anglo-Saxons, though labouring under the weight of superstition, were still a gallant people: they roused themselves with a vigour proportioned to the necessity, and defeated their invaders in several engagements.⁽²⁾ The Danes, however, ventured, for the first time, to take up their winter quarters in England; and receiving in the spring a strong reinforcement, by three hundred and fifty vessels, they advanced from the isle of Thanet, where they had stationed themselves, and burnt the cities of London and Canterbury. They were again defeated in several engagements; yet they still maintained their settlement in the isle of Thanet, and spent next winter in the isle of Sheppey.

The harassed state of his kingdom did not hinder Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome. Thither he carried Alfred, his fourth and favourite son, then only six years of age. In his return, after a twelvemonth spent in devotions and benefactions to the see of Rome, Ethelwolf married Judith, daughter of the emperor Charles the Bald; and soon after his arrival in England, he conferred a perpetual and very important donation on the church, by granting to the clergy a tenth out of all the produce of land. This enormous tax upon industry had been long claimed by the servants of the altar as a perpetual property belonging to the priesthood—a jargon founded on the practice of the Jews. Charlemagne had ordered the tithe to be paid in consideration of the church-lands seized by the laity; but, in England, no such invasion had been made. The church enjoyed many lands, and was enriched by the continual oblations of the people: the English clergy, therefore, had not hitherto been able to obtain their demand. But a favourable opportunity now offered, and religion furnished the motive; a weak and superstitious prince, and an ignorant people dejected by their losses, and in terror of future invasions, greedily laid hold of any means, however costly, of bribing the protection of Heaven.⁽³⁾

During the absence of Ethelwolf, his eldest son Athelstan died; and Ethelbald, the second son, had formed the project of excluding his father from the throne. This unnatural attempt gave the pious monarch little concern. He complied with most of his son's demands, and the kingdom was divided between them. Ethelwolf lived only two years after his return to England, which he left by his will to be shared between his two eldest sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert.

Ethelbald was a profligate prince, but his reign was happily short; and Ethelbert succeeding to the government of the whole kingdom, conducted himself, during a reign of five years, in a manner more suitable to his rank. England was still infested by the depredations of the Danes, who, in this reign, sacked Winchester, but were there defeated.

Ethelbert was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, whose whole reign was one continued struggle with the Danes. He defended his kingdom with much bravery, and was gallantly seconded in all his efforts by his younger brother Alfred, who, though excluded from a large inheritance left him by his father, generously sacrificed his resentment to the public good. Ethelred died in the midst of these troubles, and left his disordered kingdom to his brother Alfred.

(1) Alured Beverl.

(2) *Chron. Sax*(3) Selden, *Hist. Tyth.* cap. viii.

Alfred was now twenty years of age, and a prince of very promising talents. He had no sooner buried his brother, than he was obliged to take the field against the Danes. They had seized Wilton, and were ravaging the neighbouring country. He gave them battle, and at first gained some advantages over them; but, pursuing his victory too far, he was worsted by means of the enemy's numbers. The loss of the Danes, however, was so considerable, that, fearing Alfred might suddenly receive reinforcements from his subjects, they stipulated for a safe retreat, under a promise to depart the kingdom. But they were no sooner freed from danger, than they renewed their ravages. A new swarm of Danes landed under three principal leaders; and Alfred, in one year, fought eight battles with these faithless and inhuman invaders, and reduced them to the greatest extremity. But this generous prince again condescending to treat with them, was again deceived. While he was expecting the execution of the agreement, a third swarm landed from the northern hive, and reduced the Saxons to despair. They believed themselves abandoned by Heaven, and devoted to destruction; since, after all their vigorous efforts, fresh invaders still poured in upon them, as greedy of spoil and slaughter as the former. Some left their country, others submitted to the conquerors, but none would listen to the exhortations of Alfred, who, still undismayed, begged them to make one exertion more in defence of their possessions, their liberties, and their prince.(1)

Thus abandoned by his subjects, this illustrious monarch was obliged to lay aside the ensigns of his dignity, and assume the habit of a peasant. In that mean disguise he eluded the pursuit and the fury of his enemies; and, in order to save his country, he even condescended to live for some time as servant to a grazier. But the human mind is as little suited to employments beneath, as above its capacity: the great Alfred made a bad cow-herd. His guardian genius was occupied about higher cares; and, as soon as he found the search of his enemies become more remiss, he collected some of his adherents, and retired to the middle of a morass, formed by the stagnating waters of the Thone and Parret; where finding some firm ground, he built and fortified a castle, no less secure by its own strength, than by its remote and inaccessible situation. This place is called Æthelingey, or the Isle of Nobles. It now bears the name of Athelney. Here, during a twelvemonth, Alfred lay concealed, but not inactive: he made frequent and unexpected sallies upon the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not whence the blow came, or by whom it was directed. At length a prosperous event emboldened the royal fugitive to leave his retreat, and enter on a scene of action more worthy of himself.

Oddune, earl of Devonshire, being besieged in his castle by Hubba, a celebrated Danish general, made an unexpected sally upon the enemy, put them to rout, and pursued them with great slaughter; killed Hubba himself, and got possession of the famous *Reafen*, or Raven, an enchanted standard, in which the Danes put great confidence.(2) The news of this victory was immediately carried by the faithful earl to Alfred, who was happy to find the seeds of valour beginning to revive among his subjects; but, before he would assemble them in arms, he resolved to inspect the situation of the enemy, and judge of the probability of success, as an unfortunate attempt in the present state of national despondency, must have terminated in final ruin. In consequence of this resolution, he entered the Danish camp under the disguise of a harper, and passed unsuspected through every quarter. He observed the supine security of the ravagers, their contempt of the English, and their neglect of all military regulations. Encouraged by these propitious appearances, he sent secret intelligence to his most powerful subjects, and summoned them to assemble, along with their retainers, on the borders of Selwood forest.(3) The English who, instead of ending their calamities by submission, as they fondly hoped, had found the insolence and rapine of the

conquerors more intolerable than the dangers and fatigues of war, joyfully resorted to the place of rendezvous. They saluted their beloved monarch with bursts of applause; they could not satiate their eyes with the sight of a prince whom they had believed dead, and who now appeared as their deliverer; they begged to be led to liberty and vengeance. Alfred did not suffer their ardour to cool: he conducted them instantly to Eddington, where the Danes lay encamped; and taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the enemy's situation, he directed his attack against their most unguarded quarter. Surprised to see an army of Englishmen, whom they considered as totally subdued, and still more to find Alfred at their head, the Danes made but a feeble resistance, notwithstanding their superior numbers.(1) They were soon put to flight, and routed with great slaughter.

Alfred, no less generous than brave, and who knew as well how to govern as to conquer, took the remainder of the Danish army, and their prince Guthrum, under his protection. He granted them their lives on submission, and liberty to settle in the kingdoms of Northumberland and East Anglia, (which were entirely desolated by the frequent inroads of their countrymen) on condition that they should embrace Christianity. They consented, and were baptized. The king stood godfather for Guthrum.(2)

This mode of population fully answered Alfred's expectations. The greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new possessions; and the more turbulent made an expedition into France, under their famous leader Hastings, who afterward invaded England, but was expelled by the valour and vigilance of Alfred.(3)

In the mean time this great prince was employed in establishing civil and military institutions; in composing the minds of men to industry and justice, and in providing against the return of like calamities. After rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the reign of Ethelwolf, he established a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. He took care that all his subjects should be armed and registered, and assigned them a regular round of duty: he distributed one part into the castles and fortresses, which he erected at proper places; he appointed another to take the field on any alarm, and assemble at stated places of rendezvous; and he left a sufficient number at home, who were employed in the cultivation of the lands, and afterward took their turn in military service. The whole kingdom was like one garrison: the Danes could no sooner land in any quarter, than a sufficient force was ready to oppose them, and that without leaving the other parts naked or defenceless.(4)

But Alfred did not trust solely to his land forces. He may be considered as the creator of the English navy, as well as the establisher of the monarchy. Sensible that ships are the most natural bulwark of an island, a circumstance hitherto entirely overlooked by the Saxons or English, as they began now to be generally called, he provided himself with a naval force, and met the Danes on their own element. A fleet of a hundred and twenty armed vessels was stationed upon the coast; and being provided with warlike engines, and expert seamen, both Frisians and English, maintained a superiority over the enemy, and gave birth to that claim which England still supports—to the sovereignty of the ocean.(5)

In this manner did Alfred provide for the security of his kingdom; and the excellent posture of defence every where established, together with the wisdom and valour of the prince, at length restored peace and tranquillity to England, and communicated to it a consequence hitherto unknown in the monarchy. But I should convey to you, my dear Philip, a very imperfect idea of Alfred's merit, were I to confine myself merely to his military and political talents. His judicial institutions, and his zeal for the encouragement of arts and sciences, demand your particular attention. We must now, therefore, consider him in a character altogether civil—as the father of English law and English literature.

(1) *Chron. Sax.* Simon Dunelm. Alured Beverl
(4) *Id. ibid.* M Westin.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) *Gul Malmes lib ii*

(5) *Spelman's Life of Alfred.*

Though Alfred in the early part of his reign had subdued, settled, or expelled the Danes, as a body, straggling bands of that people afterward continued to infest the kingdom with their robberies; and even the native English, reduced to extreme indigence by these and former depredations, abandoned themselves to a like disorderly life. They joined the robbers in pillaging the more wealthy part of their fellow-citizens. Those evils required redress, and Alfred took means effectually to remove them. In order to render the execution of justice more strict and regular, he divided all England into counties; these counties he subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. Every householder was answerable for the behaviour of his family, of his slaves, and even of his guests, if they resided above three days in his house. Ten neighbouring householders, answerable for each other's conduct, were formed into one corporation, under the name of a tything, decennary, or fribourg, over which a person called a tything-man, headbourg, or borsholder, presided. Every man was punished as an outlaw who did not register himself in some tything; and no man could change his habitation without a warrant and certificate from the borsholder of the tything to which he formerly belonged.(1)

These regulations may seem rigorous, and are not perhaps necessary in times when men are habituated to obedience and justice. But they were well calculated to reduce a fierce and licentious people under the salutary restraints of law and government; and Alfred took care to temper their severity by other institutions favourable to the freedom and security of the subject. Nothing can be more liberal than his plan for the administration of justice. The borsholder, summoned his whole decennary to assist him in the decision of smaller differences among the members of the corporation: in controversies of greater moment, the dispute was brought before the hundred, which consisted of ten decennaries, or a hundred families of freemen, and was regularly assembled once in four weeks, for the trying of causes.(2) Their mode of decision claims your attention: twelve freeholders were chosen, who, having sworn along with the magistrate of the hundred to administer impartial justice, proceeded to the examination of the cause that was submitted to them. In this simple form of trial you will perceive the origin of juries, or judgment by equals, an institution now almost peculiar to the English nation, admirable in itself, and the best calculated for the preservation of man's natural rights, and the administration of justice, that human wisdom ever devised.(3)

Besides these monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting, appointed for the more general inspection of the police of the district; inquiring into crimes, correcting abuses in magistrates, and obliging every person to show the decennary in which he was registered. In imitation of their ancestors, the ancient Germans, the people on those occasions assembled in arms; whence a hundred was sometimes called a Wapentake, and its court served for the support of military discipline, as well as the administration of justice.(4)

The next superior court to that of the hundred was the county-court, which met twice a-year, and consisted of all the freeholders of the county, who had an equal vote in the decision of causes; but of this court I have already spoken in treating of the laws and government of the Saxons. I shall therefore only add here, that to the alderman and bishop, Alfred added a third judge in each county, under the name of Sheriff, who enjoyed equal authority with the two former.(5) His office also empowered him to guard the rights of the crown in the county, and levy the fines imposed; which, in an age when money atoned for almost every violation of the laws of society, formed no inconsiderable branch of the public revenue.

(1) *Fædus Alfred. et Gothurn.* cap. lii. ap. Wilkins.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Trial by jury was known to the Saxons, at least in criminal cases, before their settlement in Britain. But, among the nations on the continent, it was not necessary that the members of a jury should be unanimous in their decision: a majority of voices was sufficient to acquit or condemn the person accused. *Stiernhook de Jure Suecon. et Gothor. Vetust.* lib. i.

(4) *Spelm. Gloss.* in voc. *Wapentake.*

(5) *Inglulph.*

In default of justice from all these courts, an appeal lay to the king himself in council; and as the wisdom and justice of Alfred were universally revered, he was soon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of his dominions. In order to remedy this inconvenience, he chose the earls and sheriffs from among the men most celebrated for probity and knowledge in the kingdom: he punished severely all malversation in office; he removed all whom he found unequal to the trust;(1) and, the better to guide magistrates of all kinds in the administration of justice, he framed a body of laws; which, though now lost, served long as the basis of English jurisprudence, and is generally esteemed the origin of our COMMON LAW.

Alfred appointed regular meetings of the states of England twice a-year in the city of London, which he himself had repaired and beautified, and which thenceforth became the capital of the kingdom. Every thing soon wore a new face under his wise and equitable government. Such success attended his legislation, and so exact was the general police, that he is said to have hung up, by way of trial, golden bracelets near the high roads, and no man dared to touch them.(2) But this great prince, though rigorous in the administration of justice, which he wisely considered as the best means of repressing crimes, preserved the most sacred regard to the liberty of his people. His concern on this subject extended even to future times, and ought to endear his memory to every Englishman. "It is just," says he in his will, "that the English should ever remain FREE AS THEIR OWN THOUGHTS."(3)

After providing for the security of his kingdom, and taming his subjects to the restraints of law, Alfred extended his care to those things which aggrandise a nation, and make a people happy. Sensible that good morals and knowledge are almost inseparable in every age, though not in every individual, he gave great encouragement to the pursuit of learning. He invited over the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe: he established schools every where for the instruction of the ignorant: he founded, or at least repaired, the university of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges, revenues, and immunities: he enjoined by law all freeholders, possessed of two hides of land, to send their children to school; and he gave preferment, either in church or state, to such only as had made some proficiency in knowledge.(4) But the most effectual expedient employed by Alfred for the encouragement of learning was his own example, and the progress which he made in science. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of civil objects which engaged his attention, and although he fought in person fifty-six battles by sea and land, this illustrious hero and legislator was able to acquire by his unremitting industry, during a life of no extraordinary length, more knowledge, and even to produce more books, than most speculative men, in more fortunate ages, who have devoted their whole time to study. He composed a variety of poems, fables, and apt stories, to lead the untutored mind to the love of letters, and bend the heart to the practice of virtue. For the same purpose he translated from the Greek the instructive fables of Æsop. He also gave Saxon translations of the histories of Orosius and Bede, and of the Consolation of Philosophy, by Boëtius.(5)

Alfred was no less attentive to the propagation of those mechanical arts which have a more sensible though not a more intimate connexion with the welfare of a state. He introduced and encouraged manufactures of all kinds, and suffered no inventor or improver of any useful or ingenious art to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity and industry to apply themselves to navigation, and to push commerce into the most distant countries; and he set apart a seventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen, whom he employed in rebuilding the ruined cities and castles. The elegancies of life are said to have been brought to him even

(1) *Le Miroir de Justice*, chap. ii.

(2) Gul. Malmes. lib. ii.

(3) Asser. p. 24.

(4) H. Hunt. lib. vi. A hide contained land sufficient to employ one plough.

Gervase of Tilbury says

it commonly consisted of a hundred acres,

(5) Gul. Malmes. lib. ii.

(6) *Id. ibid*

from the Mediterranean and the Indies;(6) and his subjects seeing these desirable productions, and the means of acquiring riches by trade, were taught to respect those peaceful virtues by which alone such blessings can be earned or ensured.

This extraordinary man, who is justly considered, both by natives and foreigners, as the greatest prince after Charlemagne that Europe saw for several ages, and as one of the wisest and best that ever adorned the annals of any nation, died in the year 901, in the vigour of his age, and full strength of his faculties, after a life of fifty-three years, and a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and a half. His merit, both in public and private life, may be set in opposition to that of any sovereign or citizen in ancient or modern times. He seems indeed, as is observed by an elegant and profound historian,(1) to be the complete model of that perfect character which, under the denomination of a sage, or truly wise man, philosophers have been so fond of delineating without the hopes of ever seeing it realized.

LETTER XIII.

Empire of Charlemagne and the Church, from the Death of Charles the Bald, to the Death of Lewis IV. when the Imperial Dignity was translated from the French to the Germans.

THE continent of Europe, my dear Philip, towards the close of the ninth century, offers nothing to our view but calamities, disorders, revolutions, and anarchy. Lewis the Stammerer, son of Charles the Bald, may be said to have bought the crown of France at the price, and on the conditions, which the bishops and nobles were pleased to impose on him. He was not acknowledged till after he had heaped lands, honours and offices on the nobility; and promised that the clergy should enjoy the same emoluments, and the same privileges, which they had possessed under Lewis the Debonnaire.(2)

Pope John VIII. made an effort to get Lewis elected emperor, in the room of his father, by the Italian States; but not being able to carry his point, he retired into France, and held a council at Troyes, where he excommunicated the Duke of Spoleto, and the Marquis of Tuscany, for opposing his measures, and attacking the ecclesiastical state. One of the canons of this council is very remarkable: it expressly asserts, that "the powers of the world shall not dare to seat themselves in the presence of bishops, unless desired."(3)

Lewis the Stammerer died in 879, after a reign of about eighteen months, and left his queen Adelaide pregnant. He was succeeded by Lewis III. and Carloman II. two sons by a former wife, whom he had divorced. Duke Boson, father-in-law to Carloman, procured them the crown, that he might afterward share the monarchy. By his intrigues with the pope and the clergy, he got a council to declare the necessity of erecting a new kingdom: and they bestowed, by the divine inspiration, to use their own language, the kingdom of Arles, or Provence, upon this ambitious duke.(4) Italy was in possession of Carloman, king of Bavaria, who had also seized part of Lorraine, and the French nobility already enjoyed most of the lands; so that a king of France retained little more than the mere shadow of royalty.

On the death of Lewis and Carloman, the joint kings of France, who lived in harmony notwithstanding their confined situation, their brother Charles, born after his father's death, and known by the name of the Simple, ought to have succeeded to the monarchy, by the right of birth; but as he was only five years old, and the nobility were desirous of a king capable of governing, or at least were afraid of the advancement of Hugh, surnamed the Abbot, to the regency (a nobleman of great integrity and abilities), they elected Charles the Fat, son of Lewis the German, already emperor, and successor to his two

(1) Hume, vol. I.

(2) Almon. lib. v.

(3) Concil. Gall. tom. iii.

(4) Id. ibid

brothers.(1) He reunited in his person all the French empire, except the kingdom of the usurper Boson; and proved, what those who elected him had not sufficiently attended to, if they meant the welfare of the state, that a prince may conduct his affairs with judgment, while confined within a moderate compass, and yet be very unfit for the government of a great empire.

The incapacity, and even the cowardice of Charles, became soon too obvious to be denied. Though he had governed his paternal dominions without any visible defect of judgment, and raised himself to the empire by his reputation and address, his mind, instead of expanding itself to its new object, even shrunk from it, and contracted itself, till every mark of abilities disappeared. After disgracing himself by ceding Friezland to the Normans, and promising them a tribute for forbearance, he roused them by his perfidy, while he encouraged them by his weakness. Enraged at the death of their king, who had been invited to a conference and murdered, they entered France, penetrated as far as Pontoise, burnt that city, and besieged Paris.(2)

This siege is much celebrated by the French historians: prodigies are related of both sides. Eudes, count of Paris, whom we shall soon see on the throne of France; his brother Robert; bishop Goslin; and after his death, bishop Anscheric, and Abbot Eble, nephew to Goslin, were particularly distinguished by their valour and patriotism. The besieged defended themselves more than a year against an army of thirty thousand men, and the combined efforts of courage and stratagem, before the emperor came to their relief. At length Charles appeared on the mountain of Montmart, with the whole militia of his dominions under arms, fully persuaded that the Normans would retire at the sight of his standards.(3) But he soon found his mistake: they did not show the smallest alarm; and Charles preferring a shameful negotiation to a doubtful victory, engaged to pay them a prodigious ransom for his capital, and the safety of his kingdom. Nay, what was still more disgraceful, not being able to raise the money till the spring, it being then the month of November, he permitted the Normans to winter in Burgundy, which had not yet acknowledged his authority; or, in other words, to continue their ravages, which they did with the most insatiable fury.(4)

This ignominious treaty, and its consequences, entirely ruined the emperor's reputation, which was already low. He had no minister in whom he could confide: for he was neither loved nor feared. The Germans first revolted. Charles had incurred the hatred of the nobility by attempting to limit the hereditary fiefs; and he made the clergy his enemies, while he exposed himself to universal contempt, by prosecuting Ludard, bishop of Verceil, his prime minister, and the only person of authority in his service, on a suspicion of a criminal correspondence with the empress Rachel, whom he imprisoned, and who completed his disgrace. She kept no measures with him: she affirmed, that she was not only innocent of the crime laid to her charge, but a pure virgin, yet untouched by her husband and her accuser; in support of which asseveration she offered to undergo any trial that should be assigned her, according to the superstitious custom of those times, when an absurd appeal to heaven supplied the place of a jury of matrons, and insisted on being admitted to her purgation. Ludard fostered the general discontent; and Charles was deposed in a diet of the empire, and neglected to such a degree, as to be obliged to subsist by the liberality of the bishop of Mentz.(5)

Arnold, the bastard son of Carloman, late king of Bavaria, and grandson of Lewis the German, was now raised to the Imperial dignity. Italy submitted alternately to Berengarius, duke of Friuli, and Guido, or Guy duke, of Spoleto, both of the family of Charlemagne by the mother's side. Their competitions were long and bloody. Count Eudes, whose valour had saved Paris, and whose father, Robert the Strong, had been no less brave and illustrious, was elected king of France; which he agreed to hold in trust for Charles the Simple, yet a minor.(6)

But France, notwithstanding the courage and talents of Eudes, was still

(1) Aimon. Yb. v.

(2) Chron. de Gest. Norm.

(3) Paul. Emil. de Gest. Fran.

(4) Chron. Gest. Norm.

(5) Annal. Fuldens. Regin. Chronicon.

(6) Annal. Metens.

a scene of contention and disorder. A faction pretended to assert the right of the lawful heir, who was not really injured, and Eudes ceded to him the greater part of the kingdom. Count Ralph, or Rodolph, established the kingdom of Burgundy Transjuran (so called on account of its relation to mount Jura), which comprehended nearly the present Switzerland and Franche Comté. A council confirmed to Lewis, the son of Boson, the kingdom of Arles, as a council had given it to his father.(1) History would be nothing but a mere chaos, were it to comprehend all the effects of violence, treachery, and anarchy that disgraced this period. I shall therefore only notice the leading circumstances, which alone deserve your attention.

Eudes died in 898, without being able to remedy the disorders of the state, and Charles the Simple, but too justly so named, now acknowledged King of France in his own right, increased by his weakness the prevailing evils. The nobles aspired openly at independency. They usurped the governments with which they had been intrusted, and extorted confirmations of them from Charles for themselves and their heirs, on the easy condition of an empty homage.(2) A large and once well regulated kingdom was divided into a multitude of separate principalities, altogether independent of the crown, or dependent only in name, whose possessors waged continual wars with each other, and exercised an insupportable tyranny over their dependents, their vassals, and sub-vassals.(3) By these means the great body of the people was either reduced to a state of absolute servitude, or to a condition so precarious and wretched, that they were often happy to exchange it for protection and slavery.(4)

The Normans took advantage of this state of weakness and anarchy to establish themselves in France. Rollo, one of their most illustrious leaders, and truly a great captain, after having spread terror over all the maritime provinces of Europe, sailed up the Seine, took Rouen, fortified it, and made it his head-quarters. Now sure of a safe retreat, he set no bounds to his depredations; and soon became so formidable, that Charles offered him his daughter in marriage, with the province of Neustria as her dower. Francon, archbishop of Rouen, was charged with the negotiation. He only demanded that Rollo should acknowledge Charles as his superior, and become a Christian; and, in order to induce the Norman to embrace the faith, the prelate preached of a future state, of hell, and of heaven. Interest, not superstition, determined Rollo. After consulting his soldiers, who, like most gentlemen of the sword, were very easy on the article of religion, he agreed to the treaty; on condition that the province of Bretagne also should be ceded to him, till Neustria, then entirely laid waste by the ravages of his countrymen, could be cultivated. His request was granted; he was baptized, and did homage for his crown, less as a vassal than a conqueror.(5)

Rollo was worthy of his good fortune: he sunk the soldier in the sovereign, and proved himself no less skilled in the arts of peace than those of war. Neustria, which henceforth took the name of Normandy, in honour of its new inhabitants, soon became happy and flourishing under his laws. Sensible that the power of a prince is always in proportion to the number of his subjects, he invited the better sort of Normans from all parts, to come and settle in his dominions. He encouraged agriculture and industry; was particularly severe in punishing theft, robbery, and every species of violence; and rigidly exact in the administration of justice, which he saw was the great basis of policy, and without which his people would naturally return to their former irregularities.(6) A taste for the sweets of society increased with the

(1) Regin. Chron.

(3) Id. ibid.

(5) When he came to the last part of the ceremony, which was that of kneeling and kissing the king's toe, he positively refused compliance; and it was with much difficulty he could be persuaded to make that compliment, even by one of his officers. At length, however, he agreed to the alternative. But all the Normans, it seems, were bad courtiers; for the officer commissioned to represent Rollo, despising so unwelcome a prince as Charles, caught his majesty by the foot, and pretending to carry it to his mouth that he might kiss it, overturned both him and his chair before all his nobility. This insult was passed over as an accident, because the French nation was in no condition to revenge it. Gul. Gemet. Chron. de Dues de Normandie.

(6) Gul. Gemet. ubi sup. Dudon. de Morib. et Act. de Norm. Dues.

(2) Orig. de Dignitez et de Magist. de France, par P. Fauchet

(4) L'Esprit des Loix, lib. xxx.

conveniences of life, and the love of justice with the benefits derived from it; so that the dutchy of Normandy was in a short time not only populous and cultivated, but the Normans were regular in their manners, and obedient to the laws. A band of pirates became good citizens, and their leader the ablest prince and the wisest legislator of the age in which he lived.

While these things passed in France, great alterations took place in the neighbouring states, and among the princes of the blood of Charlemagne. The most remarkable only merit our attention. Arnold, king of Germany, and emperor of the West, was succeeded by his son Lewis IV. only seven years of age. Another Lewis, king of Arles, and son of the usurper Boson, crossed the Alps, and obliged pope Benedict IV. to crown him emperor. But he was soon after surprised at Verona by Berengarius, who put out his eyes, and ascended the throne of Italy, which he had long disputed with the emperor Arnold.(1) In the mean time Lewis IV. died, and the empire departed from the French to the Germans; from the family of Charlemagne to those Saxons whom he had subdued and persecuted, who became, in their turn, the protectors of that religion for which they had suffered, and the persecutors of other Pagans. But this revolution deserves a particular Letter.

LETTER XIV.

The German Empire, from the Election of Conrad I. to the Death of Henry the Fowler.

SOME HISTORIANS, my dear Philip, are of opinion, that the German empire does not properly commence till the reign of Otho the Great, when Italy was reunited to the Imperial dominions; but the extinction of the race of Charlemagne in Germany when the empire was wholly detached from France, and the imperial dignity became elective, seems to me the most natural period to fix its origin, though the first two emperors never received the papal sanction. I shall therefore begin with Conrad, the first German who ruled the empire after it ceased to be considered as an appendage of France.

Though the successors of Charlemagne possessed that empire which he had formed by virtue of hereditary descent, they had usually procured the consent of the nobles to their testamentary deeds, that no dispute might arise in regard to the succession. This precaution was highly necessary in those turbulent times, especially as the imperial dominions were generally divided among the children of the reigning family, who were by that means put in a better condition to contest a doubtful title. What was at first no more than a political condescension in the emperors became gradually to be interpreted into a privilege of the nobility; and hence originated the right of those electors, by whom the emperor is still invested with the imperial power and dignity. They had already deposed Charles the Fat, and raised to the empire Arnold, bastard of Carloman, king of Bavaria.(2)

Thus authorized by custom, the German nobles assembled at Worms, on the death of Lewis IV. and not judging Charles the Simple worthy to govern them, they offered the imperial crown to Otho, Duke of Saxony. But he declined it, on account of his age; and, with a generosity peculiar to himself, recommended to the electors Conrad, count of Franconia, though his enemy. Conrad was accordingly chosen by the diet. The empire of Germany then comprehended Franconia, the provinces of Bamberg, Suabia, Constance, Basil, Bern, Lausanne, Burgundy, Bezançon, Lorrain, Metz, Liege, Cambray, Arras, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Cologne, Treves, Mentz, Worms, Spire, Strasbourgh, Friezland, Saxony, Hesse, Westphalia, Thuringia, Wetteravia, Misnia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Rugen, Stetin, Holstein, Austria, Carinthia, Stiria, the Tyrolese, Bavaria, the Grisons, and, in general, all the countries situated among these provinces, and their dependencies.

(1) Anna. Metens.

(2) See Lett. X.

The reign of Conrad I. was one continued scene of troubles, though he took every necessary measure to support his authority and preserve the tranquillity of the empire. He was no sooner elected than he had occasion to march into Lorrain, where the nobility, being attached to the family of Charlemagne, acknowledged Charles the Simple as their sovereign, and offered to put him in possession of that country. Before Conrad could settle the affairs of Lorrain, he was recalled by the revolt of several powerful dukes, who envied his promotion. One rebellion succeeded another; and, to complete his misfortunes, the Huns, or Hungarians, invaded the empire. They had for some time been accustomed to pass the entrenchments formed by Charlemagne along the Raab in order to restrain their incursions; and, no less fierce than their ancestors, they had laid every thing waste before them, and borne down all opposition. In 901 they ravaged Bavaria, Suabia, Franconia: all Germany felt their fury. Lewis IV. submitted to pay them an annual tribute. They had several times pillaged Italy; and now in their way from that country, where they had humbled Berengarius (taking advantage of the troubles of the empire), they made irruptions into Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Lorrain, and Alsace, which they desolated with fire and sword, and obliged Conrad to purchase a peace on the most shameful conditions.(1) He died without male heirs, in 919, after recommending to the Germanic body as his successor, Henry duke of Saxony, son of that Otho to whom he owed his crown.

Henry I., surnamed the Fowler, because he delighted much in the pursuit of birds, was elected with universal approbation by the assembled states; composed of the dignified clergy, the principal nobility, and the heads of the army.

This right of choosing an emperor, originally common to all the members of the Germanic body, was afterward confined, as we shall have occasion to see, to seven of the chief members of that body, considered as representatives of the whole, and of all its different orders; namely, the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, chancellors of the three great districts into which the German empire was anciently divided, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine.(2)

It was still undecided whether Lorrain should belong to France or Germany. Henry, as soon as the situation of his affairs would permit, entered it with a powerful army, and subdued the whole country. His next care was the internal peace and prosperity of the empire. He published a general amnesty in favour of all thieves and banditti, provided they would enlist in his armies, and actually formed them into a troop. He created marquises, in imitation of Charlemagne, to guard the frontiers of the empire against the Barbarians, and obliged all vassals and sub-vassals to furnish soldiers, and corn for their subsistence.(3) He likewise ordered the principal towns to be surrounded with walls, bastions, and ditches; and that the nobility might be habituated to the use of arms, even in time of peace, he instituted certain military games, or tournaments, in which they vied with each other in displaying their valour and address.

After taking these wise measures for the welfare of the state, Henry began to prepare for war against the Hungarians, whom he had exasperated by refusing the annual composition, and other marks of disdain and defiance. Enraged at his firmness, they entered Germany with an army of three hundred thousand men, breathing vengeance. But Henry being supported by the whole force of his dominions, though still inferior to theirs, defeated them with great slaughter at Mersbourg, and rescued the empire from a barbarous enemy and an ignominious tribute.(4)

Having thus subdued his enemies, and secured the tranquillity of his subjects both at home and abroad, the emperor began to taste the fruits of his wisdom and valour, when the pope and the citizens of Rome invited him to

(1) *Ann. Hildist. Annal. German. ap. Struv. Corp. Hist. vol. i.*

(2) *Goldast. Politic. Imperial. init.*

(3) *Ann. Sax.*

(4) *Engelhus. p. 174.*

the conquest of Italy, still distracted by civil wars, offering him the holy unction, and the title of Augustus. Henry, who was ambitious to be master of Italy, and no doubt desirous of the papal sanction to the imperial crown, set out immediately for that country at the head of his troops; but being seized with an apoplexy on his march, he was obliged to return, and died at Mansleben in Thuringia.(1) Before his death, he convoked the princes of the empire, who settled the succession on his son Otho.

Henry was universally allowed to be the ablest statesman and the greatest prince of Europe in his time; but his successor Otho, afterward styled the Great, surpassed him both in power and renown, though not perhaps in valour or abilities. For, as Voltaire well observes, the acknowledged heir of a great prince, who has been the founder or restorer of a state, is always more powerful than his father, if not very much inferior in courage and talents;—and the reason is obvious. He enters on a career already opened to him, and begins where his predecessor ended. Hence Alexander went farther than Philip, Charlemagne than Pepin, and Otho the Great than Henry the Fowler. But before I proceed to the reign of Otho, we must take a view of the troubles of France under Charles the Simple, and his unhappy successors of the Carlovingian race.

LETTER XV.

France, from the Settlement of the Normans to the Extinction of the Carlovingian Race.

You have already, my dear Philip, seen the usurpations of the nobles, and the settlement of the Normans in France, under Charles the Simple. He gave daily more proofs of his weakness, and became equally contemptible to the French and Normans. A violent attempt was made to dethrone him by Robert, duke of France, brother to Eudes, the late king. This rebellion was defeated, in the first instance, by the unexpected answer of Rollo, duke of Normandy, who generously declared, when solicited to join in it, that he was equally incapable of abetting or suffering injustice!(2) Yet Rollo, as we have seen, was once a robber by profession. But then, as ought to be observed in his vindication, he was under engagements to no prince, and claimed the protection of no laws: he was then on a footing with the Cæsars and the Alexanders, and now only inferior in power to the Alfreds and the Charlemagnes.

After the death of Rollo, duke Robert renewed his intrigues. He first made the king dismiss Haganon, his favourite minister; and next seized that minister's treasures, with which he gratified his adherents. They declared Charles incapable of reigning, and proclaimed Robert king of France. He was soon after killed in battle, yet his party triumphed; and his son Hugh the Great, or the Abbot, as he is styled by some writers, on account of the number of rich abbeys which he held, had the crown in his power. But he chose to place it on the head of Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, who assumed the title of king, and was almost universally acknowledged.(3)

In this extremity Charles had recourse to William I. duke of Normandy, and to the emperor Henry the Fowler, who were preparing to assist him, when he was decoyed by the treacherous friendship of Herbert, count of Vermandois, into the fortress of Chateau-Thierry, and there detained prisoner. The unfortunate monarch now became the sport of the ambition of his own rebellious subjects. The count released him, and paid homage to him as his sovereign, when he wanted to gain his ends with Rodolph, and shut him up when they were accomplished. The county of Laon was the price of Charles's confinement. He died in prison.(4)

(1) *Ann. Sax.*(2) *Flodoard. Chron.*(3) *Monach.*(4) *Glab. Hist. sui Temp.*

After the death of Charles the Simple, Rodolph acted with much spirit and resolution. He repelled the incursions of some new tribes of Normans, restrained the licentiousness of the nobles, and restored both tranquillity and vigour to the kingdom. But as this prince died without issue, France was again involved in troubles, and a kind of interregnum ensued. At length Hugh the Great, still disdaining the title of king, or afraid to usurp it, recalled Charles's son Lewis, surnamed the Stranger, from England, whither he had been carried by his mother Egina, daughter of Edward the Elder, and granddaughter of the great Alfred.(1) She had taken refuge in the court of her brother Athelstan.

Lewis was only in his seventeenth year when he was recalled, and in a great measure unacquainted with the affairs of France; yet he conducted himself with a spirit becoming his rank, though not without some degree of that imprudence natural to his age. He attempted to rescue himself from the tyranny of duke Hugh, who had been appointed his tutor, and allowed him little more than the name of a king. But, after a variety of struggles, he was obliged to make peace with his vassal, and confirm to him the county of Laon,(2) to which almost the whole royal domain was reduced.

Lewis the Stranger died in 954, and left a shadow of royalty to his son Lothario; or rather Hugh the Great was pleased to grant him the title of king, that he himself might enjoy the power.(3) This ambitious nobleman, no less formidable than the ancient mayors, died in 955. He was succeeded in consequence and abilities by his son Hugh Capet, whom we shall soon see on the throne of France.

Lothario wanted neither courage nor ambition. He attempted to recover Lorraine, which had been for some time in the possession of the emperors of Germany. But Otho II. by an artful stroke of policy, disconcerted his measures, and ruined his reputation. He ceded the disputed territory to the king's brother Charles, on condition that he should hold it as a fief of the empire.(4) Lothario, incensed at this donation, by which his brother was benefited at the expense of his character, his interest, and the honour of his crown, assembled a powerful army, and marched suddenly to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he surprised the emperor, and put him to flight. He himself was vanquished, in his turn, and again victorious.(5) But, after all, he was obliged to resign Lorraine, which was divided between his brother Charles and the Emperor Otho.

Lothario died in 986, and was quietly succeeded by his son Lewis V. who governed under the direction of Hugh Capet, during a short reign of one year and two months, which was one continued scene of troubles. In him ended the Carolingians, or the descendants of Charlemagne, the second race of French kings.—The affairs of the empire now claim your attention

LETTER XVI.

The German Empire and its Dependencies, Rome and the Italian States, under Otho the Great, and his Successors of the House of Saxony.

ОТНО I. the most powerful emperor since Charlemagne, and who had the honour of reuniting Italy to the imperial dominions, was elected at Aix-la-Chapelle in 936, by the unanimous consent of the diet there assembled, according to the promise made to his father, Henry the Fowler.(6) He began

(1) Flodoard. *Chron.*

(2) Almon. lib. v.

(3) Flodoard. *Chron.*

(4) Almon. lib. v.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

(6) The diets of the German empire were originally the same with the national assemblies held by the kings of France. They met at least once a year, and every freeman had a right to be present. They were great councils, in which the sovereign deliberated with his subjects concerning their common interests. But when the nobles and dignified clergy acquired, with the rank of princes, territorial and independent jurisdiction, the diet became an assembly of the separate states that formed the confederacy of which the emperor was the head; and in which, if any member possessed more than one of those states, he was allowed a proportional number of suffrages. On the same principle the imperial cities, as soon as

his reign with the most upright administration, and seemed desirous to live in peace and tranquillity. But his quiet was soon interrupted by wars both foreign and domestic, which he had sufficient abilities to manage, and which terminated in his aggrandizement.

The Hungarians, according to custom, invaded the empire, committing every species of barbarity. Otho, however, soon put a stop to their ravages. He came up with them on the plain of Dortmund, in Westphalia, and defeated them with great slaughter. But the Hungarians were not the only enemy that Otho had to encounter. Immediately after his return from this victory, he was informed that the Bohemians had revolted. Bohemia was then entirely barbarous, and mostly Pagan. Otho, after a variety of struggles, rendered it tributary to Germany, and also obliged the inhabitants to embrace Christianity.(1)

In the mean time the emperor was engaged in many disputes with his own rebellious subjects. Arnold, duke of Bavaria, being dead, his son Everhard refused to do homage to Otho, on pretence that he was not his vassal, but his ally. This struggle between the crown and the great fiefs, between power which always seeks increase, and liberty which aspires at independency, for a long time agitated Europe. It subsisted in Spain, while the Christians had to contend with the disciples of Mahomet; but after the expulsion of the Moors, the sovereign authority got the ascendant. It was this competition that involved France in troubles till the middle of the reign of Lewis XI. when the feudal lordships were gradually stripped of their power, and the nobles reduced to a dependence on the prince; that established in England the mixed government, to which we owe our present greatness, and cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles with the slavery of the people. The same spirit hath, at different times, troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republics of Holland and Swisserland; the same cause hath almost every where produced different effects!—The prerogatives of the prince have, in some instances, as in that of the German empire, been reduced to a mere title, and the national union itself preserved only in the observance of a few insignificant formalities. The duke of Bavaria was not willing to observe even these formalities: Otho therefore entered that country with an army, expelled Everhard, and bestowed the duchy upon his uncle Bartolf, who willingly did homage for such a present.(2) The emperor at the same time created one of Everhard's brothers count palatine of Bavaria, and the other count palatine of the Rhine.

This dignity of count palatine was revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman and French emperors. These palatines were at first supreme judges, and gave judgment in the last appeal, in the name of the emperor. They were also intrusted with the government of the imperial domains.

Otho having thus settled the internal tranquillity of the empire, (which, however, was soon disturbed by the rebellion of his brother) assembled a diet at Arensburg, where among other things it was debated, whether inheritance should descend in a direct line; whether, for example, a grandson, heir to an elder son, should succeed, on the death of his grandfather, in preference to his uncles. The diet not being able to come to any determination on this point, though so clear according to our present ideas of inheritance, it was agreed that the cause which had suggested the doubt should be decided by duel. An equal number of combatants were accordingly chosen on both sides: and the suit was determined in favour of the grandson, his champions being victorious.(3) The decision by arms was, for once, consistent with equity: the law is now universal. This mode of trial soon became general over Europe; and under the following reign a diet ordained, that doubtful

they became free, and acquired supreme and independent jurisdiction within their own territories, were received as members of the diet. (*Alrumpus de Comitibus Rom. Germ. Imperii.*) The powers of the diet extend to every thing relative to the common interests of the Germanic body, as a confederacy, but not to the interior government of the different states, unless when domestic disorders disturb or threaten the peace of the empire. *Peissel Abrege.*

(1) Dubrav. *Hist. Bohem.*

(2) Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tom. iii.

(3) *Id* *ibid.*

cases should no longer be decided upon oath, but by the sword.⁽¹⁾ The base at least were, by that ordinance, deprived of the advantages which they might have reaped from perjury, whatever other inconveniences might attend it.⁽²⁾ And the regulation itself proves the baseness as well as the ignorance of the age.

In order to counterbalance the power of the nobility, Otho augmented the privileges of the German clergy. He conferred on them duchies and counties, with all the rights of other princes and nobles: and, like Charlemagne, the founder of that empire, whose lustre he restored, he propagated Christianity by force of arms. He obliged the Danes to pay him tribute, and receive baptism, as an earnest of their good behaviour.⁽³⁾ The Bohemians, as I have already observed, were also subjected to the same conditions.

No sooner did Otho find himself in quiet possession of the North, than the South attracted his eye: and a favourable opportunity now offered of gratifying his ambition without injury to his humanity. Italy was torn by factions, and ruled by tyrants. Rodolph II. king of the two Burgundies, had dethroned Berengarius, and been himself dethroned by Hugh, marquis of Provence, whose son Lothario was also dethroned by Berengarius II. This Berengarius kept Adelaïda, the widow of Lothario, in confinement. She invited Otho to her relief. He entered Italy at the head of a powerful army, delivered Adelaïda, married her, and obliged Berengarius to take an oath of fealty, generously leaving him in possession of the kingdom.⁽⁴⁾

The pleasure which Otho must have received from the conquest of Italy was allayed by the revolt of his son Ludolphus, who, though already declared successor to the empire, was so much chagrined at his father's second marriage, that he engaged in a rebellion against him with the duke of Franconia, and other German noblemen. Pursued by the vigilance of the emperor, Ludolphus took refuge in Ratisbon, where he was soon reduced to extremity. At the intercession of his friends, however, he was permitted to retire with his followers. He again rebelled; but returning soon after to a sense of his duty, he took an opportunity, when Otho was hunting, to throw himself at his feet, and implored forgiveness in the most humiliating language. "Have pity," said he, (after a pathetic pause) "on your child, who returns, like the prodigal son, to his father. If you permit him to live, who has so often deserved to die, he will be faithful and obedient for the future, and have time to repent of his folly and ingratitude." The emperor, equally surprised and affected at this moving spectacle, raised his son from the ground, while the tears trickled from his eyes, received him into favour, and forgave all his followers.⁽⁵⁾

This young prince afterward died in Italy, whither he had been sent by his father, to humble the ungrateful Berengarius, who had broken his faith with the emperor, and tyrannized over his countrymen. The untimely death of Ludolphus, which greatly affected Otho, gave Berengarius time to breathe. He was soon absolute master of the ancient kingdom of Lombardy, but not of Rome, which was then governed by Octavianus Sporo, grandson of the celebrated Marozia, concubine of Sergius III. By the great interest of his family, he had been elected pope at the age of eighteen, when he was not even in orders. He took the name of John XII. out of respect to the memory of his uncle, John XI. and was the first pope who changed his name on his accession to the pontificate.⁽⁶⁾

This John XII. was a patrician, or nobleman of Rome, and consequently united in the papal chair the privileges of both temporal and spiritual authority, by a right whose legality could not be disputed. But he was young, sunk in debauchery, and unable to oppose the tyranny of Berengarius and his son Adelbert; he therefore conjured Otho, "by the love of God and of the holy apostles, to come and deliver the Roman church from the fangs of two

⁽¹⁾ *Leg. Langob. lib. ii.*

⁽²⁾ This reason is actually assigned, in a Barbarian Code, in favour of the judicial combat, in cases where an oath might settle the dispute. *Leg. Burgund. tit. xlv.*

⁽³⁾ *Ann. Sax.*

⁽⁴⁾ *Flodoard. lib. iv.*

⁽⁵⁾ *Annal. Germ. ex Meib.*

⁽⁶⁾ *Ann. Sax.*

⁽⁷⁾ *Sigon. Reg. Ital. lib. vi.*

monsters." This flattering invitation was accompanied with an offer of the papal sanction to the imperial crown, and of the kingdom of Lombardy, from the Italian states.(1)

In compliance with the request of the pope, or rather with the occasion it afforded of gratifying his own ambition, the emperor assembled a powerful army, and marched into Italy, after having convoked a diet at Worms, where his son Otho, by Adelaida, was elected his successor; a necessary precaution in those troublesome times for securing the crown in a family. Berengarius fled before him: he entered Pavia without opposition, and was crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, by the archbishop of that city, in presence of the nobility and clergy, who had formerly deposed Berengarius. Rome also opened its gates to Otho: and the pope crowned him emperor of the Romans, dignified him with the title of Augustus, and swore allegiance unto him on the tomb where the body of St. Peter is said to be deposited.(2) The emperor at the same time confirmed to the Apostolic See the donations made by Pepin and Charlemagne, "saving in all things," says he, "our authority, and that of our son and descendants;"(3) expressions by which it appears that, in this grant, Otho reserved to the empire the supreme jurisdiction over the papal territories.

The emperor next marched in pursuit of Berengarius, whom he seized, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Meanwhile the pope, finding that he had given himself a master in a protector, repented of what he had done; broke his oath to the emperor, and entered into a league with Adelbert, the son of Berengarius, though formerly his most implacable enemy. Otho suddenly returned to Rome; Adelbert fled; and a council deposed John XII. for his debaucheries, as was pretended, but in reality for revolting against the emperor, though his licentiousness was sufficiently enormous to render him unworthy of any civil or ecclesiastical dignity. Leo VIII. a layman, but a man of virtue, was elected his successor; and the clergy and citizens of Rome took anew the oath of allegiance to Otho, and bound themselves neither to elect or consecrate a pope without the consent of the emperor.(4)

But Otho having occasion to quell some disturbances in Spoleto, a faction reinstated John XII., a new council deposed Leo, and a canon was enacted, declaring, "that no inferior can degrade a superior:"(5) by which was meant to be intimated, not only that the bishops and cardinals had no power to depose a pope, but that the emperor, as a layman, owed to the church that very allegiance which he exacted from her.

Soon after this revolution, pope John was assassinated in the arms of one of his mistresses. His party however still refused to acknowledge Leo, and proceeded to the election of Benedict V. who was accordingly promoted to the chair of St. Peter. Informed of these audacious and faithless proceedings, Otho marched back to Rome, which he reduced, and restored Leo VIII. to his dignity. Benedict appeared before a council; owned himself guilty of usurpation; stripped himself of the pontifical robes; implored compassion, and was banished to Hamburgh. Leo VIII. with all the clergy and Roman people, made at the same time a celebrated decree, which was long considered as a fundamental law of the empire; 'That Otho, and his successors in the kingdom of Italy, should always have the power of choosing a successor, of naming the pope, and of giving investiture to bishops.'(6)

The affairs of Italy being thus settled, Otho returned to Germany; where he was scarce arrived, when the Italians again revolted, and expelled John XIII. who had been elected in presence of the imperial commissioners, after the death of Leo VIII. Enraged at so many instances of perfidy, Otho once more entered Italy, and marched to Rome, which he treated with a severity somewhat bordering on revenge, but justly merited. He banished the consuls, hanged the tribunes, and caused the prefect of Rome, who aimed at the character of a second Brutus, to be whipped naked through the streets on an

(1) Didmar. lib. II.

(4) Sigon. *ib.* vii.

(2) Fr. Hen. Bod. Synt. ex Meib.

(5) Luitprand, lib. vi.

(5) *Exemplar. Diplom. Otho.* ap. Baron(6) *Extract. in Gratiana.*

ass.(1) These ancient dignities subsisted only in name, and the people were destitute of every virtue. They had repeatedly broken their faith to the prince, whose protection they had craved, and to whom they had sworn allegiance; an attempt therefore to restore the republic, which had at one time been considered the height of patriotism, was now deservedly punished as a seditious revolt—though a person of no less eminence than Voltaire seems to consider both in the same light.

After re-establishing the pope, and regulating the police of Rome Otho retired to Capua, where he received ambassadors from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, who wanted to renew the old alliance between the Eastern and Western Empires, and also proposed a marriage between his daughter Theophania and Otho's son, lately associated with his father in the supreme power. In the course of this negotiation, however, the Greek grew jealous of the German, and ordered the nobles to be assassinated who came to receive the princess. Incensed at so enormous a perfidy, Otho directed his generals to enter Calabria, where they defeated the Greek army, cut off the noses of their prisoners, and sent them in that condition to Constantinople.(2)

But peace was soon after established between the two empires. Nicephorus being put to death by his subjects, John Zimices, his successor, sent the princess Theophania into Italy, where her marriage with young Otho was consummated,(3) and all differences happily accommodated. The emperor returned to Germany, covered with glory and success, and lived to enjoy the fruits of his victories two years in his native Saxony. He died in 973, after a reign of thirty-six years; during which, by his generosity and courage, he had justly acquired the appellation of Otho the GREAT, the Conqueror of Italy, and the Restorer of the Empire of Charlemagne.

Otho II surnamed the Sanguinary, on account of the blood spilt under his reign, succeeded his father at the age of eighteen. His youth occasioned troubles, which his valour enabled him to dissipate. Henry, duke of Bavaria, and several other noblemen rebelled, but were all reduced in a short time. Denmark and Bohemia felt his power, and Rome, by new crimes, offered a theatre for his justice. The consul Cresecentius, son of the abandoned Theodora, who had been concubine to pope John X., revived the project of restoring the republic, and caused Benedict VI. who adhered to the emperor, to be murdered in prison. His faction elected Boniface VII., another faction elected Benedict VII., and a third John XIV., who was put to death by Boniface.(4)

These horrors succeeded one another so rapidly that chronologers have not been able to ascertain the dates, nor historians accurately to settle the names of the pontiffs. The pope of one party was the antipope of another. But Benedict VII. and the imperial party prevailing, Boniface went in person to Constantinople, and implored the Greek emperors, Basil and Constantine, to come and restore the throne of the Cæsars in Italy, and deliver the Romans from the German yoke.(5)

This circumstance, my dear Philip, merits your attention. The popes, in order to increase their power, had formerly renounced their allegiance to the Greeks, and called in the Franks. They afterward had recourse to the Germans, who confirmed the privileges granted them by the French; and now they seemed ready to receive their ancient masters, or rather to acknowledge no master at all: and hence they have been accused of boundless ambition. But in these proceedings I can see no foundation for such a charge. It is natural for man to desire sway; and when obtained, to seek to increase it. When the popes were become temporal princes, they would consequently seek to secure and extend their dominion. If they had acted otherwise, they would not have been men. I am much more offended at that dominion of blind belief, which they endeavoured to extend over the human mind. The one was a generous, the other, an ignoble ambition; the first made only a

(1) Sigon. lib. vii.

(4) Sigon. lib. vii.

(2) Id. ibid.

(5) Id. ibid.

(3) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i

few men change their sovereign, the latter subjected millions to a debasing superstition, and was necessarily accompanied with hypocrisy and fraud.

I have already mentioned, in the history of France, the dispute about Lorrain, which Otho II. politically divided with Lothario's brother Charles, on condition that the French prince should do homage for it after the custom of those times, with bended knee, and closed hands. That war being finished, and the affairs of Germany settled, Otho marched into Italy, entered Rome without opposition, and severely chastised the rebels; but attempting to wrest Calabria from the Greeks, his army was cut in pieces by the Saracens, whom the Greeks had called to their assistance.(1) He died soon after at Rome, while preparing to take revenge on the enemy.

Otho III. already elected emperor, succeeded his father at twelve years of age; and his uncle and his mother disputing the administration, Germany was disquieted by a turbulent regency, while Rome became a prey to new factions, and the scene of new crimes. Crescentius blew again the trumpet of liberty, and persuaded the Romans they were still free, that he might have it in his power to enslave them.

But when the emperor, who proved a brave and enterprising prince, came of age, all things were soon reduced into order. He defeated the Danes, who had invaded the empire, and entered into a friendly alliance with Eric, king of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, on condition that German missionaries should be allowed to preach the gospel in his dominions;(2) a great concession in those times, and highly mortifying to the worshippers of Odin.

The affairs of the North being settled, Otho marched into Italy at the intercession of John XV. who was persecuted by Crescentius. Alarmed at the name of Otho, which had so often proved fatal to their confederates, the rebels returned to their duty, and Crescentius was pardoned. But scarce had the emperor left Rome, when that licentious spirit again revolted; expelled Gregory V. the successor of John XV. and elevated to the papal chair a creature of his own, under the name of John XVI. Enraged at this fresh insult, Otho returned with a powerful army to Rome, which he took by assault; ordered Crescentius to be beheaded, and the antipope to be thrown from the top of the Castle of St. Angelo, after his eyes had been put out, and his nose cut off.(3)

Having thus punished the rebels, restored Gregory, and received anew the allegiance of the citizens of Rome, Otho returned to Germany; whence he proceeded to Poland, which he erected into a kingdom at the solicitation of the duke Boleslaus, who did him homage, and agreed to hold his dominions as a fief of the empire.(4)

But the Saracens about this time making an irruption into the Campania of Rome, the emperor was again obliged to march into Italy. He expelled the ravagers, and repaired with a small body of troops to Rome, where his life was endangered by a conspiracy; and, while he was assembling forces to punish the rebels, he is said to have been poisoned by a pair of gloves sent him by the widow of Crescentius, whom he had debauched under a promise of marriage.(5)

The empire sustained a great loss in the death of this prince, who was equally brave, resolute, and just, and by a glorious reign of eighteen years, changed the surname of Infant, which had been given him at his accession, into that of the Wonder of the World.

As Otho III. died without children, a number of competitors started up for the empire, three of whom were supposed alike qualified to wear the imperial crown; Henry, duke of Bavaria, Herman, duke of Suabia, and Ekkard, marquis of Saxony. But the duke of Bavaria, being grandson to Otho II. by the female line, was elected in consequence of his superior power, and confirmed and consecrated under the name of Henry II.

The new emperor had no sooner settled the affairs of Germany, and dis-

(1) Leo Ostiensis, lib. ii.
Hist. de l'Emp. tom. i.

(2) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.
(4) Baron.

(3) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. Heiss,
(5) *Hist. de l'Eglise* par Rened

concerted an association formed against him by the king of Poland, than he found it necessary to march into Italy, where Ardouin, marquis of Ivrea, had assumed the sovereignty. Ardouin retired at the approach of Henry, who was crowned king of Lombardy, at Pavia, by the archbishop of Milan; but the marquis having some partisans in that city, they inflamed the populace to such a degree, that the emperor was in danger of being sacrificed to their fury. The tumult was at last quelled by the imperial troops. Those within the city defended the palace, while detachments from the camp scaled the walls, and committed terrible slaughter in the streets, till Henry ordered them to desist, and retired to the fortress of St. Peter. Thither the principal citizens repaired in a body; implored the emperor's clemency; protested their loyalty, and laid the blame of the sedition on the partisans of Ardouin, who had practised on the ignorance of the vulgar. Henry generously admitted their apology: "Mercy," said he, "is my favourite virtue; and I would much rather find your obedience the result of affection than the consequence of fear."(1)

The troubles of Germany obliged the emperor to leave Italy without visiting Rome. But these being quelled, and the king of Poland, who had revolted, reduced to obedience, Henry afterward returned to Italy with his wife Cunegunda, and was crowned in St. Peter's by Benedict VIII. He at the same time defeated Ardouin, who had reassumed the royal authority in his absence, and quieted the disorders of Lombardy.

Cloyed with success, sick of human greatness or of the toils of empire, and charmed with the tranquillity of a monastic life, Henry had for some time expressed a desire of retiring from the world, and now actually took the religious habit. But the abbot of St. Vall, when he received the emperor as a brother, wisely imposed the following command on him: "Monks owe obedience to their superior," said he: "I order you to continue at the helm of government."(2)

In consequence of this injunction, Henry consented to wear the crown, and increased in prosperity to the hour of his death. Yet he seems to have been a prince of a weak mind; for, besides his monastic whim, it appears that he had made a vow of chastity. And, when he felt his end approaching, he sent for the parents of his wife Cunegunda, and said, "You gave her to me a virgin, and I restore her a virgin!"(3) Can a restraint on the natural inclinations be a virtue, where their indulgences does not interfere with the welfare of society? Do not think so. Such a declaration from a husband is sufficient to make us credit the accusations of adultery laid against Cunegunda, though she is said to have proved her innocence by handling red-hot iron.

LETTER XVII.

England, from the Death of Alfred to the Reign of Canute the Great.

ENGLAND, my dear Philip, from the reign of Alfred to the Danish conquest, affords few objects to arrest the attention of the scholar, the gentleman, or the politician. Little attention was paid to arts or letters; which, with manners, suffered a decline. The constitution continued nearly the same. A concise account of the principal reigns will therefore be sufficient for your purpose; more especially as England, during this period, had no connexion with the affairs of the continent.

Alfred was succeeded by his son Edward the Elder, being the first of that name who sat on the English throne. Though inferior to his father in genius and erudition, he equalled him in military talents; and he had occasion for them. Ethelwald, his cousin-german, son to king Ethelbert, Alfred's elder

(1) Heiss. lib. ii. Barre, tom. iii.

(2) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

(3) *Id.* libd

brother, disputed the crown, and called in the Danes to support his claim. The death of Ethelwald, who fell in a battle with the Kentish men,⁽¹⁾ decided the quarrel; but Edward's wars with the Danes continued during the greater part of his reign, though he was successful in almost every engagement. He died in 925.

Athelstan, Edward's natural son, obtained the kingdom in preference to his legitimate children. As he was arrived at an age more suited to the cares of government, and the nation, exposed to foreign and domestic wars, required a prince of vigour and abilities, the stain in his birth was overlooked.

No sooner was Athelstan securely seated on the throne, than he endeavoured to give it stability by providing against the insurrections of the domestic Danes. With this view he marched into Northumberland, their most considerable settlement; and finding that they bore with impatience the English yoke, he judged it prudent to confer on Sitheric, a Danish nobleman, the title of king, and to give him his sister Editha in marriage, as a farther motive of attachment. But this policy, though apparently wise, proved the source of many troubles.

Sitheric died within a twelvemonth after his elevation; and his two sons by a former marriage, Anlaf and Godfrid, founding pretensions on their father's rank, assumed the sovereignty, without waiting for the approbation of Athelstan. But they were soon expelled by that powerful monarch, who was no less brave than politic. The former took shelter in Ireland, the latter in Scotland; where he was protected for some time by the clemency of Constantine, who then swayed the Scottish sceptre. Continually solicited, however, and even menaced, by the English monarch, Constantine at last promised to deliver up his guest; but secretly detesting such treachery he gave Godfrid a hint to make his escape. Incensed at Constantine's behaviour, though the death of the fugitive had freed him from all apprehensions, Athelstan entered Scotland with a numerous army, and reduced the Scots to such distress, that their king was happy to preserve his crown by the most humble submission.⁽²⁾

Athelstan afterward defeated the Scotch, Welsh, and Danes, in a general engagement at Brunbury, in Northumberland. In consequence of this victory he enjoyed tranquillity during the rest of his reign. He appears to have been one of the most able and active of our ancient princes; and his memorable law for the encouragement of commerce discovers a liberality of mind worthy of the most enlightened ages; that a merchant, who had made two voyages, on his own account, to distant lands, should be admitted to the rank of a less thane or gentleman.⁽³⁾

Athelstan was succeeded by his brother Edmund; who, on his accession, met with some disturbance from the Northumbrian Danes, whom he reduced to obedience. He also conquered Cumberland from the Britons, and conferred that principality on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition that he should do homage to England for it, and protect the northern counties from all future incursions of the foreign Danes.⁽⁴⁾

Edmund's reign was short, and his death violent. As he was solemnizing a feast in Gloucestershire, a notorious robber named Leolf, whom he had sentenced to banishment, audaciously entered the hall where his sovereign dined, and seated himself at one of the tables. Enraged at such insolence, Edmund ordered him to be seized; but observing that the ruffian was preparing to resist, the indignant monarch sprung up, and, catching him by the hair, dragged him out of the hall. Meanwhile Leolf, having drawn his dagger, lifted his arm with a furious blow, and stabbed the king to the heart, who immediately expired on the bosom of his murderer.⁽⁵⁾

Edmund left male issue; but as his eldest son was too young to govern the kingdom, his brother Edred was raised to the throne. The beginning of Edred's reign, like those of his predecessors, was disturbed by the rebel-

(1) *Chron. Sax.* H. Hunting

(4) *Gul Malmes. lib. II.*

(2) *Hoveden.*

(5) *Id. ibid.* H. Hunting, lib. v.

(3) *Brompton.*

lion of the Northumbrian Danes. Though frequently humbled, they were never entirely subdued, nor had they ever paid a sincere allegiance to the English crown. Their obedience lasted no longer than the present terror. Edred, instructed by experience, took every precaution to prevent their future insurrections. He settled English garrisons in their most considerable towns, and placed over them an English governor, to watch their motions, and check the first appearance of revolt. He also obliged Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage for Cumberland.(1)

But Edred, though a brave and active prince, lay under the influence of the lowest superstition, and had blindly delivered over his conscience to the guidance of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, commonly called St. Dunstan, whom he advanced to the highest offices of state, and who concealed beneath an appearance of sanctity the most insatiable and insolent ambition. In order to impose on the credulity of mankind, this designing monk had long secluded himself from the world in a miserable cell, where he is said to have had frequent conflicts with the Devil; until one day, when the infernal spirit attempting to seduce him in the shape of a woman, Dunstan seized him by the nose with a pair of red-hot pincers, and held him till the whole neighbourhood resounded with his bellowings.(2) Satan, thus vanquished, durst never more show his face. This story, and others of the like nature, then seriously believed, obtained the abbot a reputation, both with prince and people, which no real piety or virtue could possibly have procured him. Soon after his return from solitude, he was placed by Edred at the head of the treasury; and, sensible that he owed his advancement solely to the opinion of his austerity, he professed himself a friend to the rigid monastic rules, which about this time began to prevail, and by which monks were excluded from all commerce with the world and with women. He introduced them into the convents of Glastonbury and Abingdon, and endeavoured to render them universal in the kingdom.(3)

A word here of the monastic life.

There had been monasteries in England from the first introduction of Christianity among the Saxons, and these establishments had been greatly multiplied by the mistaken piety of the English princes and nobles, who sought to bribe Heaven by donations to the church. But the monks had hitherto been a species of secular priests, who were at liberty either to marry or continue single, and who lived after the manner of our present canons or prebendaries. They both intermingled with the world, in some degree, and endeavoured to render themselves useful to it. A superstitious devotion, however, had produced in Italy a new species of monks, who secluded themselves entirely from the world, renounced all claim to liberty, and made a merit of the most inviolable chastity. Dunstan laid hold of this circumstance to commence reformer. The popes had favoured the doctrine from motives of general policy, as detaching the ecclesiastical from the civil power: the abbot embraced it for his own aggrandisement. Celibacy was therefore extolled as the universal duty of priests; and, in England, the minds of men were already prepared for such an innovation, though it militates against the strongest propensities in human nature.

The first preachers of Christianity among the Saxons had carried to the most extravagant height the praises of inviolable chastity; the pleasures of love had been represented as incompatible with Christian perfection; and an abstinence from all commerce with the softer sex, certainly the highest act of self-denial, was deemed a sufficient atonement for the greatest enormities. It therefore naturally followed, as a consequence of this doctrine, that those who officiated at the altar should at least be free from such pollution. And Dunstan and his reformed monks knew well how to avail themselves of these popular topics, and set off their own character to the best advantage. On the other hand, their rivals the secular clergy, who were numerous and rich, and possessed of the ecclesiastical dignities, defended themselves with

(1) Hoveden.

(2) Osborne in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii

(3) *id. ibid.*

vigour, and boldly maintained the sanctity of the institution of marriage.(1) The whole nation was thrown into a ferment.

In the mean time, the power of the monks received a check by the death of Edred, the dupe of their ambition. He left children, but in an infant state; the crown was therefore conferred on Edwy, his nephew, son to Edmund his brother and predecessor.(2)

This prince, who was only seventeen years of age at his accession, possessed an elegant person, and the most amiable and promising virtues. But neither the graces of his figure nor the accomplishments of his mind could screen him from the fury of the monks, whom he unhappily offended in the beginning of his reign. The beautiful Elgiva, his second or third cousin, had made an impression on the susceptible heart of Edwy; and, as he was at an age when the tender passions are most keenly felt, he ventured to marry her, though within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the church. The austerity of the monks made them particularly violent on this occasion: the king therefore entertained a strong aversion against them, and determined to oppose their project of expelling the seculars from the convents. But he had soon reason to repent his rashness in provoking such dangerous enemies. On the day of his coronation, while the nobility, assembled in the great hall, were indulging themselves in riot and disorder, after the example of their German ancestors, Edwy, attracted by the gentler pleasures of love, retired to the queen's apartment, and gave loose to his fondness, which was but feebly checked by the presence of her mother. Dunstan conjectured the reason of the king's absence; and carrying along with him Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, over whom he had gained an absolute ascendant, he burst into the royal privacy; upbraided Edwy of lasciviousness, tore him from the arms of his consort, and pushed him back ignominiously into the company of the nobles, loading the queen with the most opprobrious epithets.(3)

Though Edwy was young, and had the prejudices of the age to encounter, he found means to revenge this public insult. He accused Dunstan of malversation in office, while at the head of the treasury; and as that minister did not clear himself of the charge, the king banished him the realm. But Dunstan's party were not idle during his absence. They poisoned the minds of the people to such a degree by declamations against the king, and panegyrics on the abbot's sanctity, that the royal authority was despised, and still more outrageously insulted. Archbishop Odo ordered the queen to be seized; and after her face had been seared with a red-hot iron, in order to destroy that fatal beauty which had ensnared the king, she was carried into Ireland, there to remain in perpetual exile.(4)

Edwy, finding resistance ineffectual, was obliged to consent to a divorce, which was pronounced by the imperious Odo. But these were not the only evils which attended this unfortunate prince and his consort. The amiable Elgiva was made prisoner, by her persecutors, and cruelly murdered in returning to the embraces of the king, whom she still considered as her husband. Nothing less than her death could satisfy the archbishop and the monks. Edwy was dethroned by the same influence, in order to make room for his brother Edgar, a boy of thirteen years of age. Dunstan returned to England and took upon him the government of the young king and his party. He was first installed in the see of Worcester, next in that of London, and afterward in that of Canterbury; of all which he long kept possession. In the mean time the unhappy Edwy was excommunicated, and pursued by his enemies with unrelenting vengeance.(5) But his death soon freed them from all inquietude, and left Edgar in peaceable possession of the throne.

The reign of Edgar is one of the most fortunate in the English annals. Though he ascended the throne in early youth, he soon discovered an excellent capacity for government. He showed no aversion against war: he took the wisest precautions for public safety; and, by his vigilance and foresight

(1) Spelm. Con. vol. i.

(4) Osborne, i. li sup.

(2) Chron. Sax.

(5) Brompton.

(3) Gul. Malmes. lib. ii

he was enabled to indulge his natural inclination for peace. He maintained a body of troops in the North, to keep the mutinous Northumbrians in awe, and to repel the inroads of the Scots. He also built and supported a powerful navy; and, in order to habituate the seaman to the practice of their profession, as well as to intimidate his enemies, he stationed three squadrons of the coasts of his kingdom, and commanded them to make by turns the circuit of his dominions. The foreign Danes durst not approach a country which was so strongly defended: the domestic Danes saw destruction to be the inevitable consequence of insurrection; and the princes of Wales, of Scotland and even of Ireland, were happy to appease so potent a monarch by submissions.(1)

But the means by which Edgar more especially maintained his authority at home, and preserved public tranquillity, was paying court to Dunstan and the monks, who had violently placed him on the throne, and whose claim to superior sanctity gave them an ascendancy over the people. He favoured their scheme of reformation, as it was called, but in reality of dispossessing the secular canons of the monasteries; he consulted them in the administration of all ecclesiastical and even of many civil affairs; and although the vigour of his genius prevented him from being entirely guided by them, he took care never to disoblige them. Hence he is represented by the monkish writers not only as a warrior and a politician, a character which he seems to have merited, but also as a saint and a man of virtue, though he was licentious in the highest degree, and violated every law human and divine. His very amours are a compound of barbarity and brutality. He broke into a convent, carried of a nun by force, and even committed violence on her person.(2) Struck also with the charms of a nobleman's daughter, in whose house he was entertained, he demanded that she should pass that very night with him, without once consulting the young lady's inclinations.(3) But his most remarkable amour was with the beautiful Elfrida; and, as it is connected with the history of the following reign, I shall relate it circumstantially. It will give you at once an idea of the manners of the age and of the character of Edgar.

Elfrida, the only daughter and sole heiress of Olgar, earl of Devonshire, though educated in the country, and a stranger at court, had filled all England with the reputation of her beauty. Edgar, who was never indifferent to any report of this kind, sent Athelwold, his favourite, to see if the young lady was indeed as fair as fame had represented her. Athelwold no sooner saw Elfrida than he was inflamed with love, and determined to sacrifice to it his fidelity to his master: he therefore told Edgar, on his return, that the fortune and quality of Elfrida alone had been the cause of the adulation paid her, and that her charms, so far from being extraordinary, would have been entirely overlooked in a woman of inferior condition. "But," added he, when he found he had blunted the edge of the king's curiosity, "though she has nothing to claim the attention of a sovereign, her immense wealth would, to a subject, be a sufficient compensation for the homeliness of her person; and, although it could never produce on me the illusion of beauty, it might make her a convenient wife!"

Edgar, glad of an opportunity of establishing his favourite's fortune, not only gave his approbation to the projected match, but forwarded its success by recommending him in the warmest manner to the earl of Devonshire; so that Athelwold was soon made happy in the possession of his beloved Elfrida. Dreading, however, the eyes of the king, he still found some pretence for detaining his wife in the country. But all his cautions were insufficient to conceal his amorous treachery. Royal favourites are never without enemies: Edgar was soon informed of the truth; but before he would execute ven-

(1) *Spelm. Conc.* vol. i.

(2) *Gul. Malmes.* lib. ii.

(3) This demand was made to the mother, who, being a woman of virtue, sent secretly to the king's bed, instead of her daughter, her maid Elfreda; with whom Edgar passed the night so much to his satisfaction, that he not only forgave the old lady for her pious deceit, but transferred his love to Elfreda, who became his favourite mistress. *Gul. Malmes.* ubi sup.

geance on Athelwold's perfidy, he resolved to satisfy himself fully in regard to Elfrida's beauty. He therefore told his deceiver, that he intended to pay him a visit at his castle, and be introduced to his wife, whose beauty he had formerly heard so much praised. Athelwold was thunderstruck at the proposal; but, as he could not refuse such an honour, he only begged leave to go a few hours before his royal guest, that he might make proper preparations for his reception. On his arrival he fell at his wife's feet, discovered the whole secret, and conjured her, if she valued either her own honour or his life, to disguise as much as possible that fatal beauty which had tempted him to deceive his prince and friend. Elfrida promised compliance, though nothing appears to have been farther from her thoughts. She adorned her person with the most exquisite art, and called forth all her charms; not despairing, it should seem, yet to reach that exalted station of which Athelwold's fondness had deprived her. The event was answerable to her wishes: she excited at once in Edgar's bosom the warmest love, and the keenest desire of revenge. The king, however, who could dissemble those passions, as well as feel them, beheld her with seeming indifference; and having seduced Athelwold into a wood, under pretence of hunting, he stabbed him with his own hand, took Elfrida to court, and soon after publicly married her.(1)

This reign is remarkable for the extirpation of wolves from England. Edgar took great pleasure in pursuing those ravenous animals: and when he found they had all taken shelter in the mountains and forests of Wales, he changed the tribute of money imposed on the Welsh princes by Athelstan into an annual tribute of three hundred head of wolves(2); a policy which occasioned so much diligence in hunting them, that the breed soon became extinct in the island.

Edgar was succeeded by his son Edward, commonly called the Martyr, whom he had by his first wife, the daughter of earl Ordmer.

The succession of Edward did not take place without much opposition. Elfrida, his step-mother, had a son named Ethelred, only seven years old, whom she attempted to raise to the throne. But the principal nobility, dreading her imperious temper, opposed a measure which must increase her authority, if not put her in possession of the regency; and Dunstan, to whom it was of great importance to have a king favourable to his cause, resolutely crowned and anointed Edward, over whom he had already gained an absolute ascendant. His short reign was remarkable for nothing but a continual struggle between the monks and the secular clergy. He was treacherously murdered at the instigation of Elfrida, in order to make room for her son Ethelred.

Soon after the accession of Ethelred, a prince without courage or capacity, England was visited anew by the Danes. The wise regulations of Alfred, and the valour of his immediate successors, had long deterred those ravagers from approaching the British shores; and their settlement in France had required, for a time, most of their superfluous hands. But a new race of men having now sprung up in the northern regions, who could no longer disburthen themselves on Normandy, and England being no longer governed by an Alfred or an Edgar, they ventured to renew their depredations. Ethelred, instead of rousing his people to defend with courage their prince and their property, meanly compounded with the enemy for his safety, by bribing them to depart the kingdom.(3)

That shameful expedient, which invited assailants instead of repelling them, was attended with the success that might have been expected; the Danes again returned, and were again bribed to depart. In the mean time Ethelred, from a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel resolution of massacring the Danes throughout all his dominions. Secret orders were accordingly given to commence the execution on the same day, and all

(1) Gul. Malmes. Hoveden, Brompton, ubi sup.

(2) Gul. Malmes. lib. II.

(3) Ibid.

the Danes were destroyed without mercy. Even Gunilda, sister to the king of Denmark, who had married Earl Páling, and embraced Christianity, was seized and put to death by Ethelred, after having seen her husband and children butchered before her face.(1)

This unhappy princess foretold, in the agonies of despair, that her murder would soon be revenged by the total ruin of the English nation. Never was prophecy better fulfilled, nor ever did barbarous policy prove more fatal to its projectors. Sweyn, king of Denmark, breathing vengeance for the slaughter of his countrymen, landed speedily in the West of England, and desolated the whole kingdom with fire and sword. The English, sensible what they had to expect from a barbarous and enraged enemy, attempted several times to make a stand; but they were successively betrayed by Alferic and Edric, governors of Mercia. The base and imprudent expedient of money was again tried, till the nation was entirely drained of its treasure, but without effect. The Danes continued their ravages: and Ethelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and the treachery of his own subjects, fled over to his brother-in-law, Richard duke of Normandy, who received him with a generosity that does honour to his memory.(2)

Sweyn died soon after Ethelred left England, and before he had time to establish himself in his newly acquired dominions. Ethelred was recalled: but his misconduct was incurable. On resuming the government, he discovered the same incapacity, indolence, cowardice, and credulity, which had so often exposed him to the insults of his enemies; and the English found in Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn, an enemy no less terrible than his father. An army was assembled against him under the command of Edric and prince Edmond. Edric, whom the infatuated king still trusted, continued his perfidious machinations. After endeavouring in vain to get the prince into his power, he found means to dissipate the army, and then openly revolted to Canute with forty vessels.(3)

Notwithstanding this misfortune, Edmond, whose intrepidity never failed him, collected the remaining force of the kingdom, and was soon in a condition to give the enemy battle. But the king had so often experienced the perfidy of his subjects, that he had lost all confidence in them: he therefore refused to take the field; so that the prince's vigorous measures were rendered altogether ineffectual, the army being discouraged by the timidity of their sovereign. As the north had already submitted to Canute's power, Edmond retired to London, determined there to maintain the small remains of English liberty. In the mean time his father died, after an inglorious reign of thirty five years.

Ethelred left two sons by his first marriage: Edmond, who succeeded him, and Edwy, whom Canute afterward murdered. His two sons by the second marriage, Alfred and Edward, were conveyed into Normandy by Queen Emma, immediately after the death of their father.

Edmond, who received the name of Ironside from his hardy valour, possessed courage and abilities sufficient to have saved his country, not only from sinking under its present calamities, but even to have raised it from that abyss of misery into which it was already fallen, had the English, among their other misfortunes, not been infected with treachery and disloyalty. But these rendered his best concerted schemes abortive, and his noblest efforts fruitless. The traitor Edric pretended to return to his duty; and, as Edmond had no general in whom he could repose more confidence, he gave him a considerable command in the army. A battle was soon after fought at Assington in Essex. Edric deserted to the enemy, in the beginning of the day, and

(1) Cul. Malmes. lib. ii. Hen. Hunting. lib. vi. Contrary to the testimony of most of our old English historians, who represent the massacre of the Danes as universal, Wallingford (page 548) says it affected only a military body in the pay of the king, dispersed over the country; become insolent in an uncommon degree, and in some measure masters of the kingdom; which, instead of protecting, they often ravaged, in conjunction with the foreign Danes. After so great a lapse of time, it is impossible to decide upon the matter with certainty; but as the kingdoms of Northumberland and East Anglia were chiefly peopled with Danes, Wallingford's account seems most probable.

(2) Hen. Hunting. lib. vi.

(3) Cul. Malmes. lib. ii.

occasioned the total defeat of the English army, with a great slaughter of the nobility.

The indefatigable Edmond, however, had still resources. He assembled a new army at Gloucester, and was again in a condition to dispute the field; when the Danish and English nobility, equally tired of the struggle, obliged their kings to come to terms. The kingdom was divided between them by treaty. Canute reserved to himself the northern division; Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland, which he had entirely subdued: the southern parts were left to Edmond, who survived the treaty only a month. He was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric, whose treachery made way for the accession of Canute the Dane to the throne of England;(1) Edwin and Edward, the sons of Edmond, being yet in their infancy.

LETTER XVIII.

France from the Accession of Hugh Capet, to the Invasion of England by William, Duke of Normandy.

WHILE England changed its line of sovereigns, and Germany its form of government, France also had changed its reigning family, and was become, like Germany, a government entirely feudal. Each province had its hereditary counts or dukes. He who could only seize upon two or three small villages, paid homage to the usurper of a province; and he who had only a castle held it of the possessor of a town. The kingdom was a monstrous assemblage of members, without any compact body.

Of the princes, or nobles, who held immediately of the crown, Hugh Capet was not the least powerful. He possessed the dukedom of France, which extended as far as Touraine: he was also count of Paris; and the vast domains which he held in Picardy and Champagne gave him great authority in those provinces. He therefore seized the crown on the death of Lewis V. and brought more strength to it than he derived from it; for the royal domain was now reduced to the cities of Laon and Soissons, with a few other disputed territories.(2)

The right of succession belonged to Charles, duke of Lorraine, uncle to Lewis V. but the condition of vassal of the empire appeared to the French nobility a sufficient reason for excluding him, and Hugh Capet secured the favour of the clergy by resigning to them the abbey which had been hereditary in his family. An extreme devotion, real or assumed, recommended him to the people; and particularly his veneration for relics. Force and address seconded his ambition, and the national aversion against his rival completed its success. He was acknowledged in an assembly of the nobles; he was anointed at Rheims; and he farther established his throne, by associating his son Robert in the government of the kingdom, and vesting him with those ensigns of royalty which he prudently denied himself, as what might give umbrage to men who were lately his equals.(3)

In the mean time the duke of Lorraine entered France, made himself master of Laon by assault, and of Rheims by the treachery of archbishop Arnold, his relation. But this unhappy prince was afterward himself betrayed by the bishop of Laon, and made prisoner for life.(4)

A council was assembled for the trial of Arnold. He was degraded; and Gerbert, a man of learning and genius, who had been tutor to the emperor Otho III. and to the king's son, Robert, was elected archbishop of Rheims. But the court of Rome not being consulted in this transaction, the election was declared void, Arnold was re-established, and Gerbert deposed. The

(1) Gul. Malmes. Hen Hunting. ubi sup.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Glab. Hist. sui Temp.

(4) Sigeberti, Chron.

first, however, remained in prison till the death of Hugh Capet, who was more afraid of Arnold's intrigues than of the thunder of the Vatican;(1) while the second, having found an asylum in the court of his pupil Otho, became archbishop of Ravenna, and afterward pope, under the name of Silvester II.

Nothing else memorable happened during the reign of Hugh Capet, who conducted all his affairs with great prudence and moderation; and had the singular honour of establishing a new family, and in some measure a new form of government, with few circumstances of violence, and without shedding blood. He died in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the eighth of his reign, and was quietly succeeded by his son Robert; a prince of a less vigorous genius, though not of a less amiable disposition.

The most remarkable circumstance, in the reign of Robert, and the most worthy of our attention, is his excommunication by the pope. This prince had espoused Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree; a marriage not only lawful according to our present ideas of things, and justified by the practice of all nations, ancient and modern, but necessary to the welfare of the state, she being the sister of Rodolph, king of Burgundy. But the clergy, among their other usurpations, had about this time made a sacrament of marriage, and laid the most essential of civil engagements under spiritual prohibitions, which extended even to the seventh degree of consanguinity. The popes, politically arrogated to themselves a special jurisdiction over this first object of society, and that on which all the rest hang. Gregory V. therefore undertook to dissolve the marriage between Robert and Bertha, though it had been authorized by several bishops; and in a council held at Rome, without examining the cause, and without hearing the parties, he published, with the most despotic authority, an imperious decree, which ordered the king and queen to be separated, under peril of excommunication. And all the bishops who had countenanced the pretended crime were suspended from their functions, until such time as they should make satisfaction to the Holy See.(2)

Robert, however, persisted in keeping his wife, and thereby incurred the sentence of excommunication; which, according to cardinal Peter Damien, an historian of those times, had such an effect on the minds of men, that the king was abandoned by all his courtiers, and even by his own domestics, two servants excepted. And these threw to the dogs all the victuals which their master left at meals, and purified, by fire, the vessels in which he had been served: so fearful were they of what had been touched by an excommunicated person!(3) The same credulous author adds, that the queen was brought to bed of a monster, which had a neck and head like a goose—a certain proof and punishment of incest! But as Voltaire very justly observes, there was nothing monstrous in all this affair, but the insolence of the pope, and the weakness of the king; who, giving way to superstitious terrors, or afraid of civil commotions, at last repudiated his wife Bertha, and married Constance, daughter to the count of Arles, in whom he found an imperious termagant, instead of an amiable consort. Gregory also obliged him to restore the traitor Arnold to the see of Rheims.(4)

In the mean time Robert had it in his power to have been master of the popes, if he had possessed the ambition and the vigour necessary for such an enterprise. After the death of Henry II. the last emperor of the house of Saxony, the Italians, sick of the German dominion, offered their crown and the imperial dignity to the king of France. Robert, however, had the resolution to refuse it: and not only his own subjects, but Europe in general was

(1) Sigebert, *Chron.*

(2) Glab. *Hist. sui Temp.*

(3) Let us not, however, with certain sarcastical historians, represent this mode of inspiring religious terrors as an invention of the Christian priesthood. For Cæsar tells us that, among the ancient Gauls, if any one, whether magistrate or private person, refused to submit to the sentence of the Druids, he was *interdicted the sacrifices*; and that, while under such prohibition, all men shunned him, lest they should suffer by the contagion of his impiety. (Cæsar, *Bell. Gal. lib. vi.*) The power of excommunication, or the authority of excluding the vicious and refractory from religious privileges, is necessary indeed to every body of priests. But it ought to extend no farther, to affect no legal right, nor any civil privilege.

(4) Aimon. *Hist. lib. v.*

soon convinced that he had acted wisely: for those who made the proposal afterward deserted the person who accepted it.(1)

The latter years of Robert's reign were rendered very unhappy by the disorders of his family. Unfortunate in the death of his eldest son Hugh, whom he had associated in the sovereignty, his queen Constance, whose haughtiness was altogether insupportable, attempted to regulate the succession. Having an aversion against her son Henry, she wanted to place her younger son Robert on the throne. But the king, by the advice of his parliament, confirmed the succession to Henry, his eldest surviving son. Provoked at this measure, the queen wanted to embroil the brothers;(2) but they, being united by a sincere friendship, withstood all her irritations. At length, become equally the objects of her hatred, they retired from court, and took arms in order to obtain a separate establishment. In the mean time the king died, and was succeeded by his son Henry.

There is not any monarch in the French history more generally or more highly commended than Robert, notwithstanding his weakness of temper, or on whose death the lamentations of all ranks of people were louder or more sincere. The monks spoke the sense of the whole nation, when they deplored him in these words: "We have lost a father, who governed us in peace. We lived under him in security; for he did not oppress, or suffer oppression: we loved him, and there was nobody whom he feared."(3)

Henry I. was twenty-seven years of age at his accession to the throne, and, with all the spirit of a young man, he had the sagacity and prudence of one more advanced in years; without which, the crown would have been shaken from his head almost as soon as it was placed there. His mother Constance, who hated him, as has been observed, and who was ambitious still to govern, had drawn over to her party a number of lords and bishops, under pretence of supporting the cause of her younger son Robert. Henry, therefore, after some ineffectual struggles, was obliged to take refuge in Normandy, where he was received with all possible respect by duke Robert, who assured him that the treasures and forces of the duchy were at his disposal. Nor were these mere expressions of civility; an army of Normans entered France on one side, while the king and royal party invaded it on the other. The queen dowager and her faction were humbled, and Henry recovered all that he had lost. But although this contest ended gloriously for the king, it proved hurtful to the monarchy; for as the success of the war was principally owing to the Duke of Normandy, Henry added to his duchy Gisors, Chaumont, Pontoise, and that part of the Vexin which yet remained to the crown.(4)

The next affair of importance that occupied the king's attention was the succession to the duchy of Normandy. Duke Robert had thought fit, in compliance with the fashionable devotion of those times, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But before his departure, as he was a prudent prince, though now old and superstitious, he assembled his nobles; and, informing them of his pious purpose, the length of the journey, and the dangers to which he must be exposed, he engaged them to swear allegiance to his natural son William, whom he tenderly loved, and intended for his successor, as he had no legitimate issue. He also recommended the guardianship of this son, who was only nine years of age, to two persons in whom he placed the greatest confidence—Henry I. king of France, and Alain duke of Bretagne.(5) But these precautions did not prevent many disorders, which a mind not hoodwinked by superstition must have foreseen; arising from the habitual turbulency of the great, the illegitimacy of William, and the claims from other branches of the ducal family.

Robert died, as he had apprehended, in his pilgrimage; and left his son rather the heir of his wishes than of his dominions. The licentious nobles, freed from the awe of sovereign authority, broke out into personal quarrels,

(1) Aimon. *Hist. lib. v.*
(4) Gul. Gemet. *lib. vi*

(2) Glab. *Hist. sui Temp.*
(5) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Helgaldus. Glab. *ubi sup.*

and made the whole dutchy a scene of war and devastation. Alain, duke of Bretagne, came to appease their animosities; but being very roughly treated, he returned home, and was soon after carried off by slow poison, supposed to have been given him in Normandy. Various pretenders arose to the succession; and the king of France, forgetting what he owed to Robert, seemed willing to deprive his infant son of his inheritance, by taking advantage of these troubles. He accordingly invaded the Norman frontier, and reduced several places; but not finding the conquest so easy as he expected, or influenced by the returning sentiments of friendship and generosity, he united his forces with those of the young duke, and the malecontents were totally routed in the battle of Val de Dunes, which gave William quiet possession of his dominions.(1)

Henry I. died in 1060, and was succeeded by his son Philip, whom he had by his second wife, and the first with whom he cohabited, the daughter of Joradislaus, duke of Russia—a circumstance truly remarkable, in an age when the intercourse between nations was so little familiar. But the prohibitions of marriage were so multiplied, and the example of his father so alarming, that Henry is supposed to have sought a wife in this remote country, in order to avoid the crime of incest, and the danger of excommunication. What must the disorders of society have been, when even a king did not know whom he might lawfully marry.

Philip I. was only eight years of age at the time of his accession: and, what is very singular, instead of being put under the guardianship of his mother or his uncle, one of whom it might naturally be supposed would have been called to the regency, he was committed by his father to the care of Baldwin V. surnamed the pious, earl of Flanders—a man of strict honour, and brother-in-law to Henry. Baldwin gave his pupil an education suitable to his rank; he kept the nobility in awe, without giving them just cause of offence; and he maintained peace, by being always prepared for war. History, in a word, scarce furnishes us with an instance of a minority more quiet, and of none more happy—an example the more remarkable, as the times and circumstances of it were both delicate.

The only colour that Baldwin gave for censure, was in his conduct towards William duke of Normandy, who was preparing to invade England, and whom he permitted to raise forces in France and Flanders—a liberty which, from the event, was judged impolitic. But the duke being his son-in-law, he could not refuse him with a good grace: and there was yet a farther motive for compliance. The fortunate and enterprising William might have entered France with that army which he had assembled against England, where he succeeded more speedily, and with more ease than could possibly have been expected. But the particulars of that invasion and its consequences belong to the history of our own country. I shall therefore only here observe, that to balance in some measure the increase of William's power, an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the crowns of France and Scotland. Soon after that negotiation Baldwin died, and left his pupil Philip I. in peaceable possession of his kingdom, when he had attained his fifteenth year.(2)

LETTER XIX.

England from the Danish to the Norman Conquest

You have already, my dear Philip, seen Edmond Ironside inhumanly murdered, and England exposed to the ambition of Canute the Dane—a prince both active and brave, and at the head of a numerous army, ready to take advantage of the minority of Edwin and Edward, the sons of Edmond. The

(1) Gul. Gemet. ubi sup.

(2) Gul. Malmes. lib. ii.

English could therefore expect nothing but total subjection from Canute. But the Danish monarch, commonly so little scrupulous, showed, on this occasion, an anxiety to conceal his injustice under plausible pretences. Before he seized the inheritance of the two young princes, he summoned a general assembly of the states of England, in order to fix the succession; and having suborned some noblemen to depose that, in the treaty of Gloucester, it was agreed, "That Canute in case of Edmond's decease, should succeed to the whole kingdom," the states convinced by this evidence, or overawed by his victorious arms, immediately put the Dane in full possession of the government.(1)

But although Canute had now attained the great object of his ambition in the undivided sovereignty of England, he was at first obliged to make many sacrifices to it; and to gratify the chief nobility, by bestowing on them extensive governments and jurisdictions. He also thought himself obliged, from political motives, to exercise some severities. In order to reward his Danish followers, he loaded the people with oppressive taxes; and jealous of the two young princes, but sensible that he should render himself detested if he ordered them to be murdered in England, he sent them to his ally the king of Sweden, whom he desired to get them privately despatched, as soon as they arrived at his court. But the Swedish monarch was too generous to comply with such a barbarous request. Afraid, however, to draw on himself the displeasure of Canute, by protecting the English princes, he sent them to be educated in the court of Solomon, king of Hungary—a strange place surely to seek for a preceptor. But the defenceless seek only a protector; and the sons of Edmond found one in Solomon. Edwin, the eldest, was married to that monarch's sister; but he dying without issue, Solomon gave his sister-in-law, Agatha, daughter of the emperor Henry II. in marriage to Edward, the younger brother; and she bore him Edgar Atheling, whom I shall have occasion to mention; Margaret, afterward queen of Scotland; and Christina, who retired into a convent.(2)

The removal of Edmond's children into so distant a country as Hungary was regarded by Canute, next to their death, as the greatest security of his government. But he was still under alarm on account of Alfred and Edward, the sons of Ethelred, who were protected and supported by their uncle, Richard duke of Normandy. Richard had even fitted out a fleet on purpose to restore the English princes to the throne of their ancestors. In order, therefore, to break the storm, and to secure himself on that side, Canute paid his addresses to queen Emma, the duke's sister, and the mother of those princes who disputed his sway. He was listened to: Richard sent over Emma to England, where she was soon after married to Canute, the enemy of her former husband's family, and the conqueror of that country which her children had a right to rule. But Canute promised that her children should still rule it, though not the children of Etheldred; and, although the English disapproved of the match, they were pleased to find at court a sovereign to whom they were accustomed: so that the conqueror, by this marriage, not only secured the alliance of Normandy, but acquired the confidence of his new subjects. Having thus freed himself from the danger of a revolution, Canute determined, like a truly wise prince, by the equity of his administration, to reconcile the English yet farther to the Danish yoke. He sent back to their own country as many of his followers as could safely be spared; he restored the Saxon customs: he made no distinction between the Danes and English in the distribution of justice; and he took care, by a strict execution of law, to protect the lives and properties of all his subjects.(3) The Danes were gradually incorporated with the native English; and both were glad to breathe a little from those multiplied calamities which the conquerors no less than the conquered had experienced in their struggle for dominion.

(1) Gul. Malmes lib. ii. R. Hoveden, *Annal.* pars prior.

(2) Gul. Malmes, lib. ii.

(3) Id. *ibid.*

The first use that Canute made of this tranquillity was to visit Denmark, where he obtained a victory over the Swedes, by the valour of the English under the command of earl Godwin, on whom he bestowed his daughter in marriage. In a second voyage to Denmark he made himself master of Norway, and expelled the good Olaus from his kingdom. Canute seems to have attained the height of his ambition; for, from this period, he appears not only to have laid aside all thoughts of future conquests, but to have held in contempt all the glories and pleasures of the world—a necessary consequence, my dear Philip, of assigning to human enjoyments a satisfaction which they cannot yield, and more especially of pursuing them (another effect of the same cause) at the expense of justice and humanity.

During this change of mind it must have been that Canute, the greatest and most powerful prince of his time, being sovereign of Denmark, Norway, and England, put to the blush his flattering courtiers, who exclaimed, in admiration of his grandeur, that every thing was possible for him. He ordered a chair to be brought, and seated himself on the sea-shore while the tide was rising; and as the waves approached, he said, in an imperious tone, "Thou, sea! art under my dominion, and the land which I sit upon is mine: I charge thee, approach no farther! nor dare to wet the feet of thy sovereign." He even sat some time in seeming expectation of submission: but as the sea still advanced towards him, and at last began to wash him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and observed, that every creature in the universe is feeble and impotent; and that power resides only with *one* Being, in whose hands are the elements of nature, and who can say to the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther!"⁽¹⁾

But although Canute, sick of worldly greatness, began to turn his eyes toward a future state of existence, the spirit which prevailed in that age unfortunately gave a wrong direction to his piety. Instead of making reparation to the persons whom he had injured by former acts of violence, he built churches, endowed monasteries, and appointed prayers to be said for the souls of those who had fallen in battle against him; nay, more meritorious than all the rest! he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome.

After his return from Rome, Canute performed nothing memorable, except an expedition against Malcolm king of Scotland, whom he humbled. He died in 1035, and left the crown of England to his son Harold Harefoot, by his first wife, Alfwen, daughter to the earl of Hampshire, in prejudice of Hardicanute, his son by queen Emma, to whom he had promised the succession.⁽²⁾

Harold reigned only four years. He was succeeded by his brother Hardicanute, whose reign was yet shorter. Neither of these princes had any qualities that merit your attention, nor did any thing memorable happen during their reigns. It will therefore be sufficient to observe, that on the death of Hardicanute, who fell a sacrifice to his brutal intemperance, the English shook off the Danish yoke, and recalled, from Normandy, Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, surnamed the Confessor, to the throne of his ancestors.

This revolution was effected without bloodshed; and the mild and equitable government of Edward soon reconciled the Danes, no less than the English, to his sway. The distinction between the two nations vanished. But the English in vain flattered themselves that they were for ever delivered from foreign masters. A little time convinced them that the evil was rather suspended than removed.

Edward had been educated in Normandy; and, having contracted many intimacies with the natives of that country, as well as an affection for their manners, the court of England was soon filled with Normans, who were distinguished by the royal favour, and had great influence in the national councils. He had also, it appears, though married to a beautiful woman, made an indiscreet vow of virginity, which rendered his bed sterile, but obtained of him from the monks, the title of Saint and Confessor: and he had given

(1) *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i.

(2) *Chron. Sax. H. Hunting. R. Hoveden.*

his kinsman, William duke of Normandy, hopes of succeeding to the English crown. What use that enterprising prince made of this promise, real or pretended, we shall afterward have occasion to see.

In the mean time the English, and particularly earl Godwin, the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, and who had hopes of exalting his own son to the throne, became jealous of the preference shown to foreigners, and openly revolted. The rebels were reduced: the estates of Godwin and his son were confiscated; and they were obliged to flee the realm. But they soon after returned, and reduced the king to conditions; the most considerable of which was, that all foreigners should be banished the kingdom.(1)

Godwin's death, which happened shortly after this treaty, prevented him from establishing that authority which he had acquired at the expense of the crown. But his son Harold, who succeeded him in his estates and offices, and who, with an ambition equal to his father's, was superior to him in address and insinuation, proved no less dangerous to the unsuspecting and unwarlike Edward, whose confidence he had obtained. And the death of Siward, duke of Northumberland, while it enfeebled the royal authority, gave still more consequence to the ambitious Harold. Siward, besides his loyalty and exploits in behalf of the crown, had acquired honour to England, by his successful conduct in the only foreign enterprise undertaken during this reign: and as it is connected with a memorable circumstance in the history of a neighbouring kingdom, as well as with the intrigues of Harold, it doubly deserves our attention.

Duncan, king of Scotland, a prince of a gentle disposition, and some talents, but not possessed of sufficient vigour to govern a turbulent nation, distracted by the animosities of the great, had laid himself open to the designs of Macbeth, a powerful nobleman, nearly allied to the crown; and who, not contented with curbing the king's authority, carried yet farther his traitorous ambition. He murdered his sovereign; usurped the crown; and chased Malcolm Kenmure, the prince and heir, into England. Siward, whose daughter was married to Duncan, undertook, by Edward's orders, the protection of this unhappy family. He marched an army into Scotland, defeated and killed Macbeth in battle, and restored Malcolm to the throne of his ancestors. This service, added to his former connexions with the royal family of Scotland, brought great accession to the authority of Siward in the north, and enabled him to be highly useful to Edward, in restraining the ambition of Godwin and his powerful family; but as he had lost his eldest son Osbern, in the action with Macbeth, it proved eventually fatal to his house, and hurtful to the crown. The duke's second son Woltheof, appeared too young, on his father's death, to be intrusted with the government of Northumberland: and Harold's influence obtained that dukedom for Tosti, his own brother.(2)

There are two anecdotes related of Siward, which strongly mark his character, and are eminently expressive of that enthusiasm of valour, long so predominant in the house of Northumberland. When informed of his son Osbern's death, he was at first inconsolable. But inquiring how he fell, and being told that he behaved with great gallantry, and that his wound was in the *breast*, the feelings of the father seemed lost in those of the soldier: his grief was transformed into joy. "Would to God," exclaimed he, "that I had as many sons as I have hairs, that I might lose them thus!" And when he found his own death approaching, he ordered himself to be clothed in a suit of complete armour; and sitting erect on a couch, with a spear in his hand, "In this posture," said he, "the only one worthy of a warrior, I will meet the tyrant: if I cannot conquer, I shall at least *face* the combat."(3)

Tosti behaved so tyrannically in his government of Northumberland, that the people rose against him, and expelled him by force of arms—a circumstance which contributed much to his brother's aggrandisement. Harold was appointed by the king to punish the Northumbrians, and advanced with

(1) R. Hoveden. Sin Dunelm.

(3) H. Hunting. lib. vi

(2) Gul. Malmes. lib. ii. Buchanan, lib. vii.

an army for that purpose; but being met by a deputation from Morcar, who had been elected duke, and finding that Tosti had acted in a manner unworthy of his station, he returned to the king, and generously persuaded him not only to pardon the rebels, but even to confirm Morcar in the dukedom. He afterward married the sister of that nobleman, and got her younger brother, Edwin, elected into the government of Mercia. He also undertook an expedition against the Welsh, whom he obliged to receive English governors.(1)

By these political and fortunate steps, Harold soon found himself in a condition openly to aspire at the succession to the crown. He had gained the affections of his countrymen by his lenity to the Northumbrians; he had raised their admiration of his valour by his conquest of Wales; and so great was his influence, that he laid almost all England under the command of himself or his friends. His competitors for the succession were Edgar Atheling, the sole surviving heir to the crown, who had been recalled from Hungary, and William duke of Normandy, the king's cousin. But the first was a youth whose imbecility was thought sufficient to set aside his claim, and the second a foreigner. Edward's prepossessions hindered him from supporting the pretensions of Harold; and his irresolution, from securing the crown to the duke of Normandy, whom he secretly favoured: he therefore died without appointing a successor, being worn out with age and infirmities, and more anxious about obtaining a heavenly, than settling his earthly inheritance.

Edward the Confessor was the first who *touched* for the scrofula, hence denominated the King's Evil. The opinion of his sanctity procured belief, among the superstitious vulgar, to this mode of cure: and his successors regarded it as a part of their royalty, to support the same idea. The practice was first dropped by the princes of the house of Brunswick, who wisely considered, that such a pretension must be attended with ridicule in the eyes of all men of cultivated minds, and even become the scorn of an enlightened populace. Posterity are more indebted to this prince for the body of laws which he compiled, and which, on account of their mildness, were long dear to our ancestors.

Though Edward left the succession undecided, it did not long continue so. Harold immediately stepped into the vacant throne; and so well had he taken his measures, that his accession was attended with as little opposition or disturbance, as if he had succeeded by the most indisputable hereditary title. The right of Edgar Atheling was scarce ever mentioned, and still less the claim of the duke of Normandy: the whole nation seemed joyfully to swear allegiance to the new king.(2)

The first danger that Harold experienced was from abroad, and from his own brother. Tosti, when expelled the government of Northumberland, had submitted to a voluntary banishment in Flanders: but no sooner was he informed of the accession of Harold, to whose fortunate ambition he considered himself to have fallen a sacrifice, than he entered into a league with Halfagar, king of Norway, who invaded England with a fleet of three hundred sail. Tosti himself had collected about sixty vessels in the ports of Flanders, with which he put to sea; and after committing some depredations on the south and east coasts of England, he sailed to Northumberland, where he was joined by Halfagar and his powerful armament. The combined fleets disembarked their troops at the mouth of the Humber; and the earls of Northumberland and Mercia were defeated in attempting to oppose the invaders.

Harold was no sooner informed of this disaster, than he hastened to the North, anxious for the safety of his people, and ambitious to show himself worthy of that crown which had been conferred upon him by his countrymen. The English flocked from all quarters to his standard: so that he found himself in a condition to give battle to his enemies, as soon as he reached them

(1) Orderic. Vital.

(2) Gul. Pict. Order. Vital.

The two armies engaged at Stamford. The action, which was long and bloody, ultimately terminated in the total rout of the Danes, and in the death of Tosti and Halfagar. Harold, however, had scarce time to rejoice on account of this victory, before he received intelligence that the duke of Normandy, having landed with a formidable force in the south of England, determined to dispute with him the crown.

The Norman prince (whom I have already had occasion to mention, both in the history of France and of England) founded his claim to the English crown on a pretended will of Edward the Confessor in his favour. This claim he fortified with an oath extorted from Harold when shipwrecked on the coast of France, that he would never aspire to the succession, and by which he bound himself to support the pretensions of William. The will Harold knew to be void of foundation, and the oath he entirely disregarded, as it had not only been drawn from him by the fear of violence, but was in itself unlawful; unless William had not only been appointed successor by the king, but chosen by the people, the English crown not being at the disposal of the sovereign. He therefore replied to the Norman ambassadors, who summoned him to resign the kingdom, that he was determined strenuously to maintain those national liberties with which he had been intrusted, and that the same moment should put a period to his life and his sway. (1)

This answer was no other than what William expected. He knew the valour of Harold, and the power of the English nation; but he consulted only his ambition, and his courage. The boldness of the enterprise he thought would astonish the enemy, and inspire his soldiers with resolution from despair, as well as from a desire of supporting the reputation of their countrymen, who had about this time revived their ancient fame, as we shall afterward have occasion to see, by the most hazardous exploits and the most wonderful successes in the other extremity of Europe.

Nor were these the only foundation of William's hopes. A military spirit had universally diffused itself over Europe; and the feudal nobles, whose minds were elated by their princely situation, greedily embraced the most hazardous enterprises, how little soever they might be interested in the failure or success. Hence their passion for chivalry, and their ambition to out-shine each other in exertions of strength or prowess. William had long been distinguished among those haughty chieftains by his power, his courage, and his address in all military exercises; and every one ambitious of acquiring renown in arms, repaired to the court of Normandy, where they were entertained with that hospitality and courtesy which distinguished the age. The fame of the intended invasion of England had been every where diffused: the more perilous the attempt appeared, the more it suited the genius of the times: multitudes of adventurers therefore crowded to tender their service to William, impatient to acquire fame under so renowned a leader, or to support, by new acts of valour, that reputation which they had already earned; (2) so that the duke's army consisted of the flower of all the warriors of the continent, determined to die or to conquer.

The continental monarchs could surely have obstructed those supplies. But Philip I. of France, whose interest most it was, being a minor, Baldwin earl of Flanders, William's father-in-law, who then held the reins of government, favoured the duke's levies (as I have had occasion to observe) both in France and Flanders; and the emperor Henry IV. besides giving all his vassals leave to embark in this expedition, which so much engaged the attention of Europe, promised his protection to the duchy of Normandy during the absence of the duke, and thereby enabled him to draw his whole strength to the attack of England.

But William's most important ally was pope Alexander II. who had a mighty influence over the warriors of that age; and who, besides being flattered by an appeal which William had made to the court of Rome in favour of his undertaking, at a time when this pontiff wanted to be the arbiter of

(1) Gul. Malmes. lib. iii. Higden. Matth. West.

(2) Gul. Pictav.

princes, foresaw that if the French and Norman barons were successful in their enterprise, they would import into England, which still maintained some degree of independence in ecclesiastical matters, a more devoted reverence to the Holy See. He therefore declared immediately in favour of William's claim; pronounced Harold a perjured usurper; denounced excommunication against him and his adherents; and in order more particularly to encourage the duke, he sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it.⁽¹⁾ Thus, as the sagacious Hume remarks, all the ambition and violence of this invasion were covered safely over with the broad mantle of religion.

The Norman fleet, which consisted of three hundred vessels, great and small, and carried an army of sixty thousand men, selected by William from those numerous supplies that courted his service, had been assembled early in the summer, and put to sea soon after; but, being long detained by contrary winds, the troops began to imagine that Heaven had declared against them, and that, notwithstanding the pope's benediction, they were destined to destruction. The wind, however, fortunately changed on the eve of the feast of St. Michael, the tutelar saint of Normandy; and the soldiers and their bold leaders, who had an equal contempt of real and a dread of imaginary dangers, fancying they saw the hand of Providence in the cause of their former terrors, set out with the greatest alacrity, and safely arrived at Pevensey in Sussex, where the troops quietly disembarked. The duke himself had the misfortune to fall, as he leaped ashore—a circumstance which, considering the superstition of the times, might have been construed to his disadvantage, but which he had the presence of mind to turn in his favour, by calling aloud, "I have taken possession of England!" and a soldier, running to a neighbouring cottage, plucked some thatch, which he presented to his general, as giving him seizin of the kingdom.⁽²⁾ The confidence of William and his followers was now so great, that when they heard even of Harold's victory over the Danes, instead of being discouraged they seemed only to long with more impatience for the arrival of the English army.

They had not long occasion to wait. Harold was at York when he received intelligence of the Norman invasion, and hastened by quick marches to meet his competitor. But on reviewing his forces he found them much diminished, though he had been reinforced with fresh troops from London and other places. His victory proved his ruin. Many of his bravest officers and veteran soldiers fell in the action; some retired from fatigue, and others secretly withdrew from discontent, because he had refused to distribute the Danish spoils among them—a conduct little suited to his usual generosity of temper, and which can only be accounted for from a desire of easing his people in the war that hung over them from Normandy, and which he foresaw must be attended with great expense.

From these and other circumstances, Gurth, the king's brother, a man of bravery and conduct, began to entertain apprehensions of the event; and represented to the king, that it would be better policy to prolong the war than to risk a general action, as the winter was approaching, when the enemy would suffer many hardships, while the English, better sheltered, and becoming every day more incensed against their invaders, would hasten from all quarters to his assistance, and render his army invincible; or, if he thought it necessary to hazard a battle, he ought at least not to expose his person, that some resource might still be left for the liberty and independency of the kingdom. But Harold, deaf to all these arguments, rejected his brother's advice with disdain; and, elated with past prosperity, as well as stimulated by his native courage, replied, that he would give battle in person, and convince his subjects that he was worthy of the crown which they had set upon his head.⁽³⁾

With this resolution he drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp to Hastings. He was even so confident of success, that he sent a mes-

(1) Baker, *Chron.*

(2) Order. Vital.

(3) Order. Vital. Gul. Malmes. lib. iii.

sage to the duke of Normandy, offering him a sum of money, if he would depart the kingdom without effusion of blood; and William, not to be behind him in vaunting, commanded him to resign the crown of England, to submit their cause to the arbitration of the pope, or to fight him in single combat. Harold replied, that the God of battles would soon be the arbiter of all their differences.⁽¹⁾

Both armies now impatiently expected the awful decision; but night drawing on, it was deferred till morning. During this interval of darkness and suspense, the scene was very different in the two camps: the English spent the night in riot and feasting: the Normans, in prayer and preparations for battle. As soon as day began to appear, the duke assembled his principal officers, and made them a speech suitable to the occasion. He next divided his army into three lines. The first consisted of archers and light armed infantry; the second was composed of his bravest battalions, heavy armed, and ranged in close order. The cavalry, at the head of which William placed himself, formed the third line, and were so disposed, that they stretched beyond the infantry, and flanked each wing of the army. He commanded the signal to be given; and the whole army, moving at once, and singing the celebrated song of Rowland, the fabulous nephew, but renowned captain of Charlemagne, advanced in order of battle.⁽²⁾

Harold, whose army was inferior to William's in number as well as in discipline, had seized the advantage of a rising ground; and having drawn some trenches to secure his flanks, seemed inclined to act upon the defensive, and to avoid all encounter with the Norman cavalry, to which his strength in horse was very unequal. The Kentish men were placed in the front, a post which they had always claimed as their due: the Londoners guarded the standard; and the king, dismounting, placed himself in the centre, at the head of his infantry, expressing his resolution to conquer or die. The first attack of the Norman foot was terrible: their archers sorely galled their adversaries; and, as the English ranks were close, the arrows did great execution. But Harold's army received the shock of the enemy undismayed; and after a furious struggle, which long remained undecided, the Normans began to give ground. Confusion was spreading from rank to rank; when William, who found himself on the brink of ruin, hastened with a select band to the relief of his broken forces. His presence restored the battle. The English were obliged to retire in their turn; but the duke finding they still made a vigorous resistance, aided by the advantage of ground, and animated by the example of their valiant prince, ordered his troops to make a hasty retreat, and allure their antagonists from their station by the appearance of flight. The artifice succeeded. Impelled by the enthusiasm of valour and the heat of action, the troops of Harold precipitately followed the Normans into the plain: while William instructed his infantry at once to face about on their pursuers, and the cavalry to make an assault upon their wings. The English were thrown into disorder, and driven back with loss to the hill; where, being rallied with the generalship of Harold, they were again able to maintain the combat. William tried the same stratagem a second time, and with equal success. Yet he still found a large body of English forces that remained firm around their prince, and seemed determined to dispute the field to the last man; when fortune decided a victory which valour had left doubtful. Harold, who had fought with unspeakable courage and personal prowess from dawn until eve, was shot into the brains with an arrow, while bravely defending the royal standard at the head of his guards. His two gallant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, also were slain; and the English army, dispirited by the loss of its leaders, gave way on all sides, and was pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans.⁽³⁾

Thus, my dear Philip, was gained by William the Norman, afterward surnamed the Conqueror, the famous battle of Hastings, which terminated the

⁽¹⁾ Higden.

⁽²⁾ Gul. Malmes. lib. iii. Du Cang. in *Gloss. Verb. Cont. Roland.*

⁽³⁾ Gul. Malmes. ubi sup. Gul. Pict. H. Hunting. R. Hoveden. M. Paris. Order Vital

Anglo-Saxon monarchy in England; and which, by the heroic feats of valour displayed on both sides, by both armies and both commanders, seemed worthy to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom. Fifteen thousand of the Normans fell, and a much greater number of the English forces.(1)—But we must take a view of the other nations of Europe, and also throw a glance on those of Asia and Africa, before I consider the consequences of this victory, and the influence of the revolution by which it was followed, upon the laws, government, and manners of England. In the mean time, however, it will not be improper to take a slight survey of the state of England at the Norman conquest.

POSTSCRIPT.

No territory of so small an extent has ever so much engaged the attention of mankind, for so long a series of ages, as the island of Britain. From the most remote antiquity it was visited by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, on account of its tin and other valuable productions. The Romans, in the height of their power, made themselves masters of the southern part of it, at a vast expense of blood and treasure: and they thought the acquisition of sufficient importance, to preserve their footing in this distant and transmarine province for three hundred years, by maintaining in it a great naval and military force. The ancient Britons lost their courage and their independent spirit under the Roman dominion, but received from their enlightened governors some knowledge of arts and letters.(2) The Saxons, in achieving their sanguinary conquest, destroyed every trace of ingenuity which the Romans had introduced into the island, without bringing along with them one peaceful art, with which the Britons were not better acquainted; and the inveterate wars between the princes of the Heptarchy afterward obstructed, among their people, the usual progress of civilization. But no sooner was England united into one kingdom, under Egbert, than commerce and manufactures began to be cultivated in a country so highly favoured by nature; abounding in the materials of industry, and surrounded on three sides by the sea, which forms on its coasts many commodious bays and safe harbours.(3)

The commerce and navigation of the Anglo-Saxons, however, was cruelly injured by the piracy and predatory invasions of the Danes; yet did England, under their government, contain many large trading towns, and a greater number of inhabitants, both in the towns and in the country, than could have been expected in such a turbulent and hostile period. London, York, Bristol,(4) Exeter, and Norwich, were great and populous cities; and as the labours of husbandry were chiefly performed by slaves or villains, who were excluded from military service, the number of freemen in England, habituated to the use of arms, if not greater, must have been as great at the Norman invasion as in any former or subsequent period.(5) But let us not hence

(1) Gul. Gemat. chap. xxxvi.

(2) If the Britons had any knowledge of letters before the arrival of the Romans, that knowledge was confined chiefly, if not solely, to their priests, the mysterious Druids.

(3) The principal English exports, during the Anglo-Saxon times, were tin, lead, wool, hides, horses, and slaves! These slaves consisted not solely of such unhappy persons as the laws of war or other causes had reduced to the condition of perpetual servitude. The Anglo-Saxons are accused, by contemporary writers, of making merchandise even of their nearest relations; "a custom," adds a respectable historian, who lived after the Norman conquest, "which prevails in Northumberland even in our own days." Gul. Malmes. lib. i.

(4) The Bristol traders were distinguished, even in those early ages, by their mercantile sagacity. "The people of this town," says an author of undoubted veracity, "were cured of a most odious and inveterate custom, by Wulfstan, (bishop of Winchester at the Norman conquest) of buying men and women in all parts of England, and exporting them for the sake of gain. The young women they commonly got with child, and carried them to the market in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better price." *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii.

(5) To that exemption from rustic labour, which was friendly to the use of arms, may also perhaps be ascribed the dissolute manners of the Anglo-Saxons. Unless when employed in war or hunting, their whole time was spent in drinking and feasting. This licentious life seems to have much impaired the native courage of the English nation, before the Danish conquest. The wars which introduced and accompanied that conquest revived their martial spirit: and under the Danish princes, the Anglo-Saxons

conclude, that sixty thousand men, under an experienced leader, have at all times been sufficient to overturn the constitution of this vigorous kingdom. William was ultimately indebted for his good fortune, less to the rashness of the English monarch, his own conduct, or the valour of his troops, than to the unsettled state of the succession to the crown. Harold had owed his exaltation to the throne as much to fear as affection; and, on his death, the English nobility, who had borne with impatience the sway of an equal, naturally looked up to his conqueror and competitor, the kinsman of their ancient princes, as their sovereign, their head, and centre of union. The duke of Normandy, at Hastings, had triumphed over their elected king, but not over their liberties. These they imprudently put into his hands (as we shall afterward have occasion to see) in hopes that he would not abuse their generosity, when resistance, and even vengeance, was in their power.

LETTER XX.

Spain, the Arabs, and the Empire of Constantinople, during the ninth, tenth, and Part of the eleventh Century.

SPAIN.

THE death of Abdurrahman, the Moorish king, whom we have seen reign with so much lustre at Cordova, was followed by dissensions among his children, which procured some relief to the Spanish Christians. The little kingdom of the Asturias, or of Leon and Oviedo, as it was afterward called, founded by Pelagius, increased under Alphonso III. surnamed the Great, on account of his wisdom and valour. Garcias Ximenes, descended from the ancient Spaniards, had also founded, in 758, the kingdom of Navarre, which became one of the most considerable Christian principalities in Spain.

The Moors, however, still possessed Portugal, Murcia, Andalusia, Valentia, Granada, Tortosa, and the interior part of the country as far as the mountains of Castile and Saragossa—more than three-fourths of Spain, and the most fertile provinces. Among them, as in the other nations of Europe, a crowd of too powerful nobles affected independency, and the sovereign was obliged to contend with his subjects for dominion. This was the time to have crushed the Mahometan power: but the Spanish Christians were not more united than their enemies. Though continually at war with the Moors, they were always destroying each other. The reign of Alphonso the Great was full of conspiracies and revolts: his own wife and his two sons were among the number of the rebels. He resigned his crown to Garcias the eldest; he even generously fought under his command; and died in 912, with the glory of a hero, and the piety of a saint.(1)

Ramiro II. king of Leon and Oviedo, another Spanish hero, gained in 938 the celebrated victory of Simancas, where the Moors are said to have lost fourscore thousand men. He had promised to St. James, in a pilgrimage to Compostella, that, if he was victorious, all his subjects should offer annually

appeared to have emulated their conquerors to all acts of prowess and valour. But both were alike given to long and excessive drinking, in large societies or clubs: and the Danes added to this convivial intemperance an inordinate passion for women; in which they seem to have gloried, and often gratified in a manner shocking to humanity. Violence in love was with them as common as in war. Yet they sometimes made use of other means to accomplish their purpose—they affected gallantry; and, by their attention to dress and cleanliness, are said to have seduced many English wives. That cleanliness, however, by which they were distinguished, consisted only in combing the hair once a day, and washing themselves once a week. Wallingford, ad. Gale, tom. i. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii.

The manners of the Welsh in this dark period must have been even less delicate than those of the Anglo-Saxons; for they thought it necessary, we find, to make a law, That none of the courtiers should give the queen a blow, or snatch any thing violently out of her hands, under penalty of forfeiting Her Majesty's protection. (Leg. Wallice, p. 11.) And if any woman brought an action for a rape which was denied by the man, she was ordered to take hold of the culprit by the offending part, with her left hand, and to lay the right on the holy reliques; and, in that position, to make oath of the violation of her person—*quod is per se isto membro vitia verit.* Ibid. p. 80.

(1) Ferreras. Mariana.

a certain measure of wheat to the church of that saint. The church was enriched, and the name of St. James became the alarm to battle among the Spaniards.

Men are chiefly indebted for all their heroic achievements to their passions: hence nothing is so irresistible as the valour inspired by enthusiasm, while it lasts. The name of St. James was long terrible to the Moors, and long the companion of victory. Mahomet Almanzor, however, the celebrated general and prime minister of Hissem king of Cordova, found means, by another artifice, to turn the tide of success. Seeing his troops begin to fly, in a battle fought on the banks of the river Ezla, he dismounted from his horse, sat down in the field, threw his turban on the ground, and, laying his arms across his breast, declared he would in that posture meet his fate, since he was abandoned by his army. This stratagem had the desired effect; his troops returned to the charge, and obtained a complete victory. The Moors became sensible that they could conquer in spite of St. James: and the Christians in their turn trembled at the name of Almanzor.

That great man, who was no less a politician than a warrior, is said to have vanquished the Christian princes in fifty engagements. He took the city of Leon by assault; sacked Compostella; pillaged the church of St. James, and carried the gates in triumph, on the shoulders of his army, to Cordova. This triumph proved his ruin. A flux breaking out among his troops, the Christians considered that distemper as a punishment inflicted by St. James: the flame of enthusiasm rekindled, and Almanzor was defeated. But what was infinitely more advantageous to the Christians, as well as more fatal to himself, he was so much ashamed of his misfortune, that he would neither eat nor drink, and obstinately perished of hunger.(1)

About the beginning of the eleventh century, the race of Abdurrahman being extinct, the kingdom of Cordova was dismembered, by the ambition of a number of noblemen, who all usurped the title of king. Toledo, Valentia, Seville, Saragossa, and almost all the great cities, had their independent sovereigns. The provinces were changed into kingdoms, which multiplied in the same manner among the Christians, who had a king of Leon, of Navarre, of Castile, of Arragon; and Sancho, surnamed the Great, king of Navarre, was so imprudent as to subdivide his dominions among his four sons. Perpetual jealousies, with all the crimes that accompany them, were the consequence of these divisions of territory—treachery, poisonings, assassinations! the common weapons of petty neighbouring and rival princes, who have much ambition and small means of gratifying it. Hence the history of Spain becomes always less important, in proportion to the increase of the kingdoms. One circumstance, however, merits our attention, both on account of its nature and its singularity.

In this dark and oppressive period, when the commonalty all over Europe were either degraded to a state of actual slavery, or in a condition little more to be envied, the people of Arragon shared the government with their sovereign. The representatives of cities and towns had a place in their Cortes, or national assembly. But the Arragonians, not satisfied with this check on the royal prerogative, nor willing to trust the preservation of their liberties solely to their representatives, elected a justiza, or grand judge, who was the supreme interpreter of the laws, and whose particular business it was to restrain the encroachments of the crown, and protect the rights of the subject. He was chosen from among the cavalleros, or second order in the state, answering to our gentlemen commoners, that he might be equally interested in curbing the oppressive spirit of the nobles, and setting bounds to the ambition of the prince. His person was sacred, and his jurisdiction almost unbounded: his power was exerted in superintending the administration of government, no less than in regulating the course of justice. He had a right to review all the royal proclamations and patents, and to declare whether they were agreeable to law, and ought to be carried into execution:—

(1) Rod. Tolet, de Reb. Hisp. Anna!. Compostel.

and he could, by his sole authority, exclude any of the king's ministers from the management of affairs, and call them to answer for their conduct while in office. He himself was answerable to the Cortes alone.

The justiza had also the singular privilege of receiving the coronation oath, in the name of the people; when, holding a naked sword opposite to the king's heart, he repeated these remarkable words: "We, who are your equals, make you our sovereign, and promise obedience to your government, on condition that you maintain our rights and liberties; if not—not!" And it was accordingly an established maxim in the constitution of Arragon, that if the king should violate his engagements, it was lawful for the people to depose him, and to elect another in his stead.(1)

THE EMPIRE OF THE ARABS.

FROM the Arabs in Spain we pass naturally to those of Asia and the neighbouring continent of Africa. The great empire of the Arabs, as well as its branches, had experienced those revolutions which war and discord naturally produce, and which sooner or later overturn the best founded governments. The glory of the caliphat was obscured toward the end of the ninth century. Under weak or wicked princes, the African governors shook off their allegiance. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, formed particular states. Religious quarrels augmented those of ambition. The Fattimides, a Mahometan sect, flamed with all the fury of fanaticism. They founded an empire in Egypt, from which they expelled the race of Abbas; and Cairo, the capital of that empire, became the seat of a new caliph, and a flourishing city of commerce.

Another fanatical sect, persuaded that the abuses introduced into the religion of Mahomet required reformation, delivered themselves up to the transports of enthusiasm, and acquired strength by being persecuted. They revolted, obtained several victories, and seized the provinces on the western coast of Africa, which form the present kingdom of Morocco; where their chief, like the other caliphs, uniting the royalty with the priesthood, governed his new empire under the name of Miramoulin, or Commander of the Faithful, a title implying his claim to the caliphat.

Other circumstances conspired to dismember the empire of the Arabs. The caliphs of Bagdat had received into their armies a body of Turks, or Turcomans, a Tartar tribe. These auxiliaries, on account of their valour, were soon employed as the royal guard, and subjected those whom they were hired to protect. They took advantage of the civil wars raised against the caliphat to make themselves lords of Asia: they stripped the caliphs, by degrees, of the sovereignty, but permitted them to retain the pontificate, which they revered; prudently submitting themselves to the religion of the country, and kneeling to the priest while they despoiled the king.(2)

A variety of sovereigns sprung up under the name of Sultans, who were invested with their dominions by the caliphs, but took care to leave them very little authority; so that the successors of Mahomet found themselves, towards the middle of the eleventh century, in much the same situation with those of St. Peter under the first German emperors, or with the kings of Europe about the same time, whose power declined in proportion to the increase of their vassals.

THE EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

WHILE the empire of the Arabs was thus overturned, and that of Charlemagne falling to pieces, the empire of Constantinople, to borrow a simile from Voltaire, still stood like a large tree, vigorous though old, stripped of

(1) Zurit. *Annal. de Arrag.* Hier. Blanca, *Comment. de Rer. Arrag.*

(2) Leunclav. *Annal. Turcici.* Georg. Elmacin. *Histor. Saracénica.*

its branches, some of its roots, and buffeted on every side by storms and tempests. Though much circumscribed on the eastern frontier, it yet extended over all Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, Illyricum: it was contracted indeed, but not dismembered; often changing its emperors, but always united under the person who swayed the sceptre. How unworthy, in general, of the imperial dignity! and what a people had they to govern!

Nicephorus, whom we have seen dethrone Irene, was an execrable tyrant. The Saracens robbed him of the Isle of Cyprus; and the Bulgarians, the scourge of Thrace, took him prisoner, after having cut off his army, beheaded him, and threw his body to the beasts of the field, while they made a drinking-cup of his skull.(1)

Stauracus, the son of Nicephorus, rendered himself so odious in the beginning of his reign, that he was abandoned by his people, and obliged to become a monk.

Michael Rangabus refused to make peace with the Bulgarians, because a monk declared, that he could not, in conscience, deliver up the deserters. In consequence of this refusal, the Greeks were defeated by the Bulgarians: the emperor betook himself to flight; and the officers, incensed at his behaviour, proclaimed Leo the Armenian.

Leo attempted to assassinate the king of the Bulgarians, who, in revenge, pillaged the suburbs of Constantinople. The emperor could conceive nothing more effectual to save the state than the extirpation of idolatry; that is to say, the abolition of images. He accordingly commanded a new persecution; and eight hundred and twenty persons were massacred in one church.

Michael the Stammerer, the successor of Leo, at first tolerated the worship of images. But he afterward changed his system: he persecuted those whom he had formerly protected, and would even have had the sabbath observed, and the passover celebrated in the manner of the Jews. The Saracens took advantage of his weakness to make themselves masters of the Isle of Crete, now Candia: they also conquered almost all Sicily, and ravaged Apulia and Calabria.(2)

During the reign of Theophilus, though more worthy of the imperial throne, the persecution was redoubled, and the Saracens extended their conquests. But after his death, the empress Theodora, governing during the minority of Michael III. re-established the worship of images, as Irene had formerly done. Afterward, desirous to convert the Manicheans by terror, she caused them to be destroyed in thousands. Those who escaped went over to the Bulgarians, and the empire was obliged to contend with its own subjects. Michael confined Theodora in a convent; and delivering himself up to all manner of crimes, carried his impiety so far, as to sport with the ecclesiastical ceremonies. He was assassinated by Basil, whom he had associated in the empire, and imprudently would have deposed.

Basil, originally a beggar, now found himself emperor. He is celebrated for his justice and humanity; but he was a dupe to the patriarch, Photius, whom he favoured with his confidence, even after he had exiled him. His reign is the era of the grand schism, which for ever divided the Greek and Latin churches.

This schism, which took its rise from a jealousy between the primates of the East and West, was brought to a crisis by the conversion of the Bulgarians. As Bulgaria had formerly belonged to the eastern empire, it was disputed, whether the new Christians ought to be subject to the pope, or to the patriarch of Constantinople. A variety of other reasons were assigned for the squabble that followed; but this is the true one, and the only one which it is necessary for you to know. The council of Constantinople gave judgment in favour of the patriarch; but the pope's legates protested against the decision. New circumstances widened the breach. The two primates excommunicated each other; and although the quarrel was sometimes mode-

(1) Theophan.

(2) Cerden.

rated by the mediation of the emperors, it was never made up. The schism continued.

The Saracens took Syracuse, while Basil was employed in founding a church; and his son Leo composed sermons, while the empire was ravaged on all sides. Leo, however, is styled the Philosopher; because he loved learning, and favoured learned men, not from being an Alfred or a Marcus Aurelius.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the son and successor of Leo, merits the eulogies bestowed on him, as a protector of the sciences, which he himself cultivated with success. Men of the first rank taught philosophy, geometry, and rhetoric, at Constantinople, during his reign, which commenced in 912, and ended in 959. But the affairs of the empire were not conducted better than formerly.

They were still worse conducted under Romanus, the son of Constantine, who poisoned his father, and was the tyrant of his people.

Nicephorus Phocas had the honour of vanquishing the Saracens, and of recovering from them Crete, Antioch, and other places. His avarice and tyranny, however, made him detested: his own wife joined in a conspiracy against him; and he was murdered in bed.

John Zimisceus, one of the assassins, seized the empire, and delivered it from the Rossi, or Russians, whom he defeated in several engagements. This brave prince was poisoned by the eunuch Basil, his chamberlain, who, notwithstanding, preserved his credit under Basil II. grandson of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

Basil was a warrior, but a barbarous one. Having vanquished the Bulgarians, he caused the eyes of five thousand prisoners to be put out. His subjects, loaded with taxes, could not enjoy his triumphs. He fought for himself, not for them. His death was followed by a train of the blackest crimes of which we have any example in history.

The princess Zoe, daughter of Constantine, the brother and colleague of Basil, had espoused Romanus Argyropulus, who was proclaimed emperor. Zoe afterward became enamoured of Michael Paphlagonotus, a man of low birth. She poisoned her husband, in order to give the throne to her lover, but the poison not operating quick enough, she caused Argyropulus to be drowned in a bath. The patriarch of Constantinople at first scrupled to marry the empress to Michael. But a sum of money quieted his conscience, and the imperial crown followed the sanction of the church.

The emperor Paphlagonotus, a prey to diseases and remorse, died in the habit of a monk; and Zoe gave the empire and her hand to Michael Calaphates, the son of a calker, or cobbler of ships, by a sister of the other Michael, hoping that he would be the slave of her will. But the new emperor, jealous of his power, put her in confinement. The people revolted: they released the empress and her sister Theodora, and put out the eyes of Calaphates.

The two sisters reigned together a year, and employed themselves only about trifles. The people would have a prince; and Zoe, at last, married Constantine Monomachus, one of her ancient lovers, who was crowned. This upstart emperor neglected his wife for a young mistress. The Greeks, incensed at his conduct, seized him in a procession, and declared they would only obey two empresses. He would have been cut to pieces, if the princesses had not interposed.

Monomachus augmented the miseries of the empire by his rapacity. The frontier provinces had been exempted from taxes, on condition that they should defend themselves against the barbarians. The emperor pretended that he would defend them, and made them pay like the rest of the empire; (1) but they were poorly defended, notwithstanding the taxes.

These particulars will be sufficient to enable you to judge of the state of Constantinople. If at any time we find an able and warlike prince there, we

(1) Cerden. See also Curpolatus and Leo Grammaticus.

always find the same reigning spirit of superstition and rebellion. Isaac Comnenus, one of the best Greek emperors, proclaimed in 1057, made himself hated by the monks, because he applied to the public exigencies the superflux of their wealth. Lamed by a fall from his horse, he gave himself up to devotion, resigned his crown in favour of Constantine Ducas, and took the habit of a monk.

Ducas, too much a friend to peace, abandoned the provinces to the ravages of the Turks. He made his three sons emperors, and left the regency to their mother Eudoxia, exacting from her a promise, that she would never marry: and this promise he obliged her to confirm in writing. Eudoxia, nowever, soon resolved to marry Romanus Diogenes, whom she had condemned to die, but whose fine person subdued her heart. Her promise, deposited in the hands of the patriarch, now gave her much uneasiness. In order to recover it, she artfully pretended to have fixed her choice on the patriarch's kinsman. This amorous deceit had the desired effect. The writing was restored; and the empress, absolved from her promise of widowhood, did not fail to take advantage of her release. She immediately married Romanus, and procured him the empire.(1)

Could ignorant savages have acted more absurdly? or ruffians amenable to public justice more atrociously? Yet the Greeks were still the most learned and polished people in Europe; and Constantinople, notwithstanding all its misfortunes, its revolutions, and crimes, having never felt the destructive rage of the Barbarians, continued to be the largest and most beautiful European city, after the fall of Rome, and the only one where any image of ancient manners or ingenuity remained.

Thus, my dear Philip, we rapidly traverse the wilds of history; where the objects are often confused, rude, and uninteresting. But it is necessary to travel these first stages, in order to arrive at more cultivated fields. We shall soon meet with a new set of objects, equally interesting and important; and then more leisure and attention will be required. In the mean time, we must take a review of past ages.

LETTER XXI.

Progress of Society in Europe, from the Settlement of the Modern Nations, to the Middle of the Eleventh Century.

I HAVE already given you, in a particular letter, an account of the system of policy and legislation established by the Barbarians, or northern invaders, on their first settlement in the provinces of the Roman empire:(2) and I have endeavoured, in the course of my general narration, to mark the progress of society, as it regards religion, laws, government, manners, and literature. But as the history of the human mind is of infinitely more importance than the detail of events, this letter, my dear Philip, shall be entirely devoted to such circumstances as tend more particularly to throw light upon that subject. I shall also pursue the same method, at different intervals, during the subsequent part of your historical studies.

Though the northern invaders wanted taste to value the Roman arts, laws, or literature, they generally embraced the religion of the conquered people. And the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity would doubtless have softened their savage manners, had not their minds been already infected by a barbarous superstition; which, mingling itself with the Christian principles and ceremonies, produced that absurd mixture of violence, devotion, and folly, which has so long disgraced the Romish church, and which formed the character of the middle ages. The clergy were gainers, but Christianity was a loser, by the conversion of the Barbarians. They rather changed the object than the spirit of their religion.

(1) Anna Comnena Nicetas.

(2) Letter II.

The druids among the Gauls and Britons, the priests among the ancient Germans, and among all the nations of Scandinavia, possessed an absolute dominion over the minds of men. These people, after embracing Christianity, retained their veneration for the priesthood. And unhappily, the clergy of those times had neither virtue enough to preserve them from abusing, nor knowledge sufficient to enable them to make a proper use of their power. They blindly favoured the superstitious homage: and such of the Barbarians as entered into holy orders, carried their ignorance and their original prejudices along with them.

The Christian emperors of Rome and Constantinople had enriched the church: they had lavished on it privileges and immunities; and these seducing advantages had but too much contributed to a relaxation of discipline, and the introduction of disorders, more or less hurtful, which had altered the spirit of the Gospel. Under the dominion of the Barbarians the degeneracy increased, till the pure principles of Christianity were lost in a gross superstition; which, instead of aspiring to virtuous sanctity, the only sacrifice that can render a rational being acceptable to the great Author of order and excellence, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of God by the same means that satisfied the justice of men, or by those employed to appease their fabulous deities.(1)

As the punishments due for civil crimes, among the northern conquerors, might be bought off by money, they attempted, in like manner, to bribe heaven, by benefactions to the church, in order to supersede all future inquest. And the more they gave themselves up to their brutal passions, to rapine, and to violence, the more profuse they were in this species of good works. They seem to have believed, says the Abbé de Mably, that avarice was the first attribute of the Divinity, and that the saints made a traffic of their influence and protection. Hence the bonmot of Clovis: "St. Martin serves his friends very well; but he makes them pay soundly for his trouble!"

"Our treasure is poor," says Chilperic, the grandson of Clovis: "our riches are gone to the church: the bishops are the kings!"—And indeed the superior clergy, who, by the acquisition of lands, added the power of fortune to the influence of religion, were often the arbiters of kingdoms, and disposed of the crown while they regulated the affairs of the state. There was a necessity of consulting them, because they possessed all the knowledge that then remained in Europe. The acts of their counsels were considered as infallible decrees, and they spoke usually in the name of God; but, alas! they were only men.

As the interest of the clergy clashed with that of the laity, opposition and jealousy produced new disorders. The priests made use of artifice against their powerful adversaries: they invented fables to awe them into submission: they employed the spiritual arms in defence of their temporal goods; they changed the mild language of charity into frightful anathemas: the religion of Jesus breathed nothing but terror. To the thunder of the church, the instrument of so many wars and revolutions, they joined the assistance of the sword. Warlike prelates, clad in armour, combated for their possessions, or to usurp those of others; and, like the heathen priests, whose pernicious influence was founded on the ignorance of the people, the Christian clergy sought to extend their authority by confining all knowledge to their own order. They made a mystery of the most necessary sciences: truth was not permitted to see the light, and reason was fettered in the cell of superstition. Many of the clergy themselves could scarce read, and writing was chiefly confined to the cloisters,(2) where a blind and interested devotion, equally willing to deceive and to believe, held the quill, and where lying chronicles and fabulous legends were composed, which contaminated history, religion, and the principles and the laws of society.

Without arts, sciences, commerce, policy, principles, the European nations

(1) Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. li.

(2) Persons who could not write made the sign of the cross in place of their name, in confirmation of any legal deed. (Du Cange Gloss voc Cruz) Hence the phrase *signing*, instead of *subscribing* a paper

were all as barbarous and wretched as they could possibly be, unless a miracle had been wrought for the disgrace of humanity. Charlemagne indeed in France, and Alfred the Great in England, as you have had occasion to see, endeavoured to dispel this darkness, and tame their subjects to the restraints of law: and they were so fortunate as to succeed. Light and order distinguished their reigns. But the ignorance and barbarism of the age were too powerful for their liberal institutions: the darkness returned, after their time, more thick and heavy than formerly, and settled over Europe, and society again tumbled into chaos.

The ignorance of the West was so profound, during the ninth and tenth centuries, that the clergy, who alone possessed the important secrets of reading and writing, became necessarily the arbiters and the judges of almost all secular affairs. They comprehended within their jurisdiction, marriages, contracts, wills, which they took care to involve in mystery, and by which they opened to themselves new sources of wealth and power.⁽¹⁾ Every thing wore the colour of religion; temporal and spiritual concerns were confounded; and from this unnatural mixture sprung a thousand abuses. The history of those ages forms a satire on the human soul; and on religion, if we should impute to it the faults of its ministers.

"Redeem your souls from destruction," says St. Egidius, bishop of Noyon, while you have the means in your power: offer presents and tithes to churchmen: come more frequently to church: humbly implore the patronage of the saints; for if you observe these things you may come with security in the day of the tribunal of the Eternal Judge, and say, Give us, O Lord, for we have given unto thee!"⁽²⁾

In several churches of France a festival was celebrated in commemoration of the Virgin Mary's flight into Egypt. It was called the Feast of the Ass. A young girl richly dressed, with a child in her arms, was set upon an ass superbly caparisoned. The ass was led to the altar in solemn procession. High mass was said with great pomp. The ass was taught to kneel at proper places; a hymn, no less childish than impious, was sung in his praise: and when the ceremony was ended, the priest, instead of the usual words with which he dismissed the people, brayed three times like an ass; and the people, instead of the usual response, brayed three times in return.⁽³⁾

Letters began to revive in the eleventh century, but made small progress till toward its close. A scientific jargon, a false logic, employed about words, without conveying any idea of things, composed the learning of those times. It confounded all things, in endeavouring to analyze every thing. As the new scholars were mostly clergymen, theological matters chiefly engaged their attention; and as they neither knew history, philosophy, nor criticism, their labours were as futile as their inquiries, which were equally disgraceful to reason and religion. The conception of the blessed Virgin, and digestion of the eucharist, were two of the principal objects of their speculation: and out of the last a third arose, which was, to know whether it was voided again?⁽⁴⁾

The disorders of government and manners kept pace, as they always will, with those of religion and learning. These disorders seem to have attained their utmost height about the middle of the tenth century. Then the feudal policy, the defects of which I have pointed out,⁽⁵⁾ was become universal. The dukes or governors of provinces, the marquises employed to guard the marshes, and even the counts intrusted with the administration of justice, all originally officers of the crown, had made themselves masters of their duchies, marquises, and counties. The king indeed, as superior lord, still received homage from them for those lands which they held of the crown; and which, in default of heirs, returned to the royal domain. He had a right of calling them out to war, of judging them in his court by their assembled peers, and of confiscating their estates in case of rebellion; but in all other

(1) Du Cange, voc. *Curia Christiana*. Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* tom. xix. *Disc. Prelim.*

(2) D. Specleg. *Vet. Script.* vol. ii.

(3) Du Cange, voc. *Festum*.

(4) *Hist. Littéraire de France*.

(5) Letter II

respects, they themselves enjoyed their rights of royalty. They had their sub-vassals, or subjects; they made laws, held courts, coined money in their own name, and levied war against their private enemies.(1)

The most frightful disorders arose from this state of feudal anarchy. Force decided all things. Europe was one great field of battle, where the weak struggled for freedom, and the strong for dominion. The king was without power, and the nobles without principle; they were tyrants at home, and robbers abroad. Nothing remained to be a check upon ferocity and violence. The Scythians in their deserts could not be less indebted to the laws of society than the Europeans during the period under review. The people, the most numerous as well as the most useful class in the community, were either actual slaves, or exposed to so many miseries, arising from pillage and oppression, to one or other of which they were a continual prey, and often to both, that many of them made a voluntary surrender of their liberty for bread and protection.(2) What must have been the state of that government where slavery was an eligible condition!

But, conformable to the observation of the philosophic Hume, there is a point of depression as well as of exaltation, beyond which human affairs seldom pass, and from which they naturally return in a contrary progress. This utmost point of decline, society seems to have attained in Europe, as I have already said, about the middle of the tenth century; when the disorders of the feudal government, together with the corruption of taste and manners consequent upon these, were arrived at their greatest excess. Accordingly from that era we can trace a succession of causes and events, which, with different degrees of influence, contributed to abolish anarchy and barbarism, and introduce order and politeness.

Among the first of these causes we must rank chivalry; which, as the elegant and inquisitive Dr. Robertson remarks, though commonly considered as a wild institution, the result of caprice and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society in those times, and had a very serious effect in refining the manners of the European nations.

The feudal state, as has been observed, was a state of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy. The weak and unarmed were exposed every moment to insults or injuries. The power of the sovereign was too limited to prevent these wrongs, and the legislative authority too feeble to redress them. There was scarce any shelter from violence and oppression, except what the valour and generosity of private persons afforded; and the arm of the brave was the only tribunal to which the helpless could appeal for justice. The trader could no longer travel in safety, or bring unmolested his commodities to market. Every possessor of a castle pillaged them, or laid them under contribution; and many not only plundered the merchants, but carried off all the women that fell in their way. Slight inconveniences may be overlooked or endured, but when abuses grow to a certain height the society must reform or go to ruin. It becomes the business of all to discover and to apply such remedies as will most effectually remove the prevailing disorders. Humanity sprung from the bosom of violence, and relief from the hand of rapacity. Those licentious and tyrannic nobles, who had been guilty of every species of outrage and every mode of oppression; who, equally unjust, unfeeling, and superstitious, had made pilgrimages, and had pillaged! who had massacred, and had done penance! touched at last with a sense of natural equity, and swayed by the conviction of a common interest, formed associations for the redress of private wrongs, and the preservation of public safety.(3) So honourable was the origin of an institution generally represented as whimsical.

The young warrior among the ancient Germans, as well as among the modern knights, was armed, for the first time, with certain ceremonies proper to inspire martial ardour: but chivalry, considered as a civil and military institution, is as late as the eleventh century. The previous discipline and

(1) Du Cange, *voc. Feudum*.

(2) Marculsus, lib. ii. cap. 8.

(3) *Mem. sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*, par. M. de la Curne de St. Palaye.

solemnities of initiation were many and singular. The novice in chivalry was educated in the house of some knight, commonly a person of high rank, whom he served first in the character of page, and afterward of squire. nor was he admitted to the supreme honour of knighthood, until he had given many striking proofs of his valour and address. The ceremony of initiation was very solemn. Severe fastings, and nights spent in a church or chapel in prayer; confession of sins, and the receiving of the sacraments with devotion; bathing, and putting on white robes, as emblems of that purity of manners required by the laws of chivalry, were necessary preparations for this ceremony.

When the candidate for knighthood had gone through all these, and other introductory formalities, he fell at the feet of the person from whom he expected that honour, and on his knees delivered to him his sword. After answering suitable questions, the usual oath was administered to him; namely, to serve his prince, defend the faith, protect the persons and reputations of virtuous ladies, and to rescue, at the hazard of his life, widows, orphans, and all unhappy persons groaning under injustice or oppression. Then the knights and ladies, who assisted at the ceremony, adorned the candidate with the armour and ensigns of chivalry; beginning with putting on the spurs, and ending with girding him with the sword. Seeing him thus accoutred, the king or nobleman, who was to confer the honour of knighthood, gave him the accolade, or dubbing, by three gentle strokes with the flat part of the sword on the shoulder, or with the palm of his hand on the neck, saying, "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I make thee a knight! be thou loyal, brave, and hardy."(1)

Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, honour, were the characteristics of chivalry: and to these were added religion, which, by infusing a large portion of enthusiastic zeal, carried them all to a romantic excess, wonderfully suited to the genius of the age, and productive of the greatest and most permanent effects both upon policy and manners. War was carried on with less ferocity, when humanity, no less than courage, came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood, and knighthood a distinction superior to royalty, and an honour which princes were proud to receive from the hands of private gentlemen; more gentle and polished manners were introduced, when courtesy was recommended as the most amiable of knightly virtues, and every knight devoted himself to the service of some lady; and violence and oppression decreased, when it was accounted meritorious to check and to punish them. A scrupulous adherence to truth, with the most religious attention to fulfil every engagement, but particularly those between the sexes, as more easily violated, became the distinguishing character of a gentleman; because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour and inculcated the most delicate sensibility with respect to that point.(2) And valour, seconded by so many motives of love, religion, and virtue, became altogether irresistible.

That the spirit of chivalry often rose to an extravagant height, and had sometimes a pernicious tendency, must however be allowed. In Spain, under the influence of a romantic gallantry, it gave birth to a series of wild adventures, which have been deservedly ridiculed; in the train of Norman ambition, it extinguished the liberties of England, and deluged Italy in blood; and we shall soon see it, at the call of superstition, and as the engine of papal power, desolate Asia under the banner of the cross. But these violences, resulting from accidental circumstances, ought not to be considered as arguments against an institution laudable in itself, and necessary at the time of

(1) *Mém. sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*, par. M. de la Curne de St. Palaye.

(2) This sentiment became reciprocal. Even a princess, says Tirant le Blanc, declares that she submits to lose all right to the benefits of chivalry, and consents that never any knight shall take arms in her defence, if she keeps not the promise of marriage, which she has given to the knight who adored her. And a young gentlewoman, whose defence was undertaken by Gerard de Nevers, beholding the ardour with which he engaged in it, took off her glove, we are told, and delivered it to him, saying, "Sir, my person, my life, my lands, and my honour, I deposite in the care of God and you; praying for such assistance and grace, that I may be delivered out of this peril." (M. de la Curne de St. Palaye, *ubi sup.*) Many similar examples might be produced of this mutual confidence, the basis of that elegant intercourse between the sexes, which so remarkably distinguishes modern from ancient manners.

its establishment. And they who pretend to despise it, the advocates of ancient barbarism and ancient rusticity, ought to remember, that chivalry not only first taught mankind to carry the civilities of peace into the operations of war, and to mingle politeness with the use of the sword, but roused the human soul from its lethargy; invigorating the human character, even while it softened it, and produced exploits which antiquity cannot parallel. Nor ought they to forget, that it gave variety and elegance, and communicated an increase of pleasure, to the intercourse of life, by making woman a more essential part of society; and is therefore entitled to our gratitude, though the point of honour, and the refinements in gallantry, its more doubtful effects, should be excluded from the improvements in modern manners.

But the beneficial effects of chivalry were strongly counteracted by other institutions of a less social kind. Some persons of both sexes, of most religions and most countries, have in all ages secluded themselves from the world, in order to acquire a reputation for superior sanctity, or to indulge a melancholy turn of mind, affecting to hold converse only with the Divinity. The number of these solitary devotees, however, in ancient times, was few; and the spirit of religious seclusion, among the heathens, was confined chiefly to high southern latitudes, where the heat of the climate favours the indolence of the cloister. But the case has been very different in more modern ages: for although the monastic life had its origin among the Christians in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, it rapidly spread not only over all Asia and Africa, but also over Europe, and penetrated to the most remote corners of the North and West, almost at the same time that it reached the extremities of the East and South; to the great hurt of population and industry, and the obstruction of the natural progress of society.(1)

Nor were these the only consequences of the passion for pious solitude. As all who put on the religious habit, after the monastic system was completely formed, took a vow of perpetual chastity, the commerce of the sexes was represented by those holy visionaries as inconsistent with Christian purity; and the whole body of the clergy, in order to preserve their influence with the people, found themselves under the necessity of professing a life of celibacy. This condescension, which was justly considered as a triumph by the monks, increased their importance, and augmented the number of their fraternities. Nothing was esteemed so meritorious, during the period under review, as the building and endowing of monasteries. And multitudes of men and women of all conditions, but especially of the higher ranks, considering the pleasures of society as seducers to the pit of destruction, and turning with horror from sensual delight, retired to mountains and deserts, or crowded into cloisters, where, under the notion of mortifying the body, and shutting all the avenues of the soul against the allurements of external objects, they affected an austerity that gained them universal veneration, and threw a cloud over the manners of the Christian world.(2)

The extravagance to which both sexes are said to have carried that austerity, during the first fervours of monastic zeal, seems altogether incredible to cool reason, unenlightened by philosophy. In attempting to strip human nature of every amiable and ornamental quality, in order to humble pride, and repress the approaches of loose desire, or, in their own phrase, "to deliver the celestial spirit from the bondage of flesh and blood," they in a manner divested themselves of the human character. They not only lived among wild beasts, but, after the manner of those savage animals, they ran naked through the lonely deserts with a furious aspect, and lodged in gloomy caverns; or grazed in the fields like the common herd, and like cattle took their abode in the open air.(3) And some monks and holy virgins, by the habit of going naked, became so completely covered with hair, as to require no other veil to modesty. Many chose their rugged dwelling in the hollow side or narrow cleft of some rock, which obliged them to sit or stand in the

(1) Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. I. li. et Auct. cit. in loc.

(3) Ibid. vol. II. Tillmont, *Mem. Eccles.* tom. vⁱⁱⁱ

(2) Id. *ibid.*

most painful and emaciating posture, during the remainder of their wretched lives; while others, with no small exultation, usurped the den of some ferocious brother brute, whom they affected to resemble; and not a few, under the name of Stylites or Pillar-saints, ascended the top of some lofty column, where they remained for years, night and day, without any shelter from heat or cold.(1)

Even after religious houses were provided for the devout solitaries of both sexes, and endowed with ample revenues by the profuse superstition of the newly converted Barbarians, they attempted, in their several cells, to extinguish every spark of sensuality, by meagre fastings, bloody flagellations, and other cruel austerities of discipline, too shocking to bear a recital. But no sooner did the monastic fury subside, than nature began to assert her empire in the hearts of the deluded fanatics; to tell them they had wants inconsistent with their engagements, and that, in abandoning society, they had relinquished the most essential requisites of human happiness. The holy sisters and brothers, convinced of their pious folly, endeavoured by tender familiarities to console each other; but without violating, as they affirmed, their vow of chastity.(2) And although this delectable commerce was prohibited,(3) as alike scandalous and dangerous, by resembling too nearly the ways of the world, and provoking sensibilities too strong for the curb of restraining grace, other solacing practices took place in the convents, not more for the honour of the monastic life.(4) Whenever any set of people, by laying a constraint upon the natural appetites, seek to arrive at a degree of purity inconsistent with the welfare of society, they never fail to be guilty of crimes which society disclaims, and nature abhors, unless they relax the rigour of their institutions, or slide back, by a blameless corruption, into the more smooth but slippery paths of erring humanity.

The ignorance of the times, however, favoured by certain circumstances, continued the veneration for religious solitude, notwithstanding the licentiousness of the monks. Many new monastic orders were instituted in the eleventh century, under various rules of discipline; but all with a view to greater regularity of manners. And monks were called from the lonely cell to the most arduous and exalted stations; to fill the papal chair, and support the triple crown; or to discharge the office of prime minister in some mighty kingdom, and regulate the interests of nations. Though utterly ignorant of public transactions, their reputation for superior sanctity, which was easily acquired, by real or affected austerity, in ages of rapine and superstition, made them be thought fit to direct all things. This ghostly reputation even enabled them to trample upon the authority, and insult the persons, of the princes whose government they administered; especially if the lives of such princes, as was very commonly the case, happened to be stained with any atrocious acts of lust, violence, or oppression. In order to stay the uplifted arm of divine justice, and render the Governor of the world propitious, the king knelt at the feet of the monk and the minister—happy to commit to the favourite of Heaven the sole guidance of his spiritual and temporal concerns.(5) And if chivalry, by awakening a spirit of enterprise, had not roused the human powers to deeds of valour, and revived the passion for the softer sex, by connecting it with arms, and separating it from gross desire, Europe might have sunk under the tyranny of a set of men, who pretend to renounce the world and its affairs, and Christendom have become but one great cloister.

(1) Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii.

(2) Mosheim, *ubi. sup.*

(3) The sixth general council (canon) xvii. forbids women to pass the night in a male, or men in a female, monastery. And the seventh general council (canon xx.) forbids the erecting of double or promiscuous monasteries of both sexes. (Beveridge, tom. i.) On the irregular pleasures of the monks and nuns, see Thomassin, tom. iii.

(4) Mosheim, vol. ii.

(5) Besides the wealth and influence acquired by the monks in consequence of the superstitious ignorance of the great, who often shared not only their power, but the fruits of their rapine with their pious directors, a popular opinion which prevailed towards the close of the tenth century, contributed greatly to augment their opulence. The thousand years, from the birth or death of Christ, mentioned by St. John in the book of Revelations, were supposed to be nearly accomplished, and the day of judgment at hand. Multitudes

LETTER XXII.

The German Empire and its Dependencies, Rome and the Italian States, under Conrad II. and his Descendants of the House of Franconia.

WE now, my dear Philip, return to the great line of history, which I shall endeavour to trace as exactly as possible, that you may be able to keep in view the train of events, without which you will neither be able to reason distinctly on them yourself, nor to understand clearly the reasonings of others. I shall therefore bring down the history of the German empire to the death of Henry V. when the quarrel between the popes and the emperors came to a stand, before I speak of the affairs of France and England, which, from the Norman conquest, became inseparably interwoven, but had little influence for some centuries on the rest of Europe.

Great disputes ensued on the death of Henry II. about the nomination of a successor to the empire; that prince, as you have had occasion to see, dying without issue. The princes and states assembled in the open fields, between Mentz and Worms, no hall being sufficient to hold them; and, after six weeks' encampment and deliberation, they elected Conrad, duke of Franconia, surnamed the Salic, because he was born on the banks of the river Sala.(1)

The Lombards revolting, as usual, soon after the election of the new emperor, Conrad marched into Italy; and having reduced the rebels by force of arms, he went to Rome, where he was consecrated and crowned by Pope John XX., in presence of Canute the great, king of England, Denmark, and Norway, and Rodolph III., king of Transjurane Burgundy. But his stay at Rome was short. Scarce was the coronation over, when he was obliged to return to Germany, on account of some insurrections raised in his absence. He took the precaution, however, before he attempted to humble the insurgents, to get his son Henry, then above twelve years of age, declared his successor, and solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The rebellion was soon after suppressed by the valour of Conrad. He defeated the authors of it in several engagements; in one of which, Ernest, duke of Suabia, who had been put to the ban of the empire, was slain.(2)

The word *ban* originally signified banner, afterward edict, and lastly, a declaration of outlawry, which was intimated thus: "We declare thy wife a widow, thy children orphans, and send thee, in the name of the devil, to the four corners of the earth." This is one of the first examples of that proscription.

The emperor next turned his arms against the Poles, and afterward against the Huns, and obliged both to subscribe to his own conditions. In the mean time Rodolph, king of Transjurane Burgundy, dying without issue, left his dominions to Conrad. They were of small extent, but included the seigniorial superiority over the Swiss, the Grisons, Provence, Franche-Compté, Savoy, Geneva, and Dauphine. Hence the lands on the other side of the Rhine are still called the Lands of the Empire; and all the noblemen of those cantons, who formerly held of Rodolph and his predecessors, now hold of the emperor.(3)

While Conrad II. was employed in taking possession of his new inheritance, the Poles revolted: and this rebellion was no sooner quelled than he had occasion to compose another in Italy, headed by Hubert, bishop of Milan, whom he had loaded with favours. Conrad made so much haste that Milan was taken by surprise. The bishop was condemned to perpetual banishment;

of Christians, therefore, anxious only for their eternal salvation, delivered over to the monastic orders all their lands, treasures, and other valuable effects, and repaired with precipitation to Palestine, where they expected the appearance of Christ on Mount Zion. Mosheim, vol. ii.

(1) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

(2) Heiss, lib. ii.

(3) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

and the emperor died soon after his return to Germany, leaving behind him the reputation of a just, generous, and magnanimous prince.(1)

Henry III. surnamed the Black, son of Conrad and Gisella of Suabia, was elected in consequence of his father's recommendation, and crowned a second time at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The first years of Henry's reign was signalized by successful wars against Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary; which, however, produced no memorable event. Rome and Italy, as usual, were involved in confusion, and distracted by factions, particularly those of the Pandolphi and the Ptolemei. The Pandolphi had thrust Benedict IX. a boy of twelve years of age, into the papacy. He was deposed by Ptolemei and the people, who substituted in his place Sylvester III. This new pope was deposed, in his turn, by the Pandolphi, and his rival re-established. Benedict, however, finding himself universally despised, voluntarily resigned in favour of John, archpriest of the Roman church; but afterward repenting of his resignation, he wanted to resume his dignity.

These three popes, supported by their several partizans, and living peaceably with each other, maintained themselves each upon a different branch of the revenues of the Holy See. One resided at St. Peter's, another at Santa Maria Major, and the third in the palace of the Lateran, all leading the most profligate and scandalous lives. A priest, called Gratian, at last put an end to this singular triumvirate. Partly by artifice, partly by presents, he prevailed upon all three to renounce their pretensions to the papacy; and the people of Rome, out of gratitude for so signal a service to the church, chose him pope, under the name of Gregory VI.

Henry III. took umbrage at this election, in which he had not been consulted, and marched with an army into Italy. No emperor ever exercised more absolute authority in that country. He deposed Gregory, as having been guilty of simony, and filled the papal chair with his own chancellor, Suidger or Heidiger, Bishop of Bamberg, who assumed the name of Clement II. and afterward consecrated, at Rome, Henry and the empress Agnes.(2)

This ceremony being over, and the Romans having sworn never to elect a pope without the approbation of the reigning emperor, Henry proceeded to Capua, where he was visited by Drago, Rainulphus, and other Norman adventurers, who having left their country, namely the dutchy of Normandy, at different times, had made themselves masters of great part of Apulia and Calabria, at the expense of the Greeks and Saracens. Henry entered into a treaty with them; and not only solemnly invested them with those territories which they had acquired by conquest, but prevailed on the pope to excommunicate the Beneventines, who had refused to open their gates to him, and bestowed that city and its dependencies, as fiefs of the empire, upon the Norman princes, provided they took possession by force of arms.(3) What use they made of the imperial favour we shall afterward have occasion to see. At present the papacy claims all our attention.

The emperor was scarce returned to Germany, when he received intelligence of the death of Clement II. Clement was succeeded in the apostolic see by Damasus II. who also dying soon after his elevation, Henry nominated Bruno, bishop of Toul, to the vacant chair. This Bruno, who was the emperor's relation, immediately assumed the pontificals; but being a modest and pious prelate, he threw them off on his journey, by the persuasion of Hildebrand, a monk of Cluny, and went to Rome as a private man. "The emperor alone," said Hildebrand, "has no right to create a pope." He accompanied Bruno to Rome, and secretly retarded his election, that he might arrogate to himself the merit of obtaining it.(4) The scheme succeeded to his wish. Bruno, who took the name of Leo IX. believing himself indebted to Hildebrand for the pontificate, favoured him with his particular friendship and confidence; and hence originated the power of this enterprising

(1) Heiss, lib. II.

(2) His' Conq. de Norm.

(3) Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. II

Leo Ostiensis, lib. II. Dithmar. *Vit. Greg. VII*

monk, of obscure birth, but boundless ambition, who so long governed Rome, and whose zeal for the exaltation of the church occasioned so many troubles to Europe.

Leo, soon after his elevation, waited on the emperor at Worms, to crave assistance against the Norman princes, who were become the terror of Italy, and treated their subjects with great severity. Henry furnished the pope with an army; at the head of which his holiness marched against the Normans, after having excommunicated them, accompanied by a great number of bishops and other ecclesiastics, who were all either killed or taken prisoners, the Germans and Italians being totally routed. Leo himself was led captive to Benevento, of which the Normans were now masters, and which Henry had granted to the pope in exchange for the fief of Bamberg in Germany; and the apostolic see is to this day in possession of Benevento, by virtue of Henry's donation. The Norman chiefs, however, who had a right to that city by a prior grant, restored it, in the mean time, to the princes of Lombardy: and the holy father was treated with so much respect by the conquerors, that he revoked the sentence of excommunication, and joined his sanction to the imperial investiture for the lands which they held in Apulia and Calabria.(1)

Leo died soon after his release; and the emperor, about the same time, caused his infant son, afterward the famous Henry IV. to be declared King of the Romans, a title still in use for the acknowledged heir of the empire. Gebhard, a German bishop, was elected pope, under the name of Victor II. and confirmed by the address of Hildebrand, who waited on the emperor in person for that purpose, though he disdained to consult him beforehand.(2) Perhaps Hildebrand would not have found this task so easy, had not Henry been involved in a war with the Hungarians, who pressed him hard, but whom he obliged at last to pay a large tribute, and furnish him annually with a certain number of fighting men.

As soon as the emperor had finished this war, and others to which it gave rise, he marched into Italy to inspect the conduct of his sister Beatrice, widow of Boniface, marquis of Mantua, and made her prisoner. She had married Gozelo, duke of Lorrain, without the emperor's consent; and contracted her daughter, Matilda, by the marquis of Mantua, to Godfrey, duke of Spoleto and Tuscany, Gozelo's son by a former marriage. This formidable alliance justly alarmed Henry; he therefore attempted to dissolve it by carrying his sister into Germany, where he died soon after his return, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign.

This emperor, in his last journey to Italy, concluded an alliance with Conratini, doge of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful, though it had only been enfranchised in the year 998 from the tribute of a mantle of cloth of gold, which it formerly paid, as a mark of subjection, to the emperors of Constantinople. Genoa was the rival of Venice in power and in commerce, and was already in possession of the island of Corsica, which the Genoese had taken from the Saracens.(3) These two cities, which I shall afterward have occasion frequently to mention, engrossed at this time almost all the trade of Europe. There was no city in France or Germany equal, in any respect, to either of them.

Henry IV. surnamed the Great, was only five years old at his father's death. He was immediately acknowledged emperor in a diet of the princes convoked at Cologne, and the care of his education was committed to his mother Agnes, who also governed the empire. She was a woman of spirit and address, and discharged both her public and private trust with diligence and ability.

Germany, during the first years of this reign, was harassed with civil wars; so that the empress Agnes, notwithstanding her strong talents, found it difficult to maintain her authority. And at length the dukes of Saxony and

(1) Giannone, *Hist. di Napol.*

(2) Leo Ostiensis, lib. ii. *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii

(3) Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* tom. vii.

Bavaria, uncles of the young emperor, carried him off from her by stratagem, accusing her of sacrificing the public welfare to the will of the bishop of Augsburg, her minister and supposed gallant. Thus divested of the regency, she fled to Rome, and there took the veil.(1)

Henry was now put under the tuition of the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen, who discharged their trust in a very opposite manner. The first endeavoured to inspire him with a love of learning and virtue, while the second sought only to acquire an ascendancy over his passions, by indulging him in all the pleasures of youth. This indulgence produced a habit of licentiousness which he could never afterward restrain.

Italy, in the mean time, was a prey, as usual, to intestine disorders. After a variety of troubles, excited on account of the pontificate, Nicholas II. the creature of Hildebrand, passed a famous decree, which gave rise to many more; and by which it was ordained, in a council of a hundred and thirteen bishops, that for the future the cardinals only should elect the pope, and that the election should be confirmed by the rest of the Roman clergy and the people: "saving the honour," adds he, "due to our dear son Henry, now king; and who, if it please God, shall one day be emperor, according to the privilege which we have already conferred upon him; and saving the honour of his successors on whom the Apostolic See shall confer the same high privilege."(2)

The same pope Nicholas II. after having in vain excommunicated the Norman princes, made protectors and vassals of them; and they, who were feudatories of the empire, less afraid of the popes than the emperors, readily did homage for their lands to Nicholas, in 1059, and agreed to hold them of the church.(3)

This mode of holding was very common in those days of rapacity, both for princes and private persons, the only authority then respected being that of the church: and the Normans wisely made use of it as a safeguard against the emperors. They gave their lands to the church under the name of an offering, or oblat, and continued in possession of them on paying a slight acknowledgment. Hence the pope's claim of superiority over the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

Robert Guiscard, brother of Drago, and one of the gallant sons of Tancred of Hauteville, received from the pope the ducal crown of Apulia and Calabria; and Richard, count of Aversa, was confirmed prince of Capua, a title which he had already assumed. The pope also gave the Normans a right to hold Sicily in the same manner with their other possessions, provided they could expel the Saracens from it;(4) and Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger made themselves fully masters of that island in 1061.

Henry IV. assumed the reins of government at the age of twenty-two, and began his administration with restraining the thefts, robberies, and extortions, which his subjects of the dutchy of Saxony exercised upon strangers, as well as upon each other. But the Saxon princes and nobles, who were gainers by these abuses, particularly by the infamous practice of imprisoning travellers, and making them pay for their ransom, opposed the intended reformation, and entered into an association against the emperor, under pretence that their liberties were in danger. In this rebellious disposition they were encouraged by the arrogance of pope Alexander II. who, at the instigation of Hildebrand, his confidant and oracle, summoned Henry to appear before the tribunal of the Holy See, on account of his loose life, and to answer to the charge of having exposed the investiture of bishops to sale.(5)

Henry treated the pope's mandate with the contempt it deserved; and at the same time carried on war with vigour against the Saxons, and their

(1) *Annal. de l'Emp.*

(2) *Chronicon Farsense* in Murat. *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. II. par. II. To this edict of Nicholas II. the college of cardinals owes the extensive authority and important privileges it still enjoys. Under the name of cardinals he comprehends the seven Roman bishops, who were considered as his suffragans, and also the twenty-eight presbyters, or parish priests, who officiated in the principal churches. Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. II.

(3) Giannone *Hist. di Napoli.*

(4) *Id. ibid*

(5) Leo Ostiensis, lib. III. Dithmar. *Vit. Greg. VII.*

rebellious associates, whom he totally routed in a bloody engagement, and made himself master of all Saxony. The heads of the rebellion asked pardon of the emperor in public, and begged to be restored to his favour: he generously accepted their submission, and peace was restored to Germany. (1)

But Henry was not suffered long to enjoy the fruits of his valour. A new storm threatened him from Italy, which afterward fell with violence on his head, and shook all the thrones in Christendom. On the death of Alexander II. in 1073, Hildebrand had been elected pope, under the name of Gregory VII. and although he had not asked the emperor's voice, he prudently waited for his confirmation before he assumed the tiara. He obtained it by this mark of submission: Henry confirmed his election; and Gregory, having nothing farther to fear, pulled off the mask. He began his pontificate with excommunicating every ecclesiastic who should receive a benefice from a layman, and every layman by whom such benefice should be conferred. This was engaging the church in an open war with the sovereigns of all nations. But the thunder of the Holy See was more particularly directed against the emperor; and Henry, sensible of his danger, and willing to avert it, wrote a submissive letter to Gregory, who pretended to take him into favour, after having severely reprimanded him for the crimes of simony and debauchery, laid against him by the late pope, and of which he now confessed himself guilty. (2)

Gregory, at the same time, proposed a crusade, in order to deliver the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels; offering to head the Christians in person, and desiring Henry to serve as a volunteer under his command! (3) a project so wild and extravagant, that nothing but the prevailing spirit of the times, the double enthusiasm of religion and valour, can save the memory of its author from the imputation of insanity.

Gregory's project of making himself lord of Christendom, by not only dissolving the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the clergy, but also by subjecting to the papal authority all temporal princes, and rendering their dominions tributary to the See of Rome, seems no less romantic; yet this he undertook, and not altogether without success. Solomon, king of Hungary, dethroned by his brother Geysa, had fled to Henry for protection, and renewed the homage of Hungary to the empire. Gregory, who favoured Geysa, exclaimed against this act of submission; and said in a letter to Solomon, "You ought to know, that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Roman church; and learn, that you will incur the indignation of the Holy See, if you do not acknowledge that you hold your dominions of the pope, and not of the emperor!" (4)

This presumptuous declaration, and the neglect it met with, brought the quarrel between the empire and the church to a crisis. It was directed to Solomon, but intended for Henry. And if Gregory could not succeed in one way, he was resolved that he should in another: he therefore resumed the claim of investitures, for which he had a more plausible pretence; and as that dispute and its consequences merit particular attention, I shall be more circumstantial than usual.

The predecessors of Henry IV. had always enjoyed the right of nominating bishops and abbots, and of giving them investiture by the ring and crosier. This right they had in common with almost all princes. The predecessors of Gregory VII. had been accustomed, on their part, to send legates to the emperors, in order to entreat their assistance; to obtain their confirmation, or desire them to come and receive the papal sanction, but for no other purpose. Gregory, however, sent two legates to summon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent, because he still continued to bestow investitures, notwithstanding the apostolic decree to the contrary; adding, that if he should fail to yield obedience to the church, he must expect to be excommunicated and dethroned.

Incensed at that arrogant message from one whom he considered as his

(1) Heise, *Hist. de l'Emp.* lib. ii.

(2) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. Dithmar. *Vit. Greg.* VII.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Goldast. *Apologia pro Hen. IV.* Thomas. *Conten. inter Imp. et Sacerdot*

vassal, Henry dismissed the legates with very little ceremony, and convoked an assembly of all the German princes and dignified ecclesiastics at Worms; where, after mature deliberation, they concluded, that Gregory having usurped the chair of St. Peter by indirect means, infected the church of God with many novelties and abuses, and deviated from his duty to his sovereign in several scandalous attempts, the emperor, by that supreme authority derived from his predecessors, ought to divest him of his dignity, and appoint another in his place.(1)

In consequence of this determination, Henry sent an ambassador to Rome, with a formal deprivation of Gregory; who, in his turn, convoked a council, at which were present a hundred and ten bishops, who unanimously agreed, that the pope had just cause to depose Henry, to dissolve the oath of allegiance which the princes and states had taken in his favour, and to prohibit them from holding any correspondence with him on pain of excommunication. And that sentence was immediately fulminated against the emperor and his adherents. "In the name of Almighty God, and by your authority," said Gregory, alluding to the members of the council, "I prohibit Henry, the son of our emperor Henry, from governing the Teutonic kingdom, and Italy; I release all Christians from their oath of allegiance to him; and I strictly forbid all persons from serving or attending him as king."(2)

This is the first instance of a pope's pretending to deprive a sovereign of his crown, but it was too flattering to ecclesiastical pride to be the last. No prelate, from the foundation of the church, had ever presumed to use so imperious a language as Gregory: for although Lewis the Debonnaire had been deposed by his bishops, there was at least some colour for that step. They condemned Lewis, in appearance, only to do public penance.

The circular letters written by this pontiff breathe the same spirit with his sentence of deposition. In these he repeatedly asserts, that "bishops are superior to kings, and made to judge them!"—expressions alike artful and presumptuous, and calculated, for bringing in all the churchmen of the world to his standard. Gregory's purpose is said to have been, to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to the Vicar of Christ, as King of Kings and Lord of Lords, all the potentates of the earth, and to establish at Rome an annual assembly of bishops, by whom the contests that might arise between kingdoms and sovereign states were to be decided; the rights and pretensions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined.(3)

The haughty pontiff knew well what consequences would follow the thunder of the church. The German bishops came immediately over to his party, and drew along with them many of the nobles; the brand of civil war still lay smouldering, and a bull properly directed was sufficient to set it in a blaze. The Saxons, Henry's old enemies, made use of the papal displeasure as a pretence for rebelling against him. Even his favourite Guelf, a nobleman to whom he had given the duchy of Bavaria, supported the malecontents with that power which he owed to his sovereign's bounty: nay, those very princes and prelates who had assisted in deposing Gregory, gave up their monarch to be tried by the pope; and his holiness was solicited to come to Augsburg for that purpose.(4)

Willing to prevent this odious trial at Augsburg, Henry took the unaccountable resolution of suddenly passing the Alps at Tirol, accompanied only by a few domestics, in order to ask absolution of Gregory, his tyrannical oppressor, who was then in Canosa, on the Apennines; a fortress belonging to the countess or dutchess Matilda, whom I have already had occasion to mention. At the gates of this place the emperor presented himself as an humble penitent. He alone was admitted within the outer court, where, being stripped of his robes, and wrapped in sackcloth, he was obliged to remain three days, in the month of January, barefooted and fasting, before he was

(1) Schilter. *De Libertat. Eccles. German.* lib. iv.

(2) Dithmar. *Hist. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacra. lot*

(3) Mosheim. *Hist. Eccles.* vol. ii. par. ii. cent. xi. et Auct. cit. in loc.

(4) Dithmar. ubi sup. *Annal. German.* ad Struv

permitted to kiss the feet of his holiness, who all that time was shut up with the devout Matilda, whose spiritual director he had long been; and, as some say, her gallant. But be that as it may, her attachment to Gregory, and her hatred against the Germans, was so great, that she made over all her estates to the Apostolic See: and this donation is the true cause of all the wars, which since that period have raged between the emperors and the popes. She possessed in her own right, great part of Tuscany; Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almost the whole of what is now called the patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvieto: together with part of Umbria, Spoleto, and the Marche of Ancona.(1)

The emperor was at length permitted to throw himself at the feet of the haughty pontiff, who condescended to grant him absolution, after he had sworn obedience to his holiness in all things, and promised to submit to his solemn decision at Augsburg—so that Henry got nothing but disgrace by his journey, while Gregory, elated with his triumph, and now looking upon himself, not altogether without reason, as the lord and master of all the crowned heads in Christendom, said in several of his letters, that it was his duty “to pull down the pride of kings.”

This extraordinary accommodation gave much disgust to the princes of Italy. They never could forgive the insolence of the pope nor the abject humility of the emperor. Happily however for Henry, their indignation at Gregory's arrogance overbalanced their detestation of *his* meanness. He took advantage of this temper; and by a change of fortune hitherto unknown to the German emperors, he found a strong party in Italy, when abandoned in Germany. All Lombardy took up arms against the pope, while he was raising all Germany against the emperor.

Gregory, on the one hand, made use of every art to get another emperor elected in Germany; and Henry, on his part, left nothing undone to persuade the Italians to elect another pope. The Germans chose Rodolph, duke of Suabia, who was solemnly crowned at Mentz; and Gregory, hesitating on this occasion, behaved truly like the supreme judge of kings. He had deposed Henry, but still it was in his power to pardon that prince: he therefore affected to be displeased that Rodolph was consecrated without his order; and declared, he would acknowledge as emperor and king of Germany him of the two competitors who should be most submissive to the Holy See.(2)

Henry, however, trusting more to the valour of his troops than to the generosity of the pope, set out immediately for Germany, where he defeated his enemies in several engagements: and Gregory, seeing no hopes of submission, thundered out a second sentence of excommunication against him, confirming at the same time the election of Rodolph, to whom he sent a golden crown, on which the following well known verse, equally haughty and puerile, was engraved:

Petra dedit Petro, petrus diadema Rodolpho.

This donation was also accompanied with a prophetic anathema against Henry, so wild and extravagant, as to make one doubt whether it was dictated by enthusiasm or priestcraft. After depriving him of *strength in combat*, and condemning him *never to be victorious*, it concludes with the following remarkable apostrophe to St. Peter and St. Paul: “Make all men sensible, that, as you can bind and loose every thing in heaven, you can also upon earth take from, or give to, every one according to his deserts, empires, kingdoms, principalities—let the kings and princes of the age then instantly feel your power, that they may not dare to despise the orders of your church; let your justice be so speedily executed upon Henry, that nobody may doubt but that he falls by your means, and not by chance.”(3)

(1) Fran. Mar. Florent. *Mém. della Contessa Matilda.*
et Sacerdot. Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.*

(2) Dithmar. *Hist. Bell. inter Imp.*
(3) Hardouin, *Concil. Fleury, Hist. Eccles.*

In order to avoid the effects of the second excommunication, Henry took a step worthy of himself. He assembled at Brixen, in the county of Tirol, about twenty German bishops, who, acting also for the bishops of Lombardy, unanimously resolved, That the pope, instead of having power over the emperor, owed him obedience and allegiance; that Gregory VII. having rendered himself unworthy of the papal chair, by his misconduct and rebellion, ought to be deposed from a dignity he so little deserved. They accordingly degraded Hildebrand, and elected in his room Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, a person of undoubted merit, who took the name of Clement III.

Henry promised to put the new pope in possession of Rome. But he was obliged, in the mean time, to shift the scene of action, and to employ all his forces against his rival Rodolph, who had reassembled a large body of troops in Saxony. The two armies met near Mersburg, and both fought with great fury. Victory remained long doubtful: but the fortune of the day seemed inclining to Rodolph, when his hand was cut off by the famous Godfrey of Bouillon, then in the service of Henry, and afterward renowned by the conquest of Jerusalem. Discouraged by the misfortune of their chief, the rebels immediately gave way; and Rodolph perceiving his end approaching, ordered the hand that was cut off to be brought him, and made a speech to his officers on the occasion, which could not fail to have a favourable influence on the emperor's affairs. "Behold," said he, "the hand with which I took the oath of allegiance to Henry—an oath, which, at the instigation of Rome, I have violated, in perfidiously aspiring to an honour that was not my due."⁽¹⁾

The emperor, thus delivered from his formidable antagonist, soon dispersed the rest of his enemies in Germany, and set out for Italy, in order to settle Clement III. in the papal chair. But the gates of Rome being shut against him, he was obliged to attack it in form. The siege continued upwards of two years; Henry, during that time, being obliged to quell some insurrections in Germany. The city was at length carried by assault, and with difficulty saved from being pillaged; but Gregory was not taken: he retired into the castle of St. Angelo, and thence defied and excommunicated the conqueror.

The new pope was, however, consecrated with the usual ceremonies, and expressed his gratitude by crowning Henry, with the concurrence of the Roman senate and people. Meanwhile the siege of St. Angelo was going on; but the emperor being called about some affairs into Lombardy, Robert Guiscard took advantage of his absence to release Gregory, who died soon after at Salerno. His last words, borrowed from the scripture, were worthy of the greatest saint: "I have loved justice, and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile!"⁽²⁾

Henry did not long enjoy the success of his Italian expedition, or that tranquillity which might have been expected from the death of Gregory. Germany was involved in new troubles: thither he hastened with all expedition. The Saxons, his old enemies, had elected a king of the Romans, whom he defeated in several engagements, and whose blood atoned for his presumption. Another pretender shared the same fate. Every thing yielded to the emperor's valour.

But while Henry was thus victorious in Germany, his enemies were busy in embroiling his affairs in Italy, into which he found it necessary again to march. Not satisfied with Clement III. the emperor's pope, they had elected the abbot of Monte Cassino, under the name of Victor III. and he dying in a short time, they chose in his room Urban II. who, in conjunction with the countess Matilda, seduced the emperor's son, Conrad, into a rebellion against his father.—It was this Urban who held the famous council of Clermont, of which I shall afterward have occasion to speak, and where the first crusade was resolved upon.

Conrad assumed the title of king of Italy, and was actually crowned by

⁽¹⁾ *Chron. Magdeb.*

⁽²⁾ *Vit. Greg. VII. Murat. ubi sup.*

Anselmo, archbishop of Milan. Soon after this ceremony, he married the daughter of Roger, king of Sicily; and succeeded so well in his usurpation, that the greater part of the Italian cities and nobles acknowledged him as their sovereign. The emperor, therefore, despairing of being able to reduce his son to obedience, returned to Germany; where he assembled the princes, who put Conrad to the ban of the empire, and declared his brother Henry king of the Romans.(1) An accommodation was made with the Saxons and Bavarians, and the emperor hoped to spend the latter part of his life in peace.

In the mean time Conrad died; and Pascal II. another Hildebrand, succeeded Urban in the see of Rome. This pope no sooner found himself safely seated in the papal chair, than he called a council, to which he summoned the emperor; and as Henry did not obey the citation, he excommunicated him anew for the schisms which he had introduced into the church. But that vengeance, though sufficiently severe, was gentle, in comparison of what Pascal meditated and accomplished. He excited young Henry to rebel against his father, under pretence of defending the cause of the orthodox; alleging, that he was bound to take upon himself the reins of government, as he could neither acknowledge a king nor a father that was excommunicated.(2)

In vain did the emperor use every paternal remonstrance to dissuade his son from proceeding to extremities: the breach became wider and wider, and both prepared for the decision of the sword. But the son dreading his father's military superiority, and confiding in his tenderness, made use of a stratagem equally base and effectual. He threw himself unexpectedly at the emperor's feet, and begged pardon for his undutiful behaviour, which he imputed to the advice of evil counsellors. In consequence of this submission, he was immediately taken into favour, and the emperor dismissed his army. The ungrateful youth now bared his perfidious heart: he ordered his father to be confined; while he assembled a diet of his own confederates, at which the pope's legate presided, and repeated the sentence of excommunication against the emperor Henry IV. who was instantly deposed, and the parricidous usurper Henry V. proclaimed.(3)

The archbishops of Mentz and Cologne were sent as deputies to the old emperor, to intimate his deposition, and demand the crown, and other regalia. Henry received this deputation with equal surprise and concern; and finding the chief accusation against him was, "the scandalous manner in which he had set bishoprics to sale," he thus addressed the audacious ecclesiastics: "If we have prostituted the benefices of the church for hire, you yourselves are the most proper persons to convict us of that simony. Say then, I conjure you, in the name of the eternal God! what have we exacted, or what have we received, for having promoted you to the dignities which you now enjoy?" They acknowledged he was innocent as far as regarded their preferment:—"and yet," continued he, "the archbishoprics of Mentz and Cologne being two of the best in our gift, we might have filled our coffers by exposing them to sale. We bestowed them, however, on you, out of free grace and favour; and a worthy return you make to our benevolence!—Do not, we beseech you, become abettors of those who have lifted up their hand against their lord and master, in defiance of faith, gratitude, and allegiance."

The two archbishops, unmoved by that pathetic address, insisted on his compliance with the purport of their errand. On this he retired, and put on his royal ornaments; then returning to the apartment he had left, and seating himself on a chair of state, he renewed his remonstrance in these words: "Here are the marks of that royalty with which we were invested by God and the princes of the empire: if you disregard the wrath of Heaven, and the eternal reproach of mankind, so much as to lay violent hands on your sovereign, you may strip us of them. We are not in a condition to defend ourselves."

(1) *Chron. Magdeb.*(2) *Dithmar. Hist. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.*(3) *Ibid.*

This speech had no more effect than the former upon the unfeeling prelates, who instantly snatched the crown from his head; and, dragging him from his chair, pulled off his royal robes by force. While they were thus employed, Henry exclaimed, "Great God!"—the tears trickling down his venerable cheeks—"thou art the God of vengeance, and wilt repay this outrage. I have sinned, I own, and merited such shame by the follies of my youth: but thou wilt not fail to punish those traitors, for their perjury, insolence, and ingratitude."(1)

To such a degree of wretchedness was this unhappy prince reduced by the barbarity of his son, that, destitute of the common necessities of life, he entreated Gertrad, bishop of Spire, whom he had created, to grant him a canonicate for his subsistence; representing that he was capable of performing the office of "chanter or reader!" Being denied that humble request, he shed a flood of tears, and turning to those who were present, said, with a deep sigh, "My dear friends, at least have pity on my condition, for I am touched by the hand of the Lord!"(2)—The hand of man, at least, was heavy upon him; for he was not only in want, but under confinement.

In the midst of these distresses, when every one thought his courage was utterly extinguished, and his soul overwhelmed by despondence, Henry found means to escape from his keepers, and reached Cologne, where he was recognised as lawful emperor. He next repaired to the Low Countries, where he found friends, who raised a considerable body of troops to facilitate his restoration; and he sent circular letters to all the princes in Christendom, in order to interest them in his cause. He even wrote to the pope, giving him to understand, that he was inclined to an accommodation, provided it could be settled without prejudice to his crown. But before any thing material could be executed in Henry's favour, he died at Liege, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign. He was a prince of great courage, and excellent endowments both of body and mind. There was an air of dignity in his appearance that spoke the greatness of his soul. He possessed a natural fund of eloquence and vivacity; was of a mild and merciful temper; extremely charitable; and an admirable pattern of fortitude and resignation.(3)

Henry V. put the finishing stroke to his barbarous, unnatural, and hypocritical conduct, by causing his father's body, as the carcass of an excommunicated wretch, to be dug out of the grave where it was buried, in the cathedral of Liege, and be carried to a cave at Spire.(4) But, notwithstanding his obligations and seeming attachment to the church, this parricidial zealot no sooner found himself established upon the imperial throne, than he maintained that right of investiture in opposition to which he had taken arms against his father, and the exercise of which was thought to merit anathemas so frightful as to disturb the sacred mansions of the dead.

In order to terminate that old dispute, Henry invited the pope into Germany. But Pascal, who was well acquainted with the emperor's haughty and implacable disposition, thought proper to take a different route, and put himself under the protection of Philip I. king of France, who undertook to mediate an accommodation between the empire and the Holy See. A conference was accordingly held at Chalons, in Champagne, but without effect.

After this unsuccessful meeting, the pope held a council at Troyes, and Henry convoked a diet at Mentz: the first supported Pascal's pretensions, and the last declared for the emperor's right of investiture. But more weighty affairs demanding Henry's attention, the dispute was laid aside for a time. He was engaged for several years in wars with Hungary and Poland, which ended in the weariness of all parties, and left things nearly as at the beginning.

When tired of fighting, Henry thought of disputing: he was desirous of settling his contest with the pope; and, lest force should be necessary, he

(1) Dithmar. ubi sup. Heiss. lib. II. cap. ix.

(3) Gob Pers Leo Ostiens. Chron. Magdel

(2) Id. ibid.

(4) Annal. de l'Emp. tom. I

entered Italy with an army of eighty thousand men. Pascal received him with the greatest appearance of cordiality, but would not renounce the claim of investitures; and Henry, finding himself deceived in his expectations, ordered the pope to be seized. The consul put the citizens in arms, and a battle was fought within the walls of Rome. The Romans were defeated; and the carnage was so great, that the waters of the Tiber were stained with blood. Pascal was taken prisoner, and became less inflexible. He crowned Henry, and confirmed him in the right of investiture; dividing the host with him, at the same time, in token of perfect reconciliation, and pronouncing the following anathema: "As this part of the vivifying body," breaking it, "is separated from the other, let him of us two, who shall infringe the treaty, be separated from the kingdom of Christ."⁽¹⁾

But Henry had no sooner left Italy than it appeared that the court of Rome was by no means sincere in the concessions it had made; for, although Pascal himself still preserved the exteriors of friendship and good faith, a council of the Lateran, called by him, set aside the bull touching the investiture of benefices, and ordered the emperor to be excommunicated. The clergy every where attempted to fill the vacant sees, and the whole empire was again involved in trouble and dissension.

A rebellion broke out in Saxony, which Henry was enabled to quell by the valour of his nephew, Frederick, duke of Suabia and Alsace, whom he promoted to the supreme command of his army. In the mean time the countess Matilda dying, the emperor, as her nearest relation, claimed the succession, notwithstanding the steps she had taken in favour of the Holy See, alleging that it was not in her power to alienate her estates, which depended immediately upon the empire. He therefore set out for Lombardy, and sent ambassadors to Rome, beseeching the pope to revoke the sentence of excommunication which had been fulminated against him, expressly contrary to their last agreement.

Pascal would not so much as favour the ambassadors with an audience; but convoked a council, in which his treaty with the emperor was a second time condemned. Incensed at such arrogance, Henry advanced towards Rome, determined to make his authority respected; and the pope, well acquainted with his inflexible disposition, took shelter among the Norman princes in Apulia, the new vassals and protectors of the church.

The emperor entered Rome in triumph, and was crowned a second time by Bardinus, archbishop of Prague, who attended him in this expedition. But Henry's presence being necessary in Tuscany, Pascal privately returned to Rome, where he died in a few days; and on the third day after his decease cardinal Cajetan was elected his successor, without the privity of the emperor, under the name of Gelasius II.

Enraged at this presumption, Henry declared the election of Gelasius void, and appointed in his place Bardinus, who assumed the name of Gregory VIII. revoked the sentence of excommunication against the emperor, and confirmed his right of investiture. Gelasius, though supported by the Norman princes, was obliged to take refuge in France, where he died; and the archbishop of Vienne was elected in his room, by the cardinals then present, under the name of Calixtus II.

Calixtus attempted an accommodation with Henry, which not succeeding, he called a council, and again excommunicated the emperor, the antipope, and their adherents. He next set out for Rome, where he was honourably received, and Gregory VIII. retired to Sutri, a strong town garrisoned by the emperor's troops. They were not, however, able to protect him from the fury of his rival. Calixtus, assisted by the Norman princes, besieged Sutri; and the inhabitants, afraid of the consequences, delivered up Gregory, who was mounted, by his competitor, upon a camel, with his face towards the tail, and conducted through the streets of Rome, amid the scoffs and insults of the populace, as a prelude to his confinement for life.⁽²⁾

(1) *Chron. Abb. St. Petri de Burgo. Padre Paolo Benef. Eccles.*

(2) *Dithmar. Hist. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.*

In the mean time the states of the empire, quite tired with this long quarrel between the popes and the emperors, unanimously supplicated Henry for peace. He referred himself entirely to their decision: and a diet being assembled at Worms, it was decreed, that an embassy should immediately be sent to the pope, desiring that he would convoke a general council at Rome, by which all disputes might be determined. Calixtus accordingly called the famous council, which was opened during Lent, and at which were present three hundred bishops and about seven hundred abbots.

The imperial ambassadors being heard before this grand assembly, the affair of investitures was at length settled, with their consent, on the following conditions:—"That, for the future, the bishops and abbots shall be chosen by the monks and canons; but that this election shall be made in presence of the emperor, or of an ambassador appointed by him for that purpose: that, in case a dispute arise among the electors, the decision of it shall be left to the emperor, who is to consult with the bishops on that subject; that the bishop or abbot elect shall take an *oath of allegiance* to the emperor, receive from his hand the *regalia*, and do *homage* for them; that the emperor shall no longer confer the *regalia* by the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*, which are the *ensigns* of a *ghostly dignity*, but by that of the *sceptre*, as more proper to invest the person elected in the possession of rights and privileges merely temporal."⁽¹⁾

Thus, in substituting the *sceptre* for the *ring* and *crozier*, ended one of the most bloody quarrels that ever desolated Christendom. But as no mention had been made, in this accommodation, of the emperor's right to create popes, or to intermeddle in their election, Calixtus was no sooner dead, than the cardinals, clergy, and people of Rome, without the participation of Henry, proceeded to a new election, which was carried on with so much disorder, that two persons were elected at the same time; Theobald, called Celestin, and Lambert, bishop of Ostia, who assumed the name of Honorius II. Honorius was confirmed in the papacy, on the voluntary resignation of his competitor.

Henry died at Utrecht a few years after his accommodation with Rome. He was a wise, politic, and resolute prince; and, exclusive of his unnatural behaviour to his father, was worthy of the imperial throne. He married Maud, or Matilda, daughter of Henry I. king of England, by whom he had no children; so that the empire was left without a head.—But a variety of objects demand your attention, before I carry farther the affairs of Germany.

LETTER XXIII.

England from the Battle of Hastings to the Death of Henry I

You have already, my dear Philip, seen William, duke of Normandy, victorious at Hastings. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the English nation, when made acquainted with the issue of that unfortunate battle—with the death of their king, and the slaughter of their principal nobility. And William, in order to terminate an enterprise which he knew celerity and vigour only could render finally successful, instantly put his army in motion, and advanced by forced marches to London. His approach increased the general alarm, and the divisions already prevalent in the English councils. The superior clergy, who even then were mostly French or Normans, began to declare in his favour; and the pope's bull, by which his undertaking was avowed and consecrated, was now offered as a reason for general submission.

Other causes rendered it difficult for the English nation, destitute as it was of a head, to defend their liberties in this critical emergency. The body of the people had, in a great measure, lost their ancient pride and independent

⁽¹⁾ Padre Paolo, ubi sup. Schilter de Libertat. Eccles. German. lib. iv.

spirit, by their recent and long subjection to the Danes; and as Canute had, in the course of his administration, much abated the rigours of conquest, and governed them equitably by their own laws, they regarded with less terror a foreign sovereign; and deemed the inconveniences of admitting the pretensions of William less dreadful than those of bloodshed, war, and resistance. A repulse, which a party of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horse, renewed the terror of the great defeat at Hastings: the easy submission of all the inhabitants of Kent was an additional discouragement to them; and the burning of Southwark before their eyes, made the citizens of London dread a like fate for their capital. Few men longer entertained any thoughts but of immediate safety and self-preservation.

Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, met the conqueror at Berkhamstead, and made submissions to him: and before he reached London, all the chief nobility, with the weak Edgar Atheling, their lawful but deservedly neglected prince, came into William's camp, and declared their intention of yielding to his authority. They requested him to accept the crown, which they now considered as vacant; and orders were immediately issued to prepare every thing for the ceremony of his coronation. It was accordingly performed in Westminster abbey, in presence of the most considerable nobility and gentry, both English and Norman, with seeming satisfaction.⁽¹⁾ This appearance of satisfaction on the part of the former, if it contained any sincerity, must have been the effect of the conciliating manner in which the coronation ceremony was conducted. The duke of Normandy took the usual oath administered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their inauguration; namely, "to preserve inviolate the constitution, and govern according to the laws," before the crown was placed upon his head, and after the consent of all present had been asked and obtained.⁽²⁾

William, thus possessed of the throne, by a pretended will of king Edward, and an irregular election of the people, abetted by force of arms, retired to Barking in Essex; where he received the submissions of all the nobility who had not attended his coronation, and whom he generally confirmed in the possession of their lands and dignities, forfeiting only the estates of Harold, and those of his most active adherents. Every thing wore the appearance of peace and tranquillity. The new sovereign seemed solicitous to unite in an amicable manner the English and Normans, by intermarriages and alliances; and all his subjects who approached his person were received with affability and respect. No signs of suspicion appeared even in regard to Edgar Atheling, the natural heir to the crown. On the contrary, the king confirmed him in the honours of earl of Oxford, conferred on him by Harold, and affected on all occasions to treat him with the greatest kindness, as nephew to the Confessor, his friend and benefactor. He also confirmed the liberties and immunities of London, and all the other cities of England; and seemed, in a word, desirous of resting every thing on ancient foundations. In his whole administration he bore the semblance of the lawful prince, not of the conqueror; so that the English began to flatter themselves they had only changed the succession of their sovereigns, a matter which gave them little concern, without injury to the form of their government.

But William, notwithstanding this seeming confidence and friendship which he expressed for his English subjects, took care to place all real power in the hands of the Normans, and still to keep possession of that sword to which he eventually owed his crown. He every where disarmed the inhabitants; he built fortresses in all the principal cities, where he quartered Norman soldiers; he bestowed the forfeited estates on the most powerful of

(1) Gul. Pictav. Orderic. Vital.

(2) Ibid. Aware that such an oath would be demanded, and conscious that he must either violate it or relinquish the right of conquest, William is said to have hesitated, whether he should accept the offer of the English crown from the nobility and clergy, or owe it solely to the sword. But his most experienced captains advised him to moderate his ambition; sensible that the people of England, when they saw they had to contend for their free constitution, and not merely for the person who should administer their government, would fight with double fury (Gul. Pictav.) when they found that their dearest interests, their liberty, and property, were at stake.

his captains, and he established funds for the payment of his troops. While his civil administration wore the face of the legal magistrate, his military institutions were those of a master and a tyrant. And by this mixture of rigour and lenity, he so subdued and composed the minds of the people of England, that he ventured to visit his native country within six months after he had left it.(1)

Various reasons have been assigned by historians for this extraordinary journey; for extraordinary it certainly was in William, as Normandy remained in perfect tranquillity, to absent himself so soon after the submission of a great, warlike, and turbulent nation. Some have ascribed it to ostentatious vanity, which made him impatient to display his pomp and magnificence among his ancient courtiers; while others, supposing him incapable of such weakness, affirm, that in this step, apparently so extravagant, he was guided by a concealed policy; that finding he could neither satisfy his rapacious captains, nor secure his unstable government, without seizing the possessions of the English nobility and gentry, he left them to the mercy of an insolent and licentious army in order to try their spirit, to provoke them to rebellion, and to give a colour to his intended usurpations. For my own part, I can see no reason why William, solid as his genius was, may not have been influenced by both these motives in undertaking his journey to Normandy. But, whatever was the cause, the effect is certain; the English nobility and gentry revolted in consequence of the king's absence; and he thenceforth either embraced, or was more fully confirmed in, the resolution of seizing their lands, and of reducing them to the most abject condition.

But although the natural violence and austerity of William's temper made him incapable of feeling any scruples in the execution of this tyrannical purpose, he had art enough to conceal his intention, and still to preserve some appearance of justice in his oppressions. He was prevailed on to pardon the rebels who submitted themselves to his mercy; and he ordered all his English subjects who had been arbitrarily expelled by the Normans during his absence to be restored to their possessions. The public discontents, however, daily increased; and the injuries committed and suffered on both sides rendered the quarrel between the victors and vanquished mortal. The insolence of imperious masters, dispersed throughout the kingdom, seemed intolerable to the natives, who took every opportunity to gratify their vengeance by the private slaughter of their enemies. Meanwhile an insurrection in the northern counties drew general attention, and seemed big with the most important events.

Edwin and Morcar, the potent earls of Mercia and Northumberland, were the conductors of this attempt to shake off the Norman yoke. And these warlike noblemen, before they took arms, had stipulated for aid from Blethin, prince of North Wales, Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Sweyn, king of Denmark. Aware of the importance of celerity in crushing a rebellion supported by such powerful leaders, and in a cause so agreeable to the wishes of the people, William, who had always his troops in readiness, marched northward with speed; and reached York before the hostile chieftains were prepared for action, or had received any succours, except a small reinforcement from Wales. Edwin and Morcar, therefore, found it necessary to have recourse to the clemency of the king: and their adherents, thus deserted, were unable to make any resistance. But the treatment of the chieftains and their followers, after submission, was very different. William observed religiously the terms granted to the former, and allowed them for the present to keep possession of their estates; but he extended the rigour of his confiscations over the latter, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers, whom he planted throughout the whole country.(2)

The English were now convinced their final subjection was intended; and that, instead of a legal sovereign, whom they had at first hoped to gain by their prompt submission, they had unwisely surrendered themselves to a

(1) Gul. Pictav. Orderic. Vital.

(2) Orderic. Vital. Sim. Dunelm.

master and a tyrant. The early confiscation of the estates of Harold's followers seemed iniquitous, as the proprietors had never sworn fealty to the duke of Normandy, and fought only in defence of the government which they themselves had established in their own country. Yet that rigour, how contrary soever to the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon laws, was excused on account of the urgent necessities of the victor; and they who were not involved in those forfeitures hoped to enjoy unmolested their possessions and their dignities. But the subsequent confiscation of so many estates convinced them, that the Norman prince intended to rely solely, for the maintenance of his authority, on the support and affection of foreigners. And they foresaw new forfeitures and attainders to be the necessary consequences of this destructive plan of policy.

Impressed with a sense of their dismal situation, many Englishmen fled into foreign countries, with an intention of passing their lives abroad, free from oppression, or of returning on a favourable opportunity to assist their friends in recovering their native liberties. Edgar Atheling himself, dreading the insidious caresses of William, made his escape into Scotland, and carried thither his two sisters Margaret and Christina. They were well received by Malcolm III. then king of that country, who soon after espoused Margaret, the elder sister: and partly with a view of strengthening his kingdom by the accession of so many strangers, partly in hopes of employing them against the growing power of William, he gave great countenance to all the English exiles.(1) Many of them settled in Scotland, and there laid the foundations of families which afterward made a figure in that kingdom.

While the people of England laboured under those oppressions, new attempts were made for the recovery of their liberties. Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, three sons of Harold, had sought a retreat in Ireland, after the defeat at Hastings; and having met with a kind reception from Dermot, and other princes of that island, they projected an invasion of England, and hoped that all the exiles from Denmark, Scotland, and Wales, assisted by forces from these several countries, would at once commence hostilities, and rouse the resentment of the English nation against their haughty conquerors. They landed in Devonshire, but found a body of Normans ready to oppose them; and being defeated in several rencounters, they were obliged to seek shelter in their ships, and return with great loss into Ireland.

The struggle, however, was not yet over: all the north of England was soon in arms. The Northumbrians, impatient of servitude, had attacked Robert de Comyn, governor of Durham, and put him and seven hundred of his adherents to death. This example animated the inhabitants of York, who slew Robert Fitz-Richard their governor, and besieged in the castle William Mallet, on whom the chief command had devolved. About the same time the Danish succours were landed from three hundred vessels, under the command of Osberne, brother to king Sweyn, accompanied by Harold and Canute, two sons of that northern monarch. Edgar Atheling also appeared from Scotland, and brought along with him a number of English noblemen, who had shared his exile, and who easily excited the warlike and discontented Northumbrians to a general insurrection.

In order more effectually to provide for the defence of the citadel of York, Mallet set fire to some neighbouring houses. But that expedient proved fatal to himself, and to every man under his command. The flames spreading into the adjacent streets reduced the whole city to ashes; and the enraged inhabitants, aided by the Danes, took advantage of the confusion to attack the fortress, which they carried by assault, and put the garrison, amounting to three thousand men, to the sword. This success served as a signal of revolt to many other parts of the kingdom. The English, every where repenting of their former too easy submission, seemed determined to make one great effort for the recovery of their liberty and the expulsion of their oppressors.(2)

Undismayed amid that scene of confusion, William assembled his forces,

(1) M. Paris. R. Hoveden

(2) Ord. Vital. Gul. Gemet. Sim. Dunelm.

and, animating them by the prospect of new confiscations and forfeitures, marched against the insurgents in the North, whom he considered as most formidable. Not choosing, however, to trust entirely to force, he endeavoured to weaken the rebels by detaching the Danes from them. And he accordingly prevailed upon Osberne, by large presents, and the liberty of plundering the sea-coast, to desert his engagements. Many English noblemen, in despair, followed the unworthy example, made submissions to the conqueror, and were taken into favour. Malcolm, the Scottish king, coming too late to support his confederates, was obliged to retire; so that the Normans found themselves once more undisputed masters of the kingdom. Edgar Atheling and his followers again sought an asylum in Scotland; but despairing of success, and weary of a fugitive life, that prince afterward submitted to his enemy, and was permitted to live unmolested in England.(1)

William's seeming clemency, however, proceeded only from political considerations, or from his esteem of individuals: his heart was hardened against all compassion toward the English as a people; and he scrupled no measure, how violent soever, which seemed requisite to support his plan of tyrannical administration. Acquainted with the restless disposition of the Northumbrians, who had begun the revolt, and determined to incapacitate them from ever more molesting him, he issued orders for laying waste that fertile country, which, to the extent of sixty miles, lies between the Humber and the Tees.(2) The houses were reduced to ashes by the unfeeling Normans; the cattle were seized and driven away; the instruments of husbandry were destroyed; and the inhabitants were compelled either to seek a subsistence in the southern parts of Scotland, or to perish miserably in the woods from cold and hunger, which many of them chose rather to do than to abandon their native soil. The lives of a hundred thousand persons are computed to have been sacrificed to this stroke of barbarous policy;(3) which, by seeking a remedy for a temporary evil, inflicted a lasting wound on the power and populousness of the nation.

But William was now determined to proceed to extremities against all the natives of England, and to reduce them to a condition in which they should be no longer formidable to his government. The insurrections and conspiracies, in different parts of the kingdom, had involved the bulk of the landholders, more or less, in the guilt of treason; and the king took advantage of executing against them, with the utmost rigour, the laws of forfeiture and attainder. Their lives were commonly spared, but their estates were confiscated, and either annexed to the royal domain, or conferred with the most profuse bounty on the Normans and other foreigners. Against a people thus devoted to destruction, any suspicion served^a as the most undoubted proofs of guilt. It was crime sufficient in an Englishman to be opulent, noble, or powerful: and the policy of the king concurring with the rapacity of needy adventurers, produced an almost total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. Ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary. The nobles were every where treated with ignominy and contempt; they had the mortification to see their castles and manors possessed by Normans of the meanest condition, and to find themselves excluded from every road that led either to riches or preferment.(4)

Power naturally follows property. This change of landholders alone, therefore, gave great security to the Norman government. But William also took care, by the new institutions that he established, to retain for ever the military authority in those hands which had enabled him to acquire the kingdom. He introduced into England the feudal polity, which he found established in France and Normandy; and which, during that age, was the foundation both of the stability and of the disorders in most of the monarchical governments of Europe. He divided all the lands of England, with few exceptions, besides the royal domain, into baronies; and he conferred these,

(1) Gul. Gemet. R. Hoveden. Dunelm.

(3) Order. Vital.

(2) Chron. Sax. W. Malmes. R. Hoveden. M. Paris. Slim.

(4) M. West. Order. Vital.

with the reservation of stated services and payments, on the most considerable of his followers. The barons, who held immediately of the crown, shared out part of their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights or vassals, and who paid their lord the same duty and submission, in peace and war, which he owed to his sovereign. None of the native English were admitted into the first rank: the few who retained any landed property were therefore glad to be received into the second, and, under the protection of some powerful Norman, to load themselves and their posterity with a grievous servitude for estates which had been transmitted free to them from their ancestors.(1)

William's next regulations regarded the church. He deposed Stigand, the primate, and several other English bishops, by the assistance of Ermonfroy, the pope's legate; and as it was a fixed maxim in this reign, as well as in some of the subsequent, that no native of the island should ever be advanced to any dignity, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, the king promoted Lanfranc, a Milanese monk, to the see of Canterbury. That prelate professed the most devoted attachment to Rome, which thenceforth daily increased in England, and became very dangerous to some of William's successors; but the arbitrary power of the Conqueror over the English, and his extensive authority over the Normans, kept him from feeling any inconveniences from it. He retained the clergy in great subjection, as well as his lay subjects, and would allow no person of any condition or character to dispute his absolute will and pleasure. None of his ministers or barons, whatever might be their offences, could be subjected to spiritual censures, until his consent was obtained. He prohibited his people to acknowledge any one for pope, whom he himself had not received; and he ordered that all ecclesiastical canons, voted in any synod, should be submitted to him, and ratified by his authority, before they could be valid. Even bulls or letters from Rome, before they were produced, must receive the same sanction. And when the imperious Gregory VII. whom we have seen tyrannizing over kings and emperors, wrote to this monarch, requiring him to fulfil his promise of doing homage for the kingdom of England to the See of Rome, and to send him over that tribute which his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the vicar of Christ, (meaning *Peter's Pence*, a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, which the court of Rome, as usual, was inclined to construe into a badge of subjection acknowledged by the kingdom,) William coolly replied, that the money should be remitted as formerly, but that he neither had promised to do homage to Rome, nor entertained any thoughts of imposing that servitude on his kingdom. Nay, he went so far as to refuse the English bishops liberty to attend a general council, which Gregory had summoned against his enemies.(2)

The following anecdote shows, in a still stronger light, the contempt of this prince for ecclesiastical dominion. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the king's maternal brother, whom he had created earl of Kent, and intrusted with a great share of power, had amassed immense riches; and, agreeable to the usual progress of human wishes, he began to regard his present eminence as only a step to future grandeur. He aspired at nothing less than the papacy, and had resolved to transmit all his wealth to Italy, and go thither in person, accompanied by several noblemen, whom he had persuaded to follow his example, in hopes of establishments under the future pope. William, from whom this object had been carefully concealed, was no sooner informed of it than he accused Odo of treason, and ordered him to be arrested; but nobody would lay hands on the bishop. The king himself was therefore obliged to seize him; and when Odo insisted, that, as a prelate, he was exempted from all temporal jurisdiction, William boldly replied, "I arrest not

(1) M. West. M. Paris. Bracton, lib. i. cap. 11. Fleta, lib. i. cap. 8. The proprietors of land, under the Anglo-Saxon princes, were only subjected to three obligations; namely, to attend the king with their followers in military expeditions, to assist in building or defending the royal castles, and to keep the highways and bridges in a proper state of repair: (Hickeys, *Dissertation*. Spelman, *Reliquiæ*.) emphatically called the *three necessities*, as they certainly were in a government without regular troops, and almost without revenue.

(2) *Ang. Sacra*. Eadmer. Ingulph. Order. Vital.

the bishop, I arrest the earl!" and accordingly sent him prisoner into Normandy, where he was detained in custody, during this whole reign, notwithstanding the remonstrances and menaces of Gregory.(1)

But the English had the cruel mortification to find, that their king's authority, how worthy soever of a sovereign, all tended to their oppression, or to perpetuate their subjection. William had even entertained the difficult project of totally abolishing their language. He ordered the English youth to be instructed in the French tongue, in all the schools throughout the kingdom. The pleadings in the supreme courts of judicature were in French; the deeds were often drawn in the same language: the laws were composed in that idiom. No other tongue was used at court: it became the language of all fashionable societies; and the natives themselves affected to excel in it.(2) To this attempt of the Conqueror, and to the foreign dominions so long annexed to the crown of England, we owe that predominating mixture of French at present to be found in our language.

While William was thus wantonly exercising his tyranny over England, his foreign affairs fell into disorder: and the English had an opportunity of at once recovering their military character, and of taking vengeance on the part of their foreign oppressors. Fulk, count of Anjou, had seized on the province of Maine, which had fallen under the dominion of the duke of Normandy, by the will of Herbert, the last count. But William, by the assistance of his new subjects, soon obliged the inhabitants, who had revolted, to return to their duty, and the count of Anjou to renounce his pretensions.(3)

The king now passed some years in Normandy, where his presence was become necessary on account of the turbulent disposition of his son Robert, who openly aspired at independency, and claimed the dutchies of Normandy and Maine, during his father's lifetime. William gave him a positive refusal, repeating that homely saying, that he never intended to throw off his clothes till he went to bed. He accordingly called over an army of Englishmen, under his ancient captains, who bravely expelled Robert and his adherents. The prince took shelter, in the castle of Gerberoy in the Beauvoison, which the king of France, who secretly favoured his pretensions, had provided for him. In this fortress he was closely besieged by his father, against whom he made a gallant defence: under the walls of that place many rencounters passed, which resembled more the single combats of chivalry than the military operations of armies. One of these was too remarkable, by its circumstances and its event, to be omitted. Robert happened to encounter the king, who being concealed by his helmet, a fierce combat ensued. But at last the prince wounded his father in the arm, and threw him from his horse, when, calling for assistance, his voice discovered him to his son, who, struck with a sense of remorse, duty, and the dread of greater guilt, instantly flung himself at the feet of his king and father, craved pardon for his offences, and offered to purchase forgiveness by any atonement. A return of kindness, however, did not immediately ensue. William's military pride was wounded, and his resentment was too obstinate at once to yield; but a reconciliation was soon brought about by the interposition of the queen and other common friends.(4)

The peaceable state of William's affairs now gave him leisure to finish an undertaking, which proves his great and extensive genius, and does honour to his memory. It was a general survey of all the lands of England; their extent in each district, their proprietors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and, in some counties, the number of tenants, cottagers, and slaves of all denominations, who lived upon them. This valuable piece of antiquity, called the *Dooms day book*, is still preserved in the exchequer, and helps to illustrate to us the ancient state of England.

William, like all the Normans, was much attached to the manly amuse-

(1) *Ang. Sacra.* Eadmer. *Ingulph.* Order. Vital.

(2) *Chron. Rothum.* *Ingulph. Hist.* p. 71. Hume, *Hist. Eng.* vol. i. Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i.

(3) *Chron. Sax.* Order. Vital.

(4) R. Hoveden. *M. Paris.* Order. Vital.

ment of hunting: and his passion for this amusement he cruelly indulged at the expense of his unhappy subjects. Not contented with those large forests which the Saxon kings possessed in all parts of England, he resolved to make a new forest near Winchester, the usual place of his residence. Accordingly, for that purpose, he laid waste the country for an extent of thirty miles in Hampshire, expelling the inhabitants from their houses, seizing their property, and demolishing churches and convents, without making the sufferers any compensation for the injury.(1) He also increased the rigour of the game laws, now become so grievous.

This monarch's death was occasioned by a quarrel not altogether worthy of his life. A witticism gave rise to war. William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed some time by sickness, while in Normandy—a circumstance which gave Philip I. of France occasion to say, with that vivacity natural to his country, that he was surprised his brother of England should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. William, enraged at this levity, swore “by the brightness and resurrection of God!” his usual oath, that, as soon as he was up, he would present so many lights at Notre Dame, as would give little pleasure to the king of France;—alluding to the usual practice, at that time, of women carrying a torch to church after childbirth. Accordingly, on his recovery, he led an army into the Isle of France and laid every thing waste with fire and sword. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped, by an accident which put an end to the English monarch's life. His horse suddenly starting aside, he bruised his belly on the pommel of his saddle: and this bruise, joined to his former bad habit of body, brought on a mortification, of which he died, in the sixty-third year of his age.(2) He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son, Robert: he wrote to Lanfranc, desiring him to crown William king of England: and he bequeathed to Henry, the youngest of the three, the possessions of his mother Matilda.

The characters of princes are best seen in their actions: I shall, however, give you a concise character of the Conqueror; for such he ultimately proved, though little more than a conditional sovereign when he first received the submissions of the English nation.(3) The spirit of William I. says a philosophic historian, was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence; and his exorbitant ambition, which lay little under the restraints of justice, and still less under those of humanity, ever submitted to the dictates of reason and sound policy. Though not insensible to generosity, he was hardened against compassion; and he seemed equally ostentatious and ambitious of eclat, in his clemency and in his vengeance.

William II. surnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair, was instantly crowned king of England, in consequence of his father's recommendatory letters to Lanfranc, the primate; and Robert, at the same time, took peaceable possession of Normandy.

But this partition of the conqueror's dominions, though apparently made without any violence or opposition, occasioned in England many discontents which seemed to promise a sudden revolution. The Norman barons, who generally possessed large estates both in England and their own country, were uneasy at the separation of those territories, and foresaw that, as it would be impossible for them to preserve long their allegiance to two masters, they must necessarily resign their ancient property or their new acquisitions. Robert's title to Normandy they esteemed incontestable: his claim to England they thought plausible; and they all desired that this prince, who alone had any pretensions to unite the dutchy and kingdom, might be put in possession of both.(4)

(1) Gul. Malmes. H. Hunting. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. (2) M. Paris. M. Westm. Order. Vital.

(3) William acted so uniformly like a conqueror, that, before the end of his reign, there was not left one English, who was either earl, baron, bishop, or abbot. (Gul. Malmes. lib. iv. H. Hunt. lib. vii.) No revolution, ancient or modern, was ever perhaps attended with so complete and sudden a change of power and property, as that accomplished by the duke of Normandy. Nor was the administration of any prince ever more absolute than that of William I. though the government which he established was by no means a despotism, but a feudal monarchy, as has been already shown.

(4) Orderic. Vital.

A comparison between the personal qualities of the two princes also led the malecontents to prefer the elder. Robert was brave, open, sincere, generous; whereas William, though not less brave than his brother, was violent, haughty, tyrannical, and seemed disposed to govern more by fear than the love of his people. Odo, bishop of Baieux, who had been released from prison on the death of the Conqueror, enforced all these motives with the dissatisfied barons, and engaged many of them in a formal conspiracy to dethrone the king.

Expecting immediate support from Normandy, the conspirators hastened to put themselves in a military posture: and William, sensible of his perilous situation, endeavoured to provide against the threatened danger by gaining the affections of the native English, who zealously embraced his cause, upon receiving some general promises of good treatment, and leave to hunt in the royal forests, having now lost all hopes of recovering their ancient liberties. By their assistance the king was enabled to subdue the rebels; but the Norman barons, who had remained faithful to him, only were the gainers. He paid no regard to the promises made to his English subjects, who still found themselves exposed to the same oppressions which they had experienced during the reign of the Conqueror, and which were augmented by the tyrannical temper of the present monarch.⁽¹⁾ Even the privileges of the church, which were held so sacred in those days, formed but a feeble rampart against the usurpations of William; yet the terror of his authority, confirmed by the suppression of the late insurrections, kept every one in subjection, notwithstanding the murmurs of the clergy, and preserved general tranquillity in England.

William even thought himself sufficiently powerful to disturb his brother in the possession of Normandy, and bribed several Norman barons to favour his unjust claim. The duke had also reason to apprehend danger from the intrigues of his brother Henry, who inherited more of his father's money than his possessions, and had furnished Robert, during his preparations against England, with the sum of three thousand marks; in return for which slender supply he had been put in possession of the Cotentin, almost one-third of the duke's dominions. But these two brothers, notwithstanding their mutual jealousies, now united, in order to defend their territories against the ambition of the king of England, who appeared in Normandy at the head of a numerous army: and affairs seemed to be hastening to extremity, when an accommodation was brought about by the interposition of the nobility.

Prince Henry, however, disgusted at the terms of that agreement, in which he thought himself treated with neglect, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a strong fortress on the coast of Normandy, and infested the neighbouring country with his incursions. Robert and William, his two brothers, besieged him in this place, and had nearly obliged him to surrender by reason of the scarcity of water; when the elder, hearing of his brother's distress, granted him permission to obtain a supply, and also sent him some pipes of wine for his own table—a conduct which could only have been dictated by the generous but romantic spirit of chivalry that prevailed in those times, and with which the duke was strongly infected. Being reproved by William for this imprudent generosity, Robert replied—"What! shall I suffer my brother to die of thirst?—where shall we find another brother, when he is gone?"

William, during this siege, also performed an act of generosity less suited to his character. Riding out alone to survey the fortress, he was attacked by two soldiers, and dismounted. One of the soldiers drew his sword, in order to despatch the king. "Hold, knave!" cried William, "I am the king of England." The soldier suspended his blow, and raised the king from the ground; who, charmed with the fellow's behaviour, rewarded him handsomely, and took him into his service.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Chron. Sax.* Gul. Malmes. lib. iv. The application of William, however, and the service they had rendered him, made the natives sensible of their importance by reason of their numbers: and they gradually recovered their consequence in the course of the struggles between the king and the nobles.

⁽²⁾ Gul. Malmes. ubi sup. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

Prince Henry was at last obliged to capitulate; and, being despoiled of all his dominions, wandered about for some time with very few attendants, and often in great poverty.

In the mean time William was engaged in humbling the Scots and Welsh, who had infested England with their incursions during his Norman expedition. He had also occasion to quell a conspiracy of his own barons, who meant to exalt to the throne Stephen, count of Aumale, nephew to the Conqueror. But the noise of these petty wars and commotions was quite sunk in the tumult of the Crusades, which then engaged the attention of all Europe, and have since attracted the curiosity of mankind, as the most singular examples of human folly that were ever exhibited on the face of the globe. The cause and consequences of these pious enterprises I shall afterward have occasion to consider: at present I shall only speak of them as they affect the history of England.

Robert, duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and mistaken generosity of his spirit, had early enlisted himself in the first crusade; but being always unprovided with money, he found it would be impossible for him, without some supply, to appear in a manner suitable to his rank at the head of his numerous vassals, who, transported with the general fury, were desirous of following him into Asia. He therefore resolved to mortgage, or to sell his dominions, which he had not prudence to govern; and he offered them to his brother William, who kept aloof from all those fanatical and romantic warriors, for so small a sum as ten thousand marks.⁽¹⁾ The bargain was concluded, and William was put in possession of Normandy and Maine; while Robert, providing himself with a magnificent train, set out for the Holy Land in pursuit of glory, and in full hopes of securing his eternal salvation.

In the mean time William, who regarded only the things of this world, was engaged in a quarrel with Anselm, commonly called St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, a Piedmontese monk, whom he had called over in a fit of remorse, and whom he wanted to deprive of his see for refractory behaviour. Anselm appealed to Rome against the king's injustice, and affairs came to such extremities, that the primate, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, desired permission to retire beyond sea. It was granted him, but all his temporalities were confiscated. He was nevertheless received with great respect by Urban II. who considered him as a martyr in the cause of religion, and even threatened the king with the sentence of excommunication on account of his proceedings against the primate.⁽²⁾

Anselm afterward distinguished himself in the council of Bari, where the famous dispute between the Greek and Latin churches, relative to the procession of the third person of the Trinity, was agitated; namely, whether the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and Son, or from the Father only? He also assisted in a council at Rome, where spiritual censures were denounced against all ecclesiastics who did homage to laymen for their benefices, and on all laymen who exacted such homage. The arguments made use of on that occasion, in favour of the clergy, are worthy of the ignorance of the age, and strongly mark the gross superstition into which the human mind was sunk.

The ceremony of homage, by the feudal customs, as I have had occasion to observe, was, that the vassal should throw himself on his knees, put his hands between those of his superior, and in that posture swear fealty to him. Churchmen had been accustomed thus to do homage for their benefices. But this council declared such homage inconsistent with the dignity of the sacerdotal character, as well as with the independency of the church: "For," said Urban, "it is execrable, that holy hands, appointed to perform what was never granted to any angel, to create God the Creator, and offer him to God his Father, for the salvation of mankind, should be reduced to the humiliating

(1) Our old historians are not agreed in regard to the particulars of this transaction; but the ten thousand marks seem to have been paid for a mortgage, or uninterrupted possession, of five years. Vide Eadmer M. Paris. Order. Vital.

(2) Eadmer. M. Paris. Order. Vital.

baseness of slavishly mingling with profane hands, which, besides being soiled with rapine and bloodshed, are day and night employed in impure offices, and obscene contacts?"(1)

The fanaticism of the times afforded the king of England a second opportunity of increasing his dominions. Poitiers and Guienne were offered to be mortgaged to him, for the same pious purpose that had induced his brother Robert to put him in possession of Normandy and Maine. The bargain was concluded, and William had prepared a fleet and army to escort the money stipulated as the price of his new territory, and to secure the possession of it, when an accident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting, the sole amusement, and, except war, the chief occupation of princes in those rude times, when this accident happened. Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his address in archery, attended him in that recreation, of which the New Forest was the scene; and as William had dismounted after the chase, Tyrrel, impatient to show his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a stag which suddenly started before him. The arrow glancing against a tree, struck the king to the heart, and instantly killed him; while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea-shore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade in an expedition to the Holy Land(2)—a penance which he imposed on himself for this involuntary crime, and which was deemed sufficient to expiate crimes of the blackest dye.

William II. though a man of sound understanding, appears to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour, and an unkind and ungenerous relation. His vices, however, have probably been much exaggerated by the monkish writers, the only historians of those times, as he was utterly void of superstition, and seemingly wanting in a decent respect for religion. Of this many examples might be produced, but one will be sufficient. When the body of the clergy presented a petition, that he would give them leave to send a form of prayer to be used in all the churches of England, "That God would move the heart of the king to appoint an archbishop!" he having kept the revenues or temporalities of the see of Canterbury in his own hands almost five years, he carelessly replied, "You may pray as you please, and I will act as I please."(3) Had he lived a few years longer, he would greatly have enlarged his dominions, and as he was the most powerful and politic prince in Europe, he might perhaps have become its arbiter. He built the Tower, Westminster hall, and London bridge, monuments of his greatness, which still remain. His most liberal measure was the sending of an army into Scotland, in order to restore prince Edgar, the true heir of that crown, the son of Malcolm III. surnamed Canmore, by Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling. The enterprise succeeded.

Toward the latter part of this reign, Magnus, king of Norway, made a descent on the Isle of Anglesea, but was beat off by the earl of Shrewsbury. Since that repulse the northern nations have made no attempt against England.

As William Rufus was never married, and consequently could leave no lawful issue, the kingdom of England now belonged to his brother Robert both by the right of birth and of solemn compact, ratified by the nobility. But as prince Henry was hunting in the New Forest when the king was slain, he immediately galloped to Winchester, secured the royal treasure, was saluted king, and proceeded to the exercise of the sovereign authority. Sensible, however, that a crown usurped against all the rules of justice would sit very unsteady on his head, Henry resolved, by fair professions at least, to gain the affections of all his subjects. Besides taking the usual coronation oath, to maintain the constitution, and to execute justice, he passed a charter which was calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppressions complained

(1) Fleury, *Hist. Eccles. Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. Eadmer. Brompton. Sim. Dunelm. Eadmerus who was present at that council, tells us, that, on the close of this impious speech of his holiness, all the venerable fathers cried "Amen! Amen!"

(2) *Chron. Sax.* R. Hoveden. H. Hunt.

(3) *Gul. Malmes.* p. 124, col. i.

of during the reign of his father and his brother; and he promised a general confirmation and observance of the laws of Edward the Confessor.(1)

In order farther to establish himself on the throne, the king recalled archbishop Anselm, and reinstated him in the see of Canterbury. He also married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling. And this marriage, more than any other measure of his reign, tended to endear Henry to his English subjects, who had felt so severely the tyranny of the Normans, that they reflected with infinite regret on their former liberty, and hoped for a more equal and mild administration, when the blood of their native princes should be united with that of the new sovereigns.(2) But the policy and prudence of Henry I. ran great hazard of being frustrated by the sudden appearance of his brother Robert, who returned from the Holy Land about a month after the death of William II. took possession of Normandy without resistance, and made preparations for asserting his title to the crown of England.

The great reputation which Robert had acquired in the East favoured his pretensions; and the Norman barons, still impressed with apprehensions of the consequences of the separation of the dutchy and kingdom, discovered the same discontent which had appeared on the accession of Rufus. Henry was, therefore, in danger of being deserted by all his subjects: and it was only through the exhortations of archbishop Anselm that they were engaged to oppose Robert, who had landed at Portsmouth. The two armies continued some days in sight of each other without coming to action; and by the interposition of the same prelate, an accommodation was happily brought about between the brothers.

In this treaty it was agreed, that Robert should resign his pretensions to England, and receive an annual pension of three thousand marks; that if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions: that the adherents of each should be pardoned, and restored to all their possessions, and that neither the king nor the duke should thenceforth countenance the enemies of each other.(3) But these conditions, though so favourable to Henry, were soon violated by his rapacity and ambition. He restored indeed the estates of Robert's adherents, but took care that they should not remain long in the undisturbed possession of them. Various pretences were formed for despoiling and humbling all who, in his opinion, had either inclination or abilities to disturb his government.

Enraged at the fate of his friends, Robert imprudently ventured into England, but met with such a bad reception, that he became alarmed for his own safety, and was glad to purchase his escape with the loss of his pension. One indiscretion followed another. The affairs of Normandy fell into confusion: Henry went over, by invitation, to regulate them; but, instead of supporting his brother's authority, he increased the discontents by every art of bribery, intrigue, and insinuation, and at length made himself master of the dutchy. The unfortunate Robert, who seemed born only to be the sport of fortune, was carried prisoner into England, where he remained in custody during the remainder of his life, which was no less than twenty-eight years, and died a captive in the castle of Cardiff, in Glamorganshire.(4)

The acquisition of Normandy was a great point of Henry's ambition, being the ancient patrimonial inheritance of his family, and the only territory which gave him any weight or consideration on the continent. But the injustice of the usurpation was the source of much inquietude, and the jealousy of the French monarch gave rise to those wars which were to prove so fatal to posterity. Lewis VI. in concert with the counts of Anjou and Flanders, supported the claim of William, son of Robert, to the dutchy of Normandy: he even craved the assistance of the church for reinstating the true heir in his dominions, and represented the enormity of detaining in prison so brave a prince as Robert, one of the most eminent champions of the cross. But Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet

(1) M. Paris. R. Hagulstad.

(2) M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

(3) Chron. Sax. Or der. Vite

(4) *Annal. Waverl.* Gul. Malmes. lib. v.

with dexterity. He detached the count of Anjou from the alliance, by contracting his eldest son, William, to that prince's daughter, while he gained the pope and his favourites by liberal presents and promises. Calixtus II. who was then in France, declared, after a conference with Henry, that of all men, whom he had ever seen, the king of England was beyond comparison the most eloquent and persuasive.(1) The complaints of the Norman prince were thenceforth disregarded.

The military operations of Lewis proved as unsuccessful as his intrigues. The French and English armies engaged near Andeley, in Normandy; where a sharp action ensued, in which William, the son of Robert, behaved with great bravery. Henry himself was in imminent danger. He was wounded in the head by a gallant Norman, named Crispin, who had followed the fortunes of William; but rather roused than intimidated by the blow, the king collected all his might, and beat his antagonist to the ground.(2) The English, animated by the example of their sovereign, put the French to total rout; and an accommodation soon after took place between the two monarchs, in which the interests of young William were entirely neglected.

But Henry's public prosperity was much overbalanced by a domestic misfortune. His son William, who had attained his eighteenth year, had accompanied him into Normandy, but perished in his return, with all his retinue. The royal youth was anxious to get first to land: and the captain of his vessel, being intoxicated with liquor, heedlessly ran her on a rock, where she was immediately dashed to pieces. Beside the prince, above one hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion. The king was so much affected by the news, that he is said never to have smiled more.(3)

As prince William left no children, Henry had now no legitimate issue, except his daughter Matilda, whom he had betrothed when a child to the emperor Henry V. who also dying without children, the king bestowed his daughter on Geoffrey Plantagenet, the eldest son of the count of Anjou, and endeavoured to secure her succession, by having her recognised heiress of all his dominions: and he obliged the barons, both of Normandy and England, to swear fealty to her. After six years she was delivered of a son, who received the name of Henry; and the king, farther to ensure the succession, made all the nobility renew the oath of fealty which they had already sworn to her, and also to swear fealty to her infant son.(4)

The joy of this event, and the pleasure of his daughter's company, made Henry take up his residence in Normandy, where he died, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, leaving his daughter Matilda, heiress of all his dominions. He was one of the most able and accomplished princes that ever filled the English throne, possessing all the qualities, both mental and personal, that could adorn the high station to which he attained, or fit him for the government of an extensive territory. His learning, which procured him the name of *Beauclerc*, or the *fine scholar*, would have distinguished him in private life, and his talents would have given him an ascendancy in any condition.

The affairs of France, my dear Philip, and the crusades, which took their rise in that kingdom, claim your attention, before I speak of the disputed succession of Matilda, and of her son Henry II. commonly known by the name of Plantagenet, whose reign affords some of the most interesting spectacles in the history of England. In the mean time, it will be proper to take a slight review of the change produced in our ancient constitution, and in the condition of our Saxon ancestors, by the Norman conquest or revolution.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE original government of the Anglo-Saxons, as we have seen, was a kind of military democracy, under a king or chief, whose authority was very limited, and whose office was not strictly hereditary, but depended on the will

(1) M. Paris. H. Hunting.

(2) Id. Ibid.

(3) R. Hoveden.

(4) Ypod. Neust. R. de Diceto

of the people. This government they brought into Britain with them. Matters of small consequence were settled by the king in council; but all affairs of general concern, or national importance, the making of laws, the imposing of taxes, the declaring of war, were laid before the Wittenagemot or parliament, and determined by the majority of voices, or at least by the preponderation of public opinion.(1)

From that assembly no freeman could be said to be excluded; for although a certain portion of land was necessary as a qualification, a husbandman or tradesman no sooner acquired that portion, which was different, at different times of the Anglo-Saxon government,(2) than he had a right to be present, not only as a spectator, a privilege that was common to every one, but as a constituent member of the Wittenagemot. And all merchants, who had made two voyages to foreign countries, on their own account, became possessed of the same right, by a law passed in the reign of king Athelstan;(3) so that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors might make with *truth*, the glorious boast of modern Englishmen, that every member of the community shared with his sovereign, the power and authority by which he was governed. Little wonder, therefore, that the great lines of this ennobling system of freedom, long after it was destroyed, seemed to be engraved in their hearts, by the keen sorrow with which it was regretted!

If the Anglo-Saxons, as a nation, had reason to think themselves happy in their deliberative and legislative, they were no less so in their juridical capacity. Justice was universally the care of the great body of the people: and a regular chain of appeal was established from the tything or decennary, consisting of ten families, up to the Wittenagemot, which was a supreme court of law, as well as a national council or assembly. But the grand security of justice, and even of liberty and property, was the court called the *shiremote*, held twice a year in every county, at a stated time and place, where, along with the alderman or earl of the shire, and the bishop of the diocese, all the clergy and landholders of the county were obliged to be present, and determined, by the majority of voices, all causes brought before them, in whatever stage of their progress; beginning with the causes of the church, taking next under cognizance the pleas of the crown, and lastly, the disputes of private persons.(4)

As the duke of Normandy, by taking the usual oath administered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their coronation, had solemnly engaged to maintain the constitution, and to administer justice according to the laws, the English nation had reason to believe they had merely changed their native sovereign for one of foreign extraction—a matter to them of small concern, as I have had occasion to observe, especially as the line of succession had been already broken by the usurpation or election of Harold. But although William affected moderation for a while, and even adopted some of the laws of Edward the Confessor, in order to quiet the apprehensions of his new subjects, to these laws he paid little regard; and no sooner did he find himself firmly established on the throne, than he utterly subverted the form of government, and the manner of administering justice throughout the whole kingdom. The government which he substituted was a rigid feudal monarchy, or military aristocracy, in which a regular chain of subordination and service was established, from the sovereign or commander-in-chief, to the serf or villain; and which, like all feudal governments, was attended with a grievous depression of the body of the people, who were daily exposed to the insults, violences, and exactions of the nobles, whose vassals they all were, and from whose oppressive jurisdiction it was difficult and dangerous for them to appeal.

This depression, as might be expected, was more complete and humiliating in England, under the first Anglo-Norman princes, than in any other feudal

(1) Spelman, *Gloss.* in voc. *Wittenagemot*.

(2) It was originally only five hides, but was raised by degrees as high as forty.

(3) Wilkins, *Leges Saxon.* Seldon, *Tit. Hon.*

(4) Spelman, *Reliquiæ.* Hickes, *Dissertat. Epist.*

government. William I. by his artful and tyrannical policy, by attainders and confiscations, had become, in the course of his reign, proprietor of almost all the lands in the kingdom. These lands, however, he could not retain, had he been even willing, in his own hands: he was under the necessity of bestowing the greater part of them on his Norman captains, or nobles, the companions of his conquest, and the instruments of his tyranny, who had led their own vassals to battle.(1) But those grants he clogged with heavy feudal services, and payments or prestations, which no one dared to refuse. He was the general of a victorious army, which was still obliged to continue in a military posture, in order to secure the possessions it had seized. And the Anglo-Norman Barons and tenants *in capite*, by knights-service, who only held immediately of the crown, and with the dignified clergy, formed the *national assembly*, imposed obligations yet more severe on their vassals, the inferior landholders, consisting chiefly of unhappy English gentlemen, as well as on the body of the people, for whom they seemed to have no bowels of compassion.(2)

But the rigour of the Anglo-Norman government, and the tyrannical and licentious spirit of the nobles, proved ultimately favourable to general liberty. The oppressed people looked up to the king for protection: and circumstances enabled them to obtain it. The defect in the title of William II. and of Henry I. induced them to listen to the complaints of their English subjects, and to redress many of their grievances. The people, in some measure satisfied with the relief afforded them, became sensible of their consequence, and of their obligations to the crown; while the barons, finding themselves in quiet possession of their English estates, and apprehending no future disturbance from the natives, bore with impatience the burdens imposed upon them by William I. and to which they had readily submitted in the hour of conquest and of danger. They saw the necessity of being more indulgent to their vassals, in order to obtain sufficient force to enable them to retrench the prerogatives of the sovereign, and of connecting their cause with that of the people. And the people, always formidable by their numbers, courted by both parties, and sometimes siding with one, sometimes with the other, in the bloody contest between the king and the barons, recovered by various progressive steps, which I shall have occasion to trace in the course

(1) Nothing can more strongly indicate that necessity than the following anecdote. Earl Warren, when questioned, in a subsequent reign, concerning his right to the lands he possessed, boldly drew his sword. "This," said he, "is my title!—William the Bastard did not conquer England himself: the Norman barons, and my ancestors, among the rest, were joint adventurers in the enterprise." Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. I.

(2) The state of England, at the death of William the Conqueror, is thus described by one of our ancient historians, who was almost cotemporary with that prince. "The Normans," says he, "had now fully executed the wrath of heaven upon the English. There was hardly one of that nation who possessed any power; they were all involved in servitude and sorrow; inasmuch, that to be called an Englishman, was considered as a reproach. In those miserable times, many oppressive taxes and tyrannical customs were introduced. The king himself, when he had let his lands at their full value, if another tenant came and offered more, and afterward a third, and offered still more, violated all his former pactions, and gave them to him who offered most; and the great men were inflamed with such a rage for money, that they cared not by what means it was acquired. The more they talked of justice, the more injuriously they acted. Those who were called *justiciaries*," alluding most likely to the barons in their courts, "were the fountains of all iniquity. Sheriffs and judges, whose peculiar duty it was to pronounce righteous judgments, were the most cruel of all tyrants, and greater plunderers than common thieves and robbers." (Hen. Hunting. lib. viii.) And the author of the Saxon Chronicle, in speaking of the miseries of a subsequent reign, says, that the great barons "grievously oppressed the poor people with building castles; and when they were built, they filled them with wicked men, or rather devils, who seized both men and women, supposed to be possessed of any money, threw them into prison, and put them to more cruel tortures than the martyrs ever endured." (*Chron. Sax.* p. 238.) The truth of this melancholy description is corroborated by the testimony of William of Malmesbury. *Hist.* lib. ii.

The great power and success of the Normans made them licentious as well as tyrannical. This licentiousness was so great, that the princess Matilda, daughter of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, who had received her education in England, and was afterward married to Henry I. thought it necessary to wear the religious habit, in order to preserve her person from violation. Before a great council of the Anglo-Norman clergy, she herself declared, that she had been induced by no other motive to put on the veil. And the council admitted her plea, in the following memorable words:—"When the great king William conquered this land, many of his followers, elated with their extraordinary success, and thinking that all things ought to be subservient to their will and pleasure, not only seized the possessions of the vanquished, but invaded the honour of their matrons and virgins. Hence many young ladies, who dreaded such violence, were induced to seek shelter in convents, and even to take the veil as a farther security to their virtue." Eadmer *Hist.* lib. ii.

of my narration, their ancient and natural right to a place in the parliament or national assembly.

Thus restored to a share in the legislature, the English commonalty felt more fully their own importance; and, by a long and vigorous struggle, maintained with unexampled perseverance, they wrested from both the king and the nobles, all the other rights of a free people, of which their Anglo-Saxon ancestors had been robbed, by the violent invasion and cruel policy of William the Norman. To those rights they were entitled as men, by the great law of nature and reason, which declares the *welfare* of the *whole* community to be the end of all civil government; and, as Englishmen by inheritance. In whatever light, therefore, we view the privileges of the commons, they are resumptions, not usurpations.

In order to establish this important political truth, some of our popular writers have endeavoured to prove, that the people of England were by no means robbed of their liberty or property by William I., and that the *commons* had a *share* in the *legislature* under *all* the Anglo-Norman princes. But as this position cannot be maintained without violating historical testimony, the advocates for prerogatives have had greatly the advantage in that contentious dispute.(1) I have therefore made the usurpations of William, in violation of his coronation oath, the basis of my argument. Usurpation can create no right, nor the exercise of illegal authority any prerogative.

LETTER XXIV.

France, under Philip I. and Lewis VI. with some account of the first Crusade.

PHILIP I. as I have already observed,(2) had been perfectly well educated. Nor was he by any means deficient in point of capacity; but his mind had acquired a wrong bias, which discovered itself in all his actions, and swayed him upon all occasions to prefer his interest, or his inclinations, to his honour. His reign is not so remarkable for any thing as his marrying Bertrand de Montford, dutchess of Anjou, while her husband and his queen were both alive. For this irregularity he was excommunicated by Urban II. in the famous council of Clermont, where the first crusade was preached for the recovery of the Holy Land(3)—a circumstance which naturally leads me to speak of that extravagant expedition, its causes, and its consequences.

Gregory VII. among his other vast ideas, had formed, as we have seen, the project of uniting the western Christians against the Mahometans, and of recovering Palestine from the hands of those infidels;(4) and his quarrels with the emperor Henry IV. by which he declared himself an enemy to the civil power of princes, only could have obstructed the progress of this undertaking, conducted by so able a politician, at a time when the minds of men were fully prepared for such an enterprise. The work, however, was reserved for a meaner instrument; for a man whose condition could excite no jealousy, and whose head was as weak as his imagination was warm. But before I mention this man, I must say a few words of the state of the east at that time, and of the passion for pilgrimages which then prevailed in Europe.

We naturally view with veneration and delight those places which have been the residence of any illustrious personage, or the scene of any great transaction. Hence the enthusiasm with which the literati still visit the

(1) Mr. Hume, in particular, has triumphed over every adversary. His collected arguments, supported by facts, to prove "that the commons originally formed no part of the Anglo-Norman parliament," are strong and satisfactory. But the following clause in the great charter, is of itself sufficient to determine the dispute. "We will cause to be summoned," says the king, "as a common council of the kingdom, the *archbishops, bishops, earls, and great barons*, personally, by our letters; and besides, we will cause to be summoned in general, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all *others* who hold of us in chief." (*Mag. Chart. c. civ.*) This indubitable testimony, so full and conclusive, when duly weighed, must preclude all future controversy on the subject.

(2) Letter XVIII.

(3) Harduin *Concil.* tom. xi.

(4) See Letter XXII.

ruins of Athens and Rome; and hence flowed the superstitious devotion with which Christians, from the earliest ages of the church, were accustomed to visit that country where the religion had taken its rise, and that city in which the Messiah had died for the redemption of those who believe in his name. Pilgrimages to the shrines of saints and martyrs were also common; but as this distant pilgrimage could not be performed without considerable expense, fatigue, and danger, it appeared more meritorious than all others, and came to be considered as an expiation for almost every crime. And an opinion which prevailed over Europe toward the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, increased the number and the ardour of the credulous devotees that undertook this tedious journey. The thousand years mentioned by St. John, in his book of Revelations, were supposed to be accomplished, and the end of the world at hand. A general consternation, as I have had occasion to notice, seized the minds of Christians. Many relinquished their possessions, abandoned their friends and families, and hurried with precipitation to the Holy Land, where they imagined Christ would suddenly appear to judge the quick and the dead. (1)

But the Christians, though ultimately undeceived in regard to the day of judgment, had the mortification, in these pious journeys, to see the holy sepulchre, and the other places made sacred by the presence of the Saviour, fallen into the hands of infidels. The followers and the countrymen of Mahomet, had early made themselves masters of Palestine, which the Greek empire, far in its decline, was unable to protect against so warlike an enemy. They gave little disturbance, however, to those zealous pilgrims who daily flocked to Jerusalem; nay, they allowed every one, after paying a moderate tribute, to visit the holy sepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and return in peace. But the Turks, a Tartar tribe who had also embraced Mahometanism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens, as you have seen, about the middle of the eleventh century, and made themselves masters of Jerusalem, pilgrims were thenceforth exposed to outrages of every kind from these fierce Barbarians. And this change, coinciding with the panic of the consummation of all things, and the supposed appearance of Christ on Mount Sion, filled Europe with alarm and indignation. Every pilgrim who returned from Palestine, related the dangers he had encountered in visiting the holy city, and described, with exaggeration, the cruelty and vexations of the Turks, who, to use the language of those zealots, not only profaned the sepulchre of the Lord by their presence, but derided the sacred mysteries in the very place of their completion, and where the Son of God was speedily expected to hold his great tribunal. (2)

While the minds of men were thus roused, a fanatical monk, commonly known by the name of Peter the hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, revived the project of Gregory VII. of leading all the forces of Christendom against the infidels, and of driving them out of the Holy Land. He had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was so deeply affected with the danger to which that act of piety now exposed Christians, that he ran from province to province on his return, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting princes and people to this holy war; and wherever he came, he kindled the same enthusiastic ardour for it with which he himself was animated.

Urban II. who had at first been doubtful of the success of such a project, at length entered into Peter's views, and summoned at Placentia a council, which was obliged to be held in the open fields, no hall being sufficient to contain the multitude: it consisted of four thousand ecclesiastics, and thirty thousand laymen, who all declared for the war against the infidels, but none of them heartily engaged in the enterprise. Urban, therefore, found it necessary to call another council the same year at Clermont, in Auvergne, where the greatest prelates, nobles, and princes, attended; and when the pope and the hermit had concluded their pathetic exhortations, the whole assembly, as if impelled by an immediate inspiration, exclaimed with one

(1) *Chron. Will. Godelli ap. Bouquet. Recueil des Hist. de France, tom. x*

(2) *Eccard. Corp. Script. Medii Ævi, vol. i.*

voice: "It is the will of God!—It is the will of God!"—words which were deemed so memorable, and believed to be so much the result of a divine influence, that they were employed as the motto on the sacred standard, and as the signal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of the champions of the *Cross*; the symbol chosen by the devoted combatants, in allusion to the death of Christ, as the badge of union, and affixed to their right shoulder, whence their expedition got the name of a crusade.(1)

Persons of all ranks flew to arms with the utmost ardour. Not only the gallant nobles of that age, with their martial followers, whom the boldness of a romantic enterprise might have been apt to allure, but men in the more humble and pacific stations of life; ecclesiastics of every order, and even women, concealing their sex beneath the disguise of armour, engaged with emulation in an undertaking which was deemed so sacred and meritorious. The greatest criminals were forward in a service, which they regarded as a propitiation for all their crimes. If they succeeded, they hoped to make their fortune in this world; and if they died, they were promised a crown of glory in the world to come. Devotion, passion, prejudice, and habit, all contributed to the same end; and the combination of so many causes produced that wonderful emigration which made the princess Anna Comnena say, that Europe, loosened from its foundations, and impelled by its moving principle, seemed in one united body to precipitate itself upon Asia.(2)

The number of adventurers soon became so great, that their more experienced leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the French king, Robert, duke of Normandy, Raymond, count of Thoulouse, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen, count of Blois, grew apprehensive that the greatness of the armament would defeat its purpose. They therefore permitted an undisciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thousand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, Walter the Moneyless, and other wild fanatics.

Peter and his army, before which he walked with sandals on his feet, a rope about his waist, and every other mark of monkish austerity, took the road to Constantinople, through Hungary and Bulgaria. Godescald, a German priest, and his banditti, took the same route; and trusting that Heaven, by supernatural means, would supply all their necessities, they made no provision for subsistence on their march. But they soon found themselves obliged to obtain by plunder what they had vainly expected from miracles. Want is ingenious in suggesting pretences for its supply. Their fury first discharged itself upon the Jews. As the soldiers of Jesus Christ, they thought themselves authorized to take revenge upon his murderers: they accordingly fell upon those unhappy people, and put to the sword without mercy such as would not submit to baptism, seizing their effects as lawful prize. In Bavaria alone twelve thousand Jews were massacred, and many thousands in the other provinces of Germany. But Jews not being every where to be found, these pious robbers, who had tasted the sweets of plunder, and were under no military regulations, pillaged without distinction, until the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed rose and cut them almost all off. The Hermit, however, and the remnant of his army, consisting of twenty thousand starving wretches, at length reached Constantinople, where he received a fresh supply of German and Italian vagabonds, who were guilty of the greatest disorders, pillaging even the churches.(3)

Alexis Comnenus, the Greek emperor, who had applied to the Latins for succour against the Turks, entertained a hope, and but a feeble one, of obtaining such an aid as might enable him to repulse the enemy. He was, therefore, astonished to see his dominions overwhelmed by an inundation of licentious Barbarians, strangers alike to order and discipline, and to hear of the multitudes that were following, under different leaders. He contented himself, however, with getting rid, as soon as possible, of such troublesome

(1) Theod. Ruinart in *Vit. Urbani II. Baron. Annal. Eccles.* tom. xi.

(2) Alexias, lib. x.

(3) Mainbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*, tom. i.

guests, by furnishing them with vessels to transport themselves to the other side of the Bosphorus; and general Peter soon saw himself in the plains of Asia, at the head of a Christian army, ready to give battle to the Infidels. Soliman, sultan of Nice, fell upon the disorderly crowd, and slaughtered them almost without resistance. Walter the Moneyless and many other leaders of equal distinction were slain; but Peter the Hermit found his way back to Constantinople, where he was considered as a maniac, who had enlisted a multitude of madmen to follow him.(1)

In the mean time the more disciplined armies arrived at the imperial city, and were there joined by Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, from motives of policy rather than piety. Having no other inheritance but the small principality of Tarentum, and his own valour, he took advantage of the epidemical enthusiasm of the times to assemble under his banner ten thousand horsemen, well armed, and some infantry, with which he hoped to conquer a few provinces either from the Christians or Mahometans. His presence gave much alarm to the emperor Alexis Comnenus, with whom he had been formerly at war. But the refined policy of that prince, who caressed those rapacious allies whom he wished to ruin, and secretly regarded as more dangerous than the enemies they came to combat, diverted all apprehensions of harm either from Bohemond or the other leaders of the crusade. He furnished them with provisions, and transported them safely into Asia; after having conciliated their affections by presents and promises, and engaged them to do him homage for the lands they should conquer from the Turks.(2)

Asia, like Europe, was then divided into a number of little states, comprehended under the great ones. The Turkish princes paid an empty homage to the caliphs, but were in reality their masters; and the sultans or soldans, who were very numerous, weakened still farther the empire of Mahomet by continual wars with each other, the necessary consequence of divided sway. The soldiers of the cross, therefore, who amounted, when mustered on the banks of the Bosphorus, to the incredible number of one hundred thousand horsemen, and six hundred thousand foot, were sufficient to have conquered all Asia, had they been united under one head, or commanded by leaders that observed any concert in their operations. But they were unhappily conducted by men of the most independent, intractable spirit, unacquainted with discipline, and enemies to civil or military subordination. Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irresistible force, still carried them forward, and advanced them to the great end of their enterprise, in spite of every obstacle—the scarcity of provisions, the excesses of fatigue, and the influence of unknown climes. After an obstinate siege, they took Nice, the seat of old Soliman, sultan of Syria, whose army they had twice defeated: they made themselves masters of Antioch, the seat of another sultan, and entirely broke the strength of the Turks, who had so long tyrannized over the Arabs.(3)

The caliph of Egypt, whose alliance the Christians had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkish power, the authority of the caliphs in Jerusalem. On this he sent ambassadors to the leaders of the Crusade, informing them, that they might now perform their religious vows, if they came disarmed to that city; and that all Christian pilgrims, who should thenceforth visit the holy sepulchre, might expect the same good treatment which they had ever received from his predecessors. His offers were, however, rejected. He was required to yield up the city to the Christians; and, on his refusal, the champions of the Cross advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, the great object of their armament, and the acquisition of which they considered as the consummation of their labours.

These pious adventurers were now much diminished, by the detachments they had made, and the disasters they had suffered: and what seems almost incredible, they did not exceed, according to the testimony of most historians

(1) Anna Comnena, ubi sup.

(3) Dach. Specileg. vol. iv. Maimbourg, tom. i.

(2) Maimbourg, ubi sup.

twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, while the garrison of Jerusalem consisted of forty thousand men. But, be that as it may, after a siege of five weeks, they took the city by assault, and put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword without distinction. Arms protected not the brave, or submission the timid: no age or sex were spared: infants perished by the same sword that pierced their mothers, while imploring mercy. The streets of Jerusalem were covered with heaps of slain; and the shrieks of agony or despair still resounded from every house, when these triumphant warriors, glutted with slaughter, threw aside their arms, yet streaming with blood, and advanced with naked feet and bended knees to the sepulchre of the Prince of Peace! sung anthems to that Redeemer, who had purchased their salvation by his death; and, while dead to the calamities of their fellow-creatures, dissolved in tears for the sufferings of the Messiah! (1)—So inconsistent is human nature with itself; and so easily, as the philosophic Hume remarks, does the most effeminate superstition associate both with the most heroic courage and with the fiercest barbarity.

About the same time that this great event happened in Asia, where Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen king of Jerusalem, and Bohemond, and some other Christian princes, settled in their new conquests, Urban II. the author of the Crusade, and the queen of France, died in Europe. In consequence of these deaths, Philip I. who still continued to live with the countess of Anjou, was absolved, by the new pope, from the sentence of excommunication denounced in the council of Clermont. But although this absolution quieted in some measure his domestic troubles, his authority, which the thunder of the church, together with his indolent and licentious course of life, had ruined, was far from being restored. The nobility more and more affected independency: they insulted him every hour; plundered his subjects, and entirely cut off the communication between Paris and Orleans. (2)

In order to remedy these evils, Philip associated his son Lewis in the government, or, at least, declared him, with the consent of the nobility, his successor. This young prince was, in all respects, the reverse of his father; active, vigorous, affable, generous, and free from the vices incident to youth. He saw that in a state so corrupted nothing could be done but by force: he therefore kept continually in the field, with a small body of troops about him, and these he employed against such nobles as would not listen to the dictates of justice and equity, but treated the laws of their country with derision. He demolished their castles: he compelled them to make restitution to such as they had pillaged, and he forced them to abandon the lands they had usurped from the clergy: yet all these rigours he executed in a manner so disinterested, and with so indisputable a zeal for the public welfare, that he gained the affections of the virtuous part of the nobility, and the reverence of the people, while he restored order to the state, and preserved the monarchy from subversion. (3)

This prince, who is commonly called by the old historians Lewis the Gross, from his great size in the latter part of life, and who was the sixth Lewis that sat upon the throne of France, succeeded his father in 1108, when he was thirty years of age. Soon after his coronation, he engaged in a war against Henry I. of England, a powerful vassal, whom it was his interest to humble. The war was carried on with a variety of fortunes during the greater part of this reign, but without producing any remarkable event, except what I have related in the history of England, or any alteration in the state of either kingdom. (4)

A peace was at length concluded between the two rival princes; after which Lewis devoted himself to the regulation of the interior polity of his kingdom, and either humbled or overawed the great vassals of the crown, so as to procure universal tranquillity. This he accomplished, partly by establishing the commons or third state, partly by enfranchising the vassals or bondmen, and partly by diminishing the exorbitant authority of the seignioral

(1) M. Paris. Order. Vital. Vertot, *Hist. de Chev. de Malt.* tom. i.
(3) Order. Vital. Sug. *Vit. Lud. Grossi.*

(2) Order. Vital. Mezerey
(4) See Letter XXIII

jurisdictions; sending commissaries into the provinces to receive the complaints and redress the wrongs of such as had been oppressed by the dukes and counts, and every where encouraging appeals to the royal judges. But the king of France, in the midst of his prosperity, fell into a languishing disorder, occasioned by his excessive corpulency; and when he thought his death at hand, he ordered his son to be called to him and gave him the following excellent advice. "By this sign," said he, (drawing the signet from his finger, and putting it on that of the prince) "I invest you with sovereign authority; but remember, that it is nothing but a public employment, to which you are called by Heaven, and for the exercise of which you must render an account in the world to come."(1)

The king unexpectedly recovered; but he would never afterward use any of the ensigns of royalty. An accident contributed to the revival of his strength. William, duke of Guienne and earl of Poitou, resolved to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, bequeathed his extensive territories to his daughter Eleanor, on condition that she married young Lewis, already crowned king of France, at the desire of his father; and the duke dying in that pilgrimage, the marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Bordeaux, where Lewis VII. was solemnly inaugurated as lord of Guienne and Poitou.(2)

In the mean time Lewis VI. unable to support the heat of the dog-days died at Paris on the first of August, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. A better man, historians agree, never graced the throne of France; but, with the addition of certain qualities, his countrymen say he might have made a better king. Posterity, however, may not perhaps be inclined to think worse of his character, when they are told that the qualities he wanted were hypocrisy and dissimulation, and that his vices were honesty and sincerity; which led him to despise flattery, and indulge himself in a manly freedom of speech.

We should now, my dear Philip, return to the history of England; but the second crusade, which was conducted by the sovereigns of France and Germany, makes it necessary to carry farther the affairs of the continent.

LETTER XXV.

The German Empire and its Dependencies, Rome and the Italian States, from the Death of Henry V. to the Election of Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa.

As Henry V. left no issue, it was universally believed that the states would confer the empire on one of his nephews, Conrad, duke of Franconia, or Frederic, duke of Suabia, who were princes of great merit; but Albert, archbishop of Mentz, found means to influence the German chiefs to give their suffrages in favour of Lothario, duke of Saxe-Supplembourg, who had supported him in all his contests with the late emperor. Lothario was accordingly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in presence of the pope's nuncio. Meanwhile his two competitors neglected nothing in their power to obtain the throne. But after a short opposition, which was, however, obstinate and bloody, they dropped their pretensions, and were reconciled to Lothario, who afterward honoured them with his friendship.(3)

The first expedition of the new emperor was against the Bohemians, whom he obliged to sue for peace, and do homage to the empire. He next marched into Italy, where ecclesiastical affairs, as usual, were in much disorder. Innocent II. had succeeded Honorius II. by virtue of a canonical election; notwithstanding which cardinal Leoni, the grandson of a wealthy Jew, was also proclaimed pope by the name of Anacletus, and kept possession of Rome by means of his money, while his rival was obliged to retire into France,

(1) *Sug. Vit. Lud. Grossi.* Henault, *Chron. Hist.* tom. i.

(2) *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. i. Heis. lib. ii. cap. xi.

(3) *Ibid.*

the common asylum of distressed popes. Lothario espoused the cause of Innocent, with whom he had an interview at Liege; accompanied him to Rome at the head of an army, and re-established him in the papal chair in spite of all the efforts and opposition of Anacletus.(1)

After being solemnly crowned at Rome, the emperor returned to Germany; where, by the advice of Ermerius, a learned professor of the Roman law, he ordered that justice should be administered in the empire according to the *Digesta*, or Code of Justinian, a copy of which was, about this time, found in Italy.(2) In the mean time Roger, duke of Apulia, who had lately conquered the Island of Sicily, raised an army in favour of Anacletus, and made himself master of almost all the places belonging to the Holy See. Pope Innocent retired to Pisa, which was then one of the most considerable trading cities in Europe, and again implored the assistance of Lothario. The emperor did not desert him in his adversity: he immediately put himself at the head of a powerful army; and, by the help of the Pisans, the imperial forces soon recovered all the patrimony of St. Peter. Pope Innocent was reconducted in triumph to Rome; a circumstance which so much affected Anacletus, that he fell a martyr to the success of his competitor, literally dying of grief.

The emperor afterward drove Roger, duke of Apulia, from city to city; and, at length, obliged him to take refuge in Sicily, his new kingdom. He then subdued the provinces of Apulia and Calabria, and all Roger's Italian dominions, which he formed into a principality, and bestowed it, with the title of duke, upon Renaud, a German prince, and one of his own relations.(3)

On his way to Germany, Lothario was seized with a dangerous distemper, which carried him off, near Trent, in the twelfth year of his reign. He was distinguished by a passionate love of peace, and an exact attention to the administration of public justice.

Conrad, duke of Franconia, nephew to Henry V. was unanimously elected emperor, on the death of Lothario. But the imperial throne was disputed by Henry the Haughty, duke of Bavaria, the name of whose family was Guelph; hence those who espoused his party were called Guelphs, an appellation afterward usually bestowed on the enemies of the emperors.

Henry the Haughty died during this contest, after being divested of his dominions by the princes of the empire; but the war was still carried on against the emperor by Guelph, the duke's brother, and Roger king of Sicily. The imperial army was commanded by Frederic, duke of Suabia, the emperor's brother, who being born at the village of Hieghibelin, gave to his soldiers the name of Ghibelins; an epithet by which the imperial party was distinguished in Italy, while the pope's adherents grew famous under that of Guelphs.(4)

Guelph and his principal followers were besieged in the castle of Weinsberg; and having sustained great loss in a sally, they were obliged to surrender at discretion. The emperor, however, instead of using his good fortune with rigour, granted the duke and his chief officers permission to retire unmolested. But the dutchess, suspecting the generosity of Conrad, with whose enmity against her husband she was well acquainted, begged that she, and the other women in the castle, might be allowed to come out with as much as each of them could carry, and be conducted to a place of safety. Her request was granted, and the evacuation was immediately performed, when the emperor and his army, who expected to see every lady loaded with jewels, gold, and silver, beheld, to their astonishment, the dutchess and her fair companions staggering beneath the weight of their husbands. The tears ran down Conrad's cheeks: he applauded their conjugal tenderness, and an accommodation with Guelph and his adherents was the consequence of this act of female heroism.(5)

(1) Jean de Launes, *Hist. du Pontificat du Pape Innocent II.*

(2) On this subject, which is involved in controversy, see Hen. Brenchmann, *Hist. Pandect. Murat. Antig. Ital.* tom. ii.

(3) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

(4) Murat. *Dissertat. de Guelph. et Guibel.* Sigon. lib. xi. Krant. Sax. lib. viii.

(5) Heis. lib. ii. cap. xii

While these things were transacting in Germany, new disorders broke out in Italy. The people of Rome formed a design of re-establishing the commonwealth; of retrieving the sovereignty of their city, and abolishing the temporal dominion of the popes. Lucius II. marched against the rebels, and was killed at the foot of the Capitol; but Eugenius III. his successor, found means to reduce them to reason, and preserve the authority of the Apostolic See. (1)

This pope afterward countenanced the second crusade against the Saracens, preached by St. Bernard, in which the emperor and the king of France engaged, as I shall soon have occasion to relate. Another crusade was preached against the Moors in Spain, in which a great number of Germans, from the neighbourhood of the Rhine and Weser, engaged; and the Saxons, about the same time, undertook a crusade against the Pagans of the North, whom they cut off in thousands, without making one convert. (2)

Nothing remarkable happened in the empire, after the return of Conrad III. from the East, except the death of prince Henry, his eldest son, who had been elected king of the Romans. This event greatly affected the emperor, who died soon after; and his nephew Frederic, surnamed Barbarossa, duke of Suabia, was raised to the imperial throne by the unanimous voice of the princes and nobles both of Italy and Germany.

LETTER XXVI.

France under Lewis VII. till the Divorce of Queen Eleanor, with some Account of the second Crusade.

LEWIS VII. surnamed the young, was no sooner seated on the throne of France, than he found himself engaged in one of those civil wars which the feudal government rendered unavoidable; and having, in an expedition into Champagne, made himself master of the town of Vitri, he ordered it to be set on fire. In consequence of the conflagration that followed, thirteen hundred persons, who had taken refuge in the church, perished in the flames. (3) This cruel action made a deep impression upon the king's mind, and prepared the way for a second crusade, which now demands our attention.

The Christians of the East grew weaker every day in those countries which they had conquered. The little kingdom of Edessa had already been taken by the Turks, and Jerusalem itself was threatened. Europe was solicited for a new armament; and as the French had begun the first inundation, they were again applied to, in hopes of a second.

Pope Eugenius III. to whom the deputies from the East had been sent, very wisely pitched upon Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, as the instrument of this pious warfare. Bernard was learned for those times, naturally eloquent, austere in his life, irreproachable in his morals, enthusiastically zealous, and inflexible in his purpose. He had long held the reputation of a saint, was heard as an oracle, and revered as a prophet; little wonder, therefore, he found means to persuade the king of France, that there was no other method of expiating his guilt but by an expedition to the Holy Land.

At Vezelai, in Burgundy, a scaffold was erected in the market-place, on which St. Bernard appeared by the side of Lewis VII. The saint spoke first, the king seconded him, after taking the cross, and the example of the royal pair was followed by all present, among whom were many of the chief nobility. (4)

Suger, abbot of St. Dennis, then prime minister, a man very different from Bernard, endeavoured in vain to dissuade the king from abandoning his dominions, by telling him that he might make a much more suitable atonement

1. Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. xiv. Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii.

3. Gu. Tyr. *Gest. Ludovic. VII.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(4) *Epist. Ludovic. ad Suger*

for his guilt by staying at home, and governing his kingdom in a wise and prudent manner. The eloquence of St. Bernard, and the madness of the times, prevailed over reason and sound policy. Suger, however, retained his opinion; and made no scruple of foretelling the inconveniences that would attend an expedition into Palestine, while Bernard made himself answerable for its success, and extolled it with an enthusiasm that passed for inspiration.

From France this fanatical orator went to preach the crusade in Germany; where, by the force of his irresistible eloquence, he prevailed on the emperor, Conrad III, Frederic Barbarossa, afterward emperor, and an infinite number of persons of all ranks to take the Cross! promising them, in the name of God, victory over the Infidels. He ran from city to city, every where communicating his enthusiasm; and, if we may believe the historians of those times, working miracles. It is not indeed pretended that he restored the dead to life: but the blind received sight, the lame walked, the sick were healed. And to these bold assertions we may add a fact no less incredible, that while St. Bernard's eloquence operated so powerfully on the minds of the Germans, he always preached to them in French, a language which they did not understand! or in Latin, equally unintelligible to the body of the people.(1)

The hopes of certain victory drew after the emperor and the king of France the greater part of the knights in their dominions; and it is said that in each army there were reckoned seventy thousand men in complete armour, with a prodigious number of light horse, besides infantry; so that we cannot well reduce this second emigration to less than three hundred thousand persons. And these, joined to one million three hundred thousand sent before, make, in the whole, sixteen hundred thousand transplanted inhabitants.

The Germans took the field first, the French followed them; and the same excesses that had been committed by the soldiers of the first crusade were acted over again by those of the second. Hence Manuel Comnenus, who now filled the throne of Constantinople, was disquieted with the same apprehensions which the former enterprise had raised in the mind of his grand father Alexis. If the Greek emperor behaved ungenerously to them, it must therefore be ascribed to the irregularity of their own conduct, which made craft necessary where force was unequal; especially as Manuel is represented, on all other occasions, as a prince of great generosity and magnanimity. But the mortality which prevailed in the German army, near the plains of Constantinople, may be fully accounted for from intemperance and the change of climate, without supposing the wells to be poisoned or the meal to be mingled with lime.

After Conrad had passed the Bosphorus, he acted with that imprudence which seems inseparable from such romantic expeditions. As the principality of Antioch was yet in being, he might have joined those Christians who remained in Syria, and there have waited for the king of France. Their numbers united would have ensured them success. But, instead of such a rational measure, the emperor, jealous both of the prince of Antioch and the king of France, marched immediately into the middle of Asia Minor; where the Sultan of Iconium, a more experienced general, drew his heavy German cavalry among the rocks, and cut his army in pieces. Conrad fled to Antioch; went to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, instead of appearing there as the leader of an army, and returned to Europe with a handful of men.(2)

The king of France was not more successful in his enterprise. He fell into the same snare that had deceived the emperor; and, being surprised among the rocks near Laodicea, was worsted, as Conrad had been. But Lewis met with a domestic misfortune which gave him more uneasiness than the loss of his army. Queen Eleanor was suspected of an amour with the prince of Antioch, at whose court her husband had taken refuge. She is even said to have forgotten her fatigues in the arms of a young Turk: and the conclusion of the whole expedition was, that Lewis, like Conrad, returned to

(1) Henault, *Chron. Hist.* tom. i. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

(2) Otho de Frising. *Gul. Tyr. Chron.* *Norman.*

Europe with the wreck of a great army, after visiting the holy sepulchre, and being dishonoured by his pious consort, whose affection and zeal led her to embrace the cross, and accompany him into Asia! (1) A thousand ruined families in vain exclaimed against St. Bernard for his deluding prophecies: he excused himself by the example of Moses; who, like him, he said, had promised the Israelites to conduct them into a happy country, and yet saw the first generation perish in the desert.

Lewis, more delicate than politic, annulled, soon after his return, his marriage with queen Eleanor, who immediately espoused his formidable vassal, Henry Plantagenet, duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine, and presumptive heir to the crown of England; an inheritance which the accession of power arising from this alliance enabled him to obtain, while France lost the fine provinces of Guienne and Poitou, the hereditary possessions of the queen. But before I treat of that subject, we must take a view of England during the introductory reign.

LETTER XXVII.

England, from the Death of Henry I. to the Accession of Henry II.

HENRY I. my dear Philip, as you have had occasion to see, left his dominions by will to his daughter Matilda; and as the nobility, both of England and Normandy, had sworn fealty to her, she had reason to expect the inheritance of both states. But the aversion of the feudal barons against female succession prevailed over their good faith, and prepared the way for the usurpation of Stephen, count of Boulogne, son of the count of Blois, and grandson of the conqueror, by his daughter Adela.

Stephen was a prince of vigour and ability; but the manner in which he had obtained the crown of England, obliged him to grant exorbitant privileges to the nobility and clergy, who might be said to command the kingdom. The barons built and fortified castles; garrisoned them with their own troops; and, when offended, bid their monarch defiance, while wars between themselves were carried on with the utmost fury in every quarter. They even assumed the right of coining money, and of exercising, without appeal, every act of jurisdiction; and the inferior gentry, and the people, finding no guardianship from the laws, during this total dissolution of sovereign authority, were obliged to pay court to some neighbouring chieftain, and to purchase his protection, not only by yielding to his exactions, but by assisting him in his rapine upon others. (2)

While things continued in this distracted situation, David king of Scotland appeared at the head of a considerable army, in defence of his niece Matilda's title; and, penetrating into Yorkshire, laid the whole country waste. These barbarous outrages enraged the northern nobility, who might otherwise have been inclined to join him, and proved the ruin of Matilda's cause. The earl of Albemarle, and other powerful nobles, assembled an army at North Allerton, where a great battle was fought, called the Battle of the Standard, from a high crucifix erected by the English on a wagon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign. The Scots were routed with great slaughter, and the king narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English army. (3)

This success overawed the malecontents in England, and might have given stability to Stephen's throne, had he not been so elated by prosperity as to engage in a contest with the clergy, who were at that time an over-match for any monarch. They acted entirely as barons; fortified castles, employed military power against their sovereign or their neighbours, and thereby in-

(1) Gul. Tyr. Gest. Ludovic VII. Henault, Chron. Hist. tom. i.

(2) Gul. Malmes. Hist. Novel. lib. i.

(3) R. Haguist. Allred. de Bell. Standard

creased those disorders which it was their duty to prevent, while they claimed an exemption from all civil jurisdiction, and attracted popularity by the sacredness of their character. The bishop of Salisbury, whose castle had been seized by order of the king, appealed to the pope; and had not Stephen and his partisans employed menaces, and even shown a disposition of executing vengeance by the hands of the soldiery, affairs had instantly come to extremity between the crown and the mitre.

In the mean time Matilda, encouraged by these discontents, and invited by the rebellious clergy, landed in England, accompanied by Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, and a retinue of a hundred and forty knights. She fixed her residence at Arundel castle, whose gates were opened to her by Adelais, the queen-dowager, now married to William de Albini, earl of Sussex. Her party daily increased; she was soon joined by several barons: war raged in every quarter of the kingdom; and was carried on with so much fury, that the land was left untilled, and the instruments of husbandry destroyed or abandoned. A grievous famine, the natural consequence of such disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers, as well as the defenceless people, to the most extreme want. (1)

Things were in this deplorable situation, when an unexpected event seemed to promise some mitigation of the public calamities. The royal army was defeated near the castle of Lincoln; and Stephen himself, surrounded by the enemy, and borne down by numbers, was made captive, after displaying uncommon efforts of valour. He was conducted to Gloucester, thrown into prison, and ignominiously loaded with irons. But he was soon after released in exchange for earl Robert, Matilda's brother, who was no less the soul of one party than Stephen was of the other, and the civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever. (2)

The weakness of both parties, however, at last produced a tacit cessation of arms, and the empress Matilda retired into Normandy. But an event soon after happened, which threatened a revival of hostilities in England. Prince Henry, son of Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet, had reached his sixteenth year, and was desirous of receiving the honour of knighthood from his grand-uncle, David king of Scotland. For this purpose he passed through England with a great retinue, and was visited by the most considerable of his partisans, whose hopes he roused by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exercises, and his prudence in every occurrence. He staid some time in Scotland, where he increased in reputation; and on his return to Normandy he was invested in that duchy, with the consent of his mother Matilda. His father died the following year; when Henry took possession of Anjou and Maine, and espoused the heiress of Guienne and Poitou, who had been married sixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, but whom he had divorced, as I have already observed, on account of her gallantries. This marriage, which brought Henry a great accession of power, rendered him extremely formidable to his rival; and the prospect of his rising fortune had such an effect in England, that the archbishop of Canterbury refused to anoint Eustace, Stephen's son, as his successor, and made his escape beyond sea, to avoid the fury of the enraged monarch. (3)

As soon as Henry was informed of these dispositions in the people, he invaded England. Stephen advanced with a superior army to meet him: and a decisive action was every day expected, when the great men on both sides, terrified with the prospect of farther bloodshed and confusion, interposed with their good offices, and set on foot a negotiation between the contending princes. The death of Eustace, which happened during the course of the treaty, facilitated its conclusion; and an accommodation was at last settled, by which it was agreed, that Stephen should possess the crown during his lifetime; that justice should be administered in his name, even in the provinces which had submitted to his rival; and that Henry, on Stephen's death,

(1) *Chron. Sax. Gest. Reg. Stephani.* H. Hunting, lib. viii.

(2) *Gul. Malmes. Hist. Nov.* lib. ii. Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

should succeed to the kingdom of England, and William, Stephen's son, to Boulogne and his patrimonial estate.(1)

The barons all swore to the observance of this treaty, and did homage to Henry as heir of the crown. He immediately after evacuated the kingdom; and Stephen's death, which happened next year, prevented those jealousies and feuds which were likely to have ensued in so delicate a situation. The character of Stephen is differently represented by historians; but all allow that he possessed industry, activity, and courage, to a great degree; and had he succeeded by a just title, he seems to have been well qualified to promote the happiness and prosperity of his subjects, notwithstanding the miseries that England suffered under his reign.(2)

LETTER XXVIII.

England, during the Reign of Henry II. with an Account of the Affairs of France.

I HAVE already observed, my dear Philip, that before the conquest of England by the duke of Normandy, this island was as distinct from the rest of the world in politics as situation. The English had then neither enemies nor allies on the continent. But the foreign dominions of William and his successors connected them with the kings and great vassals of France: and while the opposite pretensions of the popes and the emperors in Italy produced a continual intercourse between Germany and that country, the two great monarchs of France and England formed, in another part of Europe, a separate system, and carried on their wars and negotiations, without meeting either with opposition or support from their neighbours; the extensive confederacies by which the European potentates are now united, and made the guardians of each other, being then totally unknown. No wonder, therefore, that Lewis VII. king of France, observed with terror the rising greatness of the house of Anjou or Plantagenet, whose continental dominions composed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and which gave a sovereign to England in the person of Henry II. The jealousy occasioned by this alarming circumstance, however, as we shall have occasion to see, not only saved France from falling a prey to England, but exalted that kingdom to the pitch of grandeur which it has so long enjoyed. The king of England soon became a kind of foreigner, in his continental dominions; and the other powerful vassals of the French crown, instead of being roused at the oppression of a co-vassal, were rather pleased at the expulsion of the Anglo-Normans.

But as these important consequences could not be foreseen by human wisdom, the king of France had maintained a strict union with Stephen, in order to prevent the succession of Henry. The sudden death of the usurper, however, rendered abortive all the schemes of Lewis. Henry was received in England with the acclamations of all orders of men, who joyfully swore to him the oath of allegiance; and he began his reign with re-establishing justice and good order, to which the kingdom had been long a stranger. For this purpose he dismissed all those foreign mercenaries retained by Stephen; and that he might restore authority to the laws, he caused all the new-erected castles, which had proved so many sanctuaries to rebels and freebooters, to be demolished.(3) In order yet farther to conciliate the affections of his subjects, he voluntarily confirmed that charter of liberties which had been granted by his grandfather, Henry I.(4)

(1) Hen. Hunt. ubi sup. *Annal. Waverl.* M. Paris. J. Brompton.

(2) These miseries are thus described by a contemporary historian: "All England wore a face of desolation and wretchedness. Multitudes abandoned their beloved country, and went into voluntary exile: others, forsaking their own houses, built sorry huts in the churchyards, hoping for protection from the sacredness of the place. Whole families, after sustaining life as long as they could, by eating herbs, roots and the flesh of dogs and horses, at last died of hunger;—and you might see many pleasant villages without a single inhabitant of either sex." *Gest. Reg. Steph.*

(3) *Gerv. Chron. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.*

(4) Vide Blackstone's *Law Tracts* vol. ii

Tranquillity was no sooner restored to England, than Henry had occasion to visit his foreign dominions; where all things being likewise settled, he returned to repress the incursions of the Welch, who at first gave him much trouble, but at length submitted. In the mean time a quarrel broke out between Lewis and Henry, relative to the county of Thoulouse, and war was openly carried on between the two monarchs. But these hostilities produced no memorable event, were stopped by a cessation of arms, and soon terminated in a peace, through the mediation of the pope.

This war, so insignificant in itself, is remarkable for the manner in which it was conducted. An army formed of feudal vassals, as I have had occasion frequently to observe, was commonly very intractable and undisciplined; both because of the independent spirit of the persons who composed it, and because the commissions were not bestowed by the choice of the sovereign, in reward of the military talents and services of the officers. Each baron conducted his own vassals, and his rank in the army was greater or less, in proportion to the value of his property. Even the chief command, under that of the prince, was often attached to birth; and as the military vassals were obliged to serve only forty days, at their own charge, the state reaped very little benefit from their attendance. Henry, sensible of these inconveniences, levied upon his vassals in Normandy, and other provinces remote from Thoulouse, the seat of war, a sum of money in place of their service: and this commutation, by reason of the greater distance, was still more advantageous to his English vassals. He therefore imposed a scutage of three pounds upon each knight's fee; a condition, though unusual, and the first perhaps to be met with in history, to which the military tenants readily submitted. With this money he levied an army which was more at his disposal, and whose service was more durable and constant: and, in order to facilitate those levies, he enlarged the privileges of the people, and rendered them less dependent on the barons by whom they had been long held in servitude, or in a state of the most grievous oppression.

Having thus regulated his civil and military affairs, and accommodated his differences with Lewis, Henry, soon after his return to England, began to cast his eye upon the church, where abuses of every kind prevailed. The clergy, among their other inventions to obtain money, had inculcated the necessity of penance as an atonement for sin. They had also introduced the practice of paying large sums of money as a composition for such penances. By these means the sins of the people were become a revenue to the priest; and the king computed, that, by this invention alone, they levied more money from his subjects, than flowed into the royal treasury by all the methods of public supply. (1) Feeling for his oppressed people, he therefore required that a civil officer, appointed by the crown, should for the future be present in all ecclesiastical courts, and whose consent should be necessary to every composition made by sinners for their spiritual offences.

But the grand difficulty was, how to carry this order into execution? as the ecclesiastics, in that age, had renounced all immediate subordination to the civil power. They openly claimed exemption, in cases of criminal accusation, from a trial before courts of justice. Spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences; and, as the clerical habit was thus become a protection for all enormities, they could not fail to increase. Accordingly crimes of the deepest dye were daily committed with impunity by ecclesiastics; and it was found upon inquiry, that no less than a hundred murders had been perpetrated since the king's accession, by men in holy orders, who had never been called to account for these offences against the laws of nature and society. (2)

In order to bring such criminals to justice, as the first step toward his projected reformation of the church, and by that means to restore union between the civil and ecclesiastical power, so necessary in every government for the maintenance of peace and harmony, Henry exalted Thomas à Becket, his

(1) Fitz-Steph *Vit. St. Thom.*

(2) Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.

chancellor, and the first man of English descent who had occupied an eminent station since the Norman conquest, to the see of Canterbury, on the death of archbishop Theobald; rightly judging, that if the present opportunity should be neglected, and the usurpations of the clergy allowed to proceed, the crown must be in danger, from the predominating superstition of the people, of falling under subjection to the mitre.

Becket, while chancellor, was pompous in his retinue, sumptuous in his furniture, and luxurious in his table, beyond what England had seen in a subject. His house was a place of education for the sons of the chief nobility, and the king himself frequently condescended to partake of his chancellor's entertainments. His amusements were as gay as his manner of life was splendid and elegant. He employed himself at leisure hours in hunting hawking, gaming, and horsemanship. His complaisance and good humour had rendered him agreeable, and his industry and abilities useful to his master. He was well acquainted with the king's intention of retrenching, or rather confining within ancient bounds, all ecclesiastical privileges; and having always showed a ready disposition to comply with every advance to that purpose, Henry considered him as the fittest person he could place at the head of the English church. But no prince of so much penetration, as appeared in the issue, ever so little understood the character of his minister.

Becket was no sooner installed in the see of Canterbury, which rendered him the second person in the kingdom, than he secretly aspired at being the first, in consequence at least, and totally altered his manner of life. He affected the greatest austerity, and the most rigid mortification: he wore sack-cloth next his skin, which he changed so seldom that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His usual diet was bread, his drink water: he tore his back with the frequent discipline which he inflicted upon it; and he daily washed on his knees, in imitation of Jesus Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterward dismissed with presents.(1) Every one who made profession of sanctity was admitted to his conversation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility as well as piety and mortification of the holy primate, whose aspect now wore the appearance of intense seriousness, mental reflection, and sacred devotion. And all men of penetration saw that he was meditating some great design, and that the ambition and ostentation of his character had taken a new and more dangerous direction.

This champion of the church (for such he now declared himself) did not even wait till the king had matured those projects which he knew had been formed against ecclesiastical power: he himself began hostilities, and endeavoured to overawe the king by the intrepidity and boldness of his measures. But although Henry found himself thus grievously mistaken in the character of the person whom he had promoted to the primacy, he determined not to desist from his former intention of retrenching clerical usurpations: and an event soon occurred which gave him a plausible pretence for putting his design in execution, and brought matters to a crisis with the archbishop.

A parish clerk in Worcestershire having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had about this time proceeded to murder the father. The general indignation against so enormous a crime, made the king insist that the clerk should be delivered up to the civil magistrate, and receive condign punishment; but Becket insisted on the privileges of the church, and maintained, that no greater punishment could be inflicted upon him than degradation.(2) Henry laid hold of so favourable a cause to push the clergy with respect to all their usurpations, and to determine at once those controversies which daily multiplied between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He summoned an assembly of all the prelates of England, and put them to this concise and decisive question:—Whether or not they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? the bishops answered equivocally, and the king left the assembly with marks of the highest indignation. They

(1) Fitz-Steph. ubi sup.

(2) Ibid.

were struck with terror, and gave a general promise of observing the ancient customs.(1)

But a declaration in general terms was not sufficient for Henry; he wanted to define exactly the limits between the rival powers. For this purpose, he summoned at Clarendon a general council of the bishops and nobles, to whom he submitted that great and important question. The barons were all gained to the king's party, either by the reasons he urged, or by his superior authority, while the bishops were overawed by the general combination against them. And the following laws, among others, commonly called the Constitutions of Clarendon, were voted without opposition: "That no chief tenant of the crown shall be excommunicated, or have his lands put under an interdict, without the king's consent; that no appeals in spiritual causes shall be carried before the Holy See, nor any clergyman be suffered to depart the kingdom, unless with the king's permission; that laymen shall not be accused in spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses; and lastly," which was the great object aimed at, "that churchmen, accused of any crime, shall be tried in the civil courts."(2)

These articles were well calculated to prevent the principal abuses in ecclesiastical affairs, and put a final stop to the usurpations in the church; and having been passed in a national and civil assembly, they fully established the superiority of the legislature over all papal decrees and spiritual canons. But as Henry knew the bishops would take the first opportunity to deny the authority which had enacted these constitutions, he resolved they should set their seal to them, and give a promise to observe them. With this view they were reduced to writing; and none of the prelates dared to oppose the king's will except Becket, who at length consented. He set his seal to the Constitutions; promised *legally*, with *good faith*, and without *fraud* or *reserve*, to observe them, and even took an oath to that purpose.(3)

Henry, thinking he had now finally prevailed in this great contest, sent the Constitutions of Clarendon to Alexander III. to be ratified. But the pope, who plainly saw they were calculated to establish the independency of England from the Holy See, abrogated, annulled, and rejected them; and when Becket found he might hope for the papal support in an opposition to regal authority, he expressed the deepest sorrow for his concessions. He redoubled his austerities, as a punishment for his criminal compliance; and he refused to exercise any part of his ecclesiastical function, until he should receive absolution from the pope. Absolution was readily granted him; after receiving which he set no bounds to his obstinacy and ambition.

Henry, however, who was entirely master of his extensive dominions, and sure every one would obey his will except the man whom he had lifted into power, and to whose assistance he had trusted in forwarding his favourite project against the clergy, was now incensed beyond all measure, and resolved both to humble the church, and make the prelate feel the weight of his indignation. He accordingly summoned Becket to give an account of his administration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelaties, abbeys, and baronies, which had been subject to his management during that time.

This prosecution, which seems to have been more dictated by passion than by justice, or even by sound policy, threw Becket and all the clergy of England into the utmost confusion. Some bishops advised him to resign his see, on receiving an acquittal; others were of an opinion that he ought to submit himself entirely to the king's mercy—for they were fully sensible that accounts of so much intricacy could not be produced of a sudden, in such a manner as to satisfy a tribunal resolved to ruin and oppress him. But the primate, thus pushed to extremity, had too much courage to yield: he determined to brave all his enemies; to trust to the sacredness of his character for protection; and to defy the utmost efforts of royal indignation, by involving his cause with that of God and the church. He therefore strictly

(1) R. Hoveden. *Hist. Quad.*(2) M. Paris. *Hist. Quad.*(3) Fitz-Steph. *Gervas.*

prohibited his suffragans to assist at any such trial, or give their sanction to any sentence against him: he put himself and his see under the immediate protection of the vicegerent of Christ, and appealed to his holiness against any penalty which his iniquitous judges might think proper to inflict upon him. "The indignation of a great monarch," added he, "such as Henry, with his sword, can only kill the body; while that of the church, intrusted to the primate, can kill the soul, and throw the disobedient into infinite and eternal perdition."⁽¹⁾

Appeals to Rome, even in spiritual causes, had been prohibited by the Constitutions of Clarendon, and consequently were become criminal by law; but an appeal in a civil cause, such as the king's demand upon Becket, was altogether new and unprecedented, and tended directly to the subversion of the English government. Henry, therefore, being now furnished with so much better a pretence for his violence, would probably have pushed this affair to the utmost against the primate, had he not retired beyond sea, and found patrons and protectors in the pope and the king of France.

The violent prosecution carried on against Becket at home, had a natural tendency to turn the public favour on his side, and to make men forget his former ingratitude towards the king, and his departure from all oaths and engagements, as well as the enormity of those ecclesiastical privileges of which he affected to be the champion: and political considerations conspired with sympathy to procure him countenance and support abroad. Philip, earl of Flanders, and Lewis, king of France, jealous of the rising greatness of Henry, were glad of an opportunity to give him disturbance in his government. They pretended to pity extremely the condition of the persecuted archbishop; and the pope, whose interests were more immediately concerned in abetting his cause, honoured Becket with the highest marks of distinction. A residence was assigned him in the abbey of Pontigny, where he lived, for some years, in great magnificence, partly by a pension out of the revenues of the abbey, and partly by the generosity of the French monarch.⁽²⁾

In the mean time, the exiled primate filled all Europe with exclamation against the violence he had suffered. He compared himself to Christ, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and who was crucified anew in the present oppressions under which his church laboured.⁽³⁾ But complaint was a language little suited to the vehemence of Becket's temper, and in which he did not long acquiesce. Having resigned his see into the hands of the pope, as a mark of submission, and received it again from the head of the church, with high encomiums on his piety and fortitude, he issued out a censure of excommunication against the king's chief ministers by name, comprehending in general all those who had favoured or obeyed the Constitutions of Clarendon: he abrogated and annulled those Constitutions, absolving all persons from the oaths which they had taken to observe them; and he suspended the spiritual thunder over Henry, only that he might avoid the blow by a timely repentance.⁽⁴⁾

Henry, on the other hand, employed the temporal weapons still in his power. He suspended the payment of St. Peter's Pence, and made some advances towards an alliance with the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, who was then engaged in violent wars with Pope Alexander III. Both parties grew sick of contention, and each was afraid of the other. Although the vigour of Henry's government had confirmed his authority in all his dominions, he was sensible that his throne might be shaken by a sentence of excommunication; but as the trials hitherto made of the spiritual weapons by Becket had not succeeded to his expectation, and every thing remained quiet both in England and Normandy, nothing seemed impossible, on the other hand, to the vigilance and capacity of so great a prince.

These considerations produced frequent attempts at an accommodation, which was long obstructed by mutual jealousy. After all differences seemed

(1) M. Paris. R. Hoveden. *Epist. St. Thom. Vit. St. Thom.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(2) *Epist. St. Thom*

(4) M. Paris. R. Hoveden. *Fitz-Steph Vit. St. Thom*

adjusted, the king offered to sign the treaty, with a salvo to his royal dignity—a reservation which gave so much umbrage to the primate, that the negotiation became fruitless. And in a second negotiation, Becket, imitating Henry's example, offered to make his submissions with a salvo of the honour of God and the liberties of the Church—a proposal which, for a like reason, was offensive to the king, and rendered the treaty abortive. A third conference was broken off by the same means. And even in a fourth, when all things were settled, and the primate expected to be introduced to the king, Henry refused to grant him the kiss of peace, under pretence that he made a rash vow to the contrary. The want of this formality, insignificant as it may seem, prevented the conclusion of the treaty, it being regarded in those times as the only sure mark of forgiveness.

In one of these conferences, at which the French king was present, Henry said to that monarch, "There have been many kings of England, some of greater, some of less authority than myself: there have also been many archbishops of Canterbury, holy and good men, and entitled to every kind of respect:—let Becket only act towards me with the same submission which the greatest of his predecessors has paid to the least of mine, and there shall be no controversy between us."⁽¹⁾

Lewis was so much struck with this state of the case, and with an offer which Henry made to submit his cause to the French clergy, that he could not forbear condemning Becket and withdrawing his friendship for a time. But their common animosity against Henry soon produced a renewal of their former intimacy, and the primate revived his threats and excommunications. All difficulties between the parties, however, were at last got over, and Becket was permitted to return on conditions both honourable and advantageous—a certain proof how much Henry dreaded the interdict that was ready to be laid upon his dominions, if he had continued in disobedience to the church, and how terrible the thunder of the church must then have been, since it could humble a prince of so haughty a spirit.

This accommodation with Becket, though settled on terms by no means favourable to the crown, did not even procure Henry that temporary tranquillity which he had hoped to reap from it. Instead of being taught moderation by a six years' exile, the primate was only animated with a spirit of revenge. Elated by the victory which he had obtained over his sovereign, he set no bounds to his arrogance. On his arrival in England, where he went from town to town in a sort of triumphal cavalcade, he notified to the archbishop of York the sentence of suspension, and to the bishops of London and Salisbury that of excommunication, which, at his solicitations, the pope had pronounced against them, because they had assisted at the coronation of prince Henry, whom the king had associated in the royalty, during the absence of the primate, and when an interdict was ready to be laid upon his dominions—a precaution thought necessary to ensure the succession of that prince. By this violent measure, therefore, Becket in effect declared war against the king himself; yet, in so doing, he appears to have been guided by policy as well as passion. Apprehensive lest a prince of such profound sagacity should in the end prevail, he resolved to take all the advantage which his present victory gave him, and to disconcert the cautious measures of the king by the vehemence and vigour of his own conduct. Assured of support from Rome, he was little apprehensive of dangers which his courage taught him to despise, and which, though followed by the most fatal consequences, would still gratify his thirst for glory, and reward his ambition with the crown of martyrdom.

The suspended and excommunicated prelates waited upon the king at Baieux in Normandy, where he then resided, and complained to him of the violent proceedings of Becket; and Henry, sensible that his whole plan of operations was overturned, and the contest revived, which he had endeavoured by so many negotiations to appease, was thrown into the most violent

(1) *Vit. St. Thom. lib. II.*

agitation. "Will my servants," exclaimed he, "still leave me exposed to the insolence of this ungrateful and imperious priest?"—These words seemed to call for vengeance; and four gentlemen of the king's household, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracey, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, communicating their thoughts to each other, and swearing to revenge their sovereign's quarrel, secretly withdrew from court, and made the best of their way to England.

In the mean time Henry, informed of some menacing expressions which they had dropped, despatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate. But these orders came too late to prevent their fatal purpose. Though they took different roads, to avoid suspicion, they arrived nearly about the same time at Canterbury, where they found the primate in perfect security; and on his refusing, with his usual insolence and obstinacy, to take off the excommunication and suspension of the bishops, they murdered him in the church of St. Benedict, during the evening service.⁽¹⁾

Such, my dear Philip, was the tragical death of Thomas à Becket—a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, who was able to cover from the world, and probably from himself, the efforts of pride and ambition, under the disguise of sanctity, and of zeal for the interest of Christ and his church. His death confirmed to the clergy those privileges which his opposition could not obtain. Though Henry had proposed to have him arrested, when informed of his renewed insolence, he was no sooner told of the primate's murder than he was filled with the utmost consternation. Interdicts and excommunications, weapons in themselves so terrible, would now, he foresaw, be armed with double force: in vain should he plead his innocence, and even his total ignorance of the fact; he was sufficiently guilty, if the church thought fit to esteem him so. These considerations gave him the deepest and most unaffected concern, which he was at no pains to conceal. He shut himself up from the light of the sun for three days, denying himself all manner of sustenance; and, as soon as he recovered, in any degree, his tone of mind, he sent a solemn embassy to Rome, maintaining his innocence, and offering to submit the whole affair to the decision of the holy see.⁽²⁾

The pope, flattered by this unexpected condescension, forebore to proceed to extremities against Henry; more especially as he was sensible that he could reap greater advantages from moderation than from violence. Mean-time the clergy were not idle in magnifying the sanctity of the murdered prelate. Other saints had borne testimony, by their sufferings, to the general doctrines of Christianity, but Becket had sacrificed his life for the power and privileges of the church. This peculiar merit challenged (nor without a ready concurrence) a tribute of gratitude to his memory from the whole body of the priesthood. Endless were the panegyrics on his virtues; and the miracles wrought by his relics were more numerous, more nonsensical, and more impudently attested, than those which ever filled the legend of any saint or martyr. His shrine not only restored dead men to life; it also restored cows, dogs, and horses. Presents were sent, and pilgrimages performed, from all parts of Christendom, in order to obtain his intercession with Heaven: and it was computed that, in one year, above a hundred thousand pilgrims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb.⁽³⁾

As Henry found, however, that he was in no immediate danger from the thunder of the Vatican, he undertook the conquest of Ireland—an enterprise which he had long meditated, and for which he had obtained a bull from pope Adrian IV. but which had been deferred by reason of his quarrels with the primate. Of that island something must here be said.

Ireland was probably first peopled from Britain as Britain was from Gaul: and the inhabitants of all those countries seem to have proceeded from the same Celtic origin, which is lost in the most distant antiquity. The Irish, from the earliest accounts of history or tradition, had been buried in igno-

(1) *Vit. St. Thom.* lib. iii. M. Paris. Benedict. Abbas.

(3) Gul. Neubrig. J. Brompton. R. Hoveden.

(2) M. Paris. R. Hoveden

rance and barbarism; and as their country was never conquered or even invaded by the Romans, who communicated to the Western world civility and slavery, they had remained almost in their primitive condition. The small principalities, into which the island was divided, exercised perpetual hostilities against each other; and the uncertain succession of the Irish princes was a continual source of domestic convulsion, the usual title of each petty sovereign to his principality being the murder of his predecessor. Courage and force, though exercised in the commission of violence, were more honoured than pacific virtues; and the most simple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture, were almost wholly unknown among the rude natives of Ireland.

From this short account of the state of the country, you will be less surprised, my dear Philip, when you are told, that Henry, who landed at the head of no more than five hundred knights and their attendants, in a progress which he made through that island, had little other occupation than to receive the homage of his new subjects. He left most of the Irish chieftains or princes in possession of their ancient territories; he bestowed lands on some of his English adventurers; and, after a stay of a few months, returned to Britain, where his presence was much wanted, having annexed Ireland to the English crown.(1)

The pope's two legates, Albert and Theodin, to whom was committed the trial of Henry's conduct in regard to the death of Becket, were arrived in Normandy, before his return, and had sent frequent letters to England, full of menacing expressions. The king hastened over to meet them; and was so fortunate as to conclude an accommodation with them, on terms more easy than could have been expected. He cleared himself by oath of all concern in the murder of Becket. But as the passion which he had expressed on account of that prelate's conduct had probably been the cause of his violent death, he promised to serve three years against the Infidels, either in Spain or Palestine, if the pope should require him; and he agreed to permit appeals to the Holy See, in ecclesiastical causes, on surety being given that nothing should be attempted against the rights of his crown.(2)

Henry seemed now to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity. His dangerous controversy with the church was at an end, and he appeared to be equally happy in his domestic situation and his political government. But this tranquillity was of short duration. Prince Henry, at the instigation of Lewis VII. his father-in-law, insisted that his father should resign to him either the kingdom of England or the duchy of Normandy: and the king's two younger sons, Geoffrey and Richard, also leagued with the court of France, by the persuasion of their mother, queen Eleanor, whose jealousy, when in years, was as violent as her amorous passions in youth.

Thus Europe saw, with astonishment, the best and most indulgent of parents obliged to maintain war against his whole family; and, what was still more extraordinary, several princes not ashamed to support this absurd and unnatural rebellion!—Not only Lewis king of France, but William king of Scotland, Philip earl of Flanders, and several other princes on the continent, besides many barons, both English and Norman, espoused the quarrel of young Henry and his brothers.(3)

In order to break that alarming confederacy, the king of England humbled himself so far as to supplicate the court of Rome. Though sensible of the danger of ecclesiastical authority in temporal disputes, he applied to the pope to excommunicate his enemies, and by that means reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found such reluctance to punish by the sword. The bulls required were issued by Alexander III.; but they not having the desired effect, Henry was obliged to have recourse to arms: and he carried on war successfully, and at the same time, against France, Scotland, and his rebellious barons in England and Normandy.

(1) Benedict, Abbas. M. Paris. *Expugnatio Hibernia*. lib. 1

(3) Benedict, Abbas. R. Hoveden. W. Neubrig.

(2) M. Paris. R. Hoveden

Meanwhile, the English monarch, sensible of his danger, and of the effects of superstition on the minds of the people, went barefooted to Becket's tomb : prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint ; remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day ; watched all night the holy reliques ; and, assembling a chapter of the monks, put a scourge of discipline into each of their hands, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes which these incensed ecclesiastics not sparingly inflicted upon him !—Next morning he received absolution ; and his generals obtained, on the same day, a great victory over the Scots, which was regarded as a proof of his final reconciliation with Heaven, and with Thomas à Becket.(1)

The victory over the Scots was gained near Alnwick, where their king was taken prisoner ; and the spirit of the English rebels being broken by this blow, the whole kingdom was restored to tranquillity. It was deemed impious any longer to resist a prince who seemed to lie under the immediate protection of Heaven. The clergy exalted anew the merits and the powerful intercession of Becket ; and Henry, instead of opposing their superstition, politically propagated an opinion so favourable to his interests.(2) Victorious in all quarters, crowned with glory, and absolute master of his English dominions, he hastened over to Normandy ; where a peace was concluded with Lewis, and an accommodation brought about with his sons.

Having thus, contrary to all expectation, extricated himself from a situation in which his throne was exposed to the utmost danger, Henry occupied himself for several years in the administration of justice, enacting of laws, and in guarding against those inconveniences which either the past convulsions of the state or the political institutions of that age, rendered unavoidable. The success which had attended him in all his wars discouraged his neighbours from attempting any thing against him, so that he was enabled to complete his internal regulations without disturbance from any quarter. Some of these regulations deserve particular notice.

As the clergy, by the Constitutions of Clarendon, which Henry endeavoured still to maintain, were subjected to a trial by the civil magistrate, it seemed but just to afford them the protection of that power to which they owed obedience : he therefore enacted a law, that the murderers of a clergyman should be tried before the justiciary, in the presence of the bishop, or his official ; and, besides the usual punishment for murder, should be subjected to a forfeiture of their estates, and a confiscation of their goods and chattels.(3) He also passed an equitable law, that the goods of a vassal should not be seized for the debt of his lord, unless the vassal was surety for the debt ; and that, in cases of insolvency, the rents of vassals should be paid to the creditors of the lord, not to the lord himself.(4)

The partition of England into four divisions, and the appointment of itinerant judges, learned in the law, to go the circuit in each division, and to decide the causes in the counties, after the example of the commissaries of Lewis VI. and the *missi* of Charlemagne, was another important ordinance of the English monarch—a measure which had a direct tendency to curb the oppressions of the barons, and to protect the inferior gentry or small landholders, and the common people, in their property.(5) And that there might be fewer obstacles to the execution of justice, he was vigilant in demolishing all the new erected castles of the nobility, in England as well as in his foreign dominions. Nor did he permit any fortress to remain in the custody of those he found reason to suspect.(6)

But lest the kingdom should be weakened by this peaceful policy, Henry published a famous decree, called an *Assize of Arms*, by which all his subjects were obliged to put themselves in a situation to defend themselves and the realm. Every person possessed of a single knight's fee was ordered to have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance : and the same accoutrements were required to be provided by every one, whether nobleman or gen-

(1) Benedict. Abbas. R. Hoveden. W. Neubrig.

(4) Benedict. Abbas.

(2) R. Hoveden.

(5) R. Hoveden.

(3) Gervase. Diceto.

(6) Benedict. Abbas.

tleman, for whatever number of knight's fees he might hold. Every free layman, who had rents or goods to the value of sixteen marks, was to be armed in like manner: every one that had ten marks was obliged to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance; and all burgesses were to have a cap of iron, a lance, and a coat thickly quilted with wool, tow, or some such materials, called a *Wambais*.⁽¹⁾

While the English monarch was thus liberally employed in providing for the happiness and security of his subjects, the king of France had fallen into a most abject superstition; and was induced, by a devotion more sincere than Henry's, to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, in order to obtain his intercession for the recovery of Philip, his son and heir. Lewis, as the sagacious Hume remarks, with no less ingenuity than pleasantry, probably thought himself entitled to the favour of that saint, on account of their ancient intimacy; and hoped that Becket, whom he had protected while on earth, would not, now that he was so highly advanced in heaven, forget his old friend and benefactor; the young prince was restored to health; and, as was supposed, through the intercession of Becket. But the king himself, soon after his return, was struck with an apoplexy, which deprived him of his judgment; and Philip II. afterward surnamed Augustus, took upon him the administration, though only fifteen years of age. His father's death, which happened next year, opened his way to the throne; and he proved the ablest and greatest monarch that had governed France since the age of Charlemagne. The superior age and experience of Henry, however, while they moderated his ambition, gave him such an ascendant over this prince, that no dangerous rivalry, for some time, arose between them. The English monarch, instead of taking advantage of Philip's youth, employed his good offices in composing the quarrels which arose in the royal family of France; and he was successful in mediating an accommodation between the king, his mother, and uncles. But these services were ill requited by Philip, who, when he came to man's estate, encouraged Henry's sons in their ungrateful and undutiful behaviour towards their father.⁽²⁾

The quarrels between the king of England and his family, however, were in some measure quieted by the death of his two sons, young Henry and his brother Geoffrey, who had both been in open rebellion against their parental sovereign: and the rivalry between old Henry and Philip seemed, for a time, to give place to the general passion for the relief of the Holy Land. Both assumed the cross, and imposed a tax, amounting to the tenth of all moveables, on such of their subjects as remained at home.⁽³⁾

But, before this great enterprise could be carried into execution, many obstacles were to be surmounted. Philip, still jealous of Henry's greatness, entered into a private confederacy with prince Richard, now heir apparent to the English crown; and, by working on his ambitious and impatient temper, persuaded him to seek present power and independency at the expense of filial duty, and of the grandeur of that monarchy which he was one day to inherit. The king of England was therefore obliged, at an advanced age, to defend his dominions by arms, and to enter on a war with France, and with his eldest surviving son—a prince of great valour and popularity, who had seduced the chief barons of Poitou, Guienne, Anjou, and Normandy. Henry, as might be expected, was unsuccessful—a misfortune which so much subdued his spirit, that he concluded a treaty on the most disadvantageous terms. He agreed that Richard should receive the homage, on oath of fealty of all his subjects, and that all his associates should be pardoned: and he engaged to pay the king of France a compensation for the charges of the war.⁽⁴⁾

But the mortification which Henry, who had been accustomed to give law to his enemies, received from these humiliating conditions, was light in comparison of what he experienced from another cause on that occasion. When he demanded a list of the persons to whom he was to grant an indemnity for

(1) *Annal. Waverl.* Bened. Abbas.

(2) *Benedict. Abbas. R. Hoveden.*

(3) *Benedict. Abbas*

(4) *M. Paris. Bened. Abbas. R. Hoveden.*

confederating with Richard, he was astonished to find at the head of them the name of his favourite son John, who had always shared his confidence, and who, on account of his influence with the king, had often excited the jealousy of Richard. Overloaded with cares and sorrows, and robbed of his last domestic comfort, this unhappy father broke out into expressions of the utmost despair: he cursed the day of his birth; and bestowed on his undutiful and ungrateful children a malediction which he could never be brought to retract.⁽¹⁾ The more his heart was disposed to friendship and affection, the more he resented the barbarous return which his four sons had successively made to his parental care; and this fatal discovery, by depriving him of all that made life desirable, quite broke his spirit, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he soon after expired, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur, in Normandy.

The character of Henry, both in public and private life, is almost without a blemish; and his natural endowments were equal to his moral qualities. He possessed every mental and personal accomplishment which can make a man either estimable or amiable. He was of a middle stature, strong and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his conversation affable and entertaining; his elocution easy, persuasive, and ever at command. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity, severe in the execution of justice without rigour, and temperate without austerity. He is said to have been of a very amorous complexion, and historians mention two of his natural sons by Rosamond, the fair daughter of lord Clifford—namely, Richard Longespee or Longsword (so called from the sword which he usually wore), who married the heiress of Salisbury; and Geoffrey, first bishop of Lincoln, and afterward archbishop of York. The other circumstances of the story commonly told of that lady seem to be fabulous, though adopted by many historical writers.

Like most of his predecessors of the Norman line, Henry spent more of his time on the continent than in England. He was surrounded by the English nobility and gentry when abroad; and the French nobility and gentry attended him when he returned to this island. All foreign improvements, therefore, in literature and politeness, in laws and arts, seem now to have been transplanted into England: and the spirit of liberty, which still continued to animate the breasts of the native English, communicated itself to the barons, who were all yet of Norman extraction, and made them both more desirous of independency themselves, and more willing to indulge it to the people, whom they had at first affected to despise, and of restraining those exorbitant prerogatives and arbitrary exactions to which the necessities of war and the violence of conquest had originally obliged them to submit.

The effects of this secret revolution in the sentiments of men we shall afterward have occasion to trace. At present I must return to the affairs of Germany; remarking by the way, that Henry II. left only two legitimate sons, Richard, who succeeded him, and John, commonly denominated Lackland, because he inherited no territory, though his father, at one time, had intended to leave him a large share of his extensive dominions.

LETTER XXIX.

The German Empire and its Dependencies. Rome and the Italian States, under Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, with some Account of the third Crusade.

I HAVE already observed, my dear Philip, that Frederic duke of Suabia, surnamed Barbarossa, a prince of great courage and capacity, was unanimously elected emperor on the death of his uncle Conrad III., not only by the Germans, but also by the Lombards, who gave their votes on that occasion. His

(1) R. Hoveden.

election was no sooner known, than almost all the princes of Europe sent ambassadors to Mersburg, to congratulate him on his elevation. The king of Denmark went thither in person for the investiture of his dominions; and Frederic crowned the Danish monarch with his own hand, and received the oath of allegiance from him as a vassal of the empire.(1)

But although the reign of Frederic thus auspiciously commenced, it was soon involved in troubles, which required all his courage and capacity to surmount, and which it would be tedious circumstantially to relate. I shall therefore only observe, that, after having settled the affairs of Germany, by restoring Bavaria to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, the emperor marched into Italy, in order to compose the disturbances of that country, and be crowned by the pope, in imitation of his predecessors.(2)

Adrian IV. who then filled St. Peter's chair, was an Englishman, and a great example of what may be done by personal merit and good fortune. The son of a mendicant, and long a mendicant himself, strolling from country to country, he was received as a servant to the canons of St. Rufus in Provence, where, after a time, he was admitted a monk, was raised to the rank of abbot and general of the order, and at length to the pontificate. Adrian was inclined to crown a vassal, but afraid of giving himself a master; he therefore insisted upon the Roman ceremonial; which required, that the emperor should prostrate himself before the pope, kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and lead the holy father's white palfrey by the bridle the distance of nine Roman paces.

Frederic looked upon this ceremony as an insult, and refused to submit to it. On his refusal, the cardinals fled, as if the emperor had given the signal of civil war; and the Roman chancery, which kept a register of every thing of this kind, assured him that his predecessors had always complied with these forms. The ceremony of kissing the pope's feet, which he knew to be the established custom, did not hurt Frederic's pride; but he could not bear that of holding the bridle and the stirrup, which he considered as an innovation: and indeed it does not appear that any emperor, except Lothario, successor to Henry V. had complied with this part of the ceremony. Frederic's pride, however, at length digested these two supposed affronts, which he construed only as empty marks of Christian humility, though the court of Rome viewed them as proofs of real subjection.(3)

But the emperor's difficulties were not yet over. The citizens of Rome sent him a deputation, insolently demanding the restoration of their ancient form of government, and offering to stipulate with him for the imperial dignity. "Charlemagne and Otho conquered you by their valour," replied Frederic, "and I am your master by right of succession: it is mine to prescribe laws, and yours to receive them." With these words he dismissed the deputies, and was inaugurated without the walls of the city by the pope, who put the sceptre into his hand, and the crown upon his head.(4)

The nature of the empire was then so little understood, and the pretensions so contradictory, that, on the one hand, the Roman citizens mutinied, and a great deal of blood was spilt, because the pope had crowned the emperor without the consent of the senate and the people; and, on the other hand, pope Adrian, by all his letters, declared, that he had conferred the *benefice* of the Roman empire on Frederic I. "*beneficium imperii Romani*;" now the word *beneficium* literally signified a fief, though his holiness explained it otherwise. Adrian likewise exhibited publicly in Rome a picture of the emperor Lothario on his knees before pope Alexander II., holding both his hands joined between those of the pontiff, which was the distinguishing mark of vassalage; and on the picture was this inscription:

*Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:
Post homo fit, papæ; sumit quo dante coronam.*(5)

(1) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.
(4) *Id. ibid.*

(2) *Id. ibid.* (3) Bunau. *Hist. Fred. I.* Murat. *Antiq. Ital.*
(5) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. Bunau, ubi sup.

"Before the gates the king appears,
Rome's honours to maintain he swears;
Then to the pope sinks lowly down,
Who grants him the imperial crown."

Frederic, who had retired to his German dominions, was at Besançon, when he received information of Adrian's insolence; and having expressed his displeasure at it, a cardinal then present made answer, "If he does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom does he hold it?" Enraged at this impertinent speech, Otho, count Palatine, would have run the author of it through the body, with the sword which he wore as marshal of the empire, had not Frederic prevented him. The cardinal immediately fled, and the pope entered into a treaty. The Germans then made use of no argument but force, and the court of Rome sheltered itself under the ambiguity of its expressions. Adrian declared, that *benefice*, according to his idea, signified a *favour*, not a *fief*, and he promised to put out of the way the painting of the consecration of Lothario. (1)

A few observations will not here be improper. Adrian IV., besieged by William I. king of Sicily, in Benevento, gave up to him several ecclesiastical pretensions. He consented that Sicily should never have any legate, nor be subject to any appeal to the See of Rome, except with the king's permission. Since that time, the kings of Sicily, though the only princes who are vassals of the pope, are in a manner popes themselves in their own island. The Roman pontiffs, thus at once adored and abused, somewhat resembled, to borrow a remark from Voltaire, the idols which the Indians scourge to obtain favours from them.

Adrian, however, fully revenged himself upon other princes who stood in need of him. He wrote in the following manner to Henry II. of England. "There is no doubt, and you acknowledge it, that Ireland, and all the islands which have received the faith, appertain to the Roman church; but if you want to take possession of that island, in order to banish vice from it, to enforce the observance of the Christian doctrines, and with an intent of paying the yearly tribute of St. Peter's penny for every house, we with pleasure grant you our permission to conquer it." (2) Thus an English beggar, become bishop of Rome, bestowed Ireland, by his sole authority, upon an English king, who wanted to usurp it, and who had power to carry his design into execution.

The intrepid activity of Frederic Barbarossa had not only to subdue the pope, who disputed the empire; Rome, which refused to acknowledge a master; and many other cities of Italy, that asserted their independency; he had, at the same time, the Bohemians, who had mutinied against him, to humble: and also the Poles, with whom he was at war. Yet all this he effected. He conquered Poland, and erected it into a tributary kingdom: he quelled the tumults of Bohemia; and the king of Denmark is said to have renewed to the empire the homage for his dominions. (3) He secured the fidelity of the German princes, by rendering himself formidable to foreign nations; and flew back to Italy, where hopes of independency had arisen, in consequence of his troubles and perplexities. He found every thing there in confusion; not so much from the efforts of the several cities to recover their freedom, as from that party rage which constantly prevailed, as I have frequently had occasion to observe, at the election of a pope.

On the death of Adrian IV. two opposite factions tumultuously elected two persons known by the names of Victor IV. and Alexander III. The emperor's allies necessarily acknowledged the pope chosen by him; and those princes, who were jealous of the emperor, acknowledged the other. What was the shame and scandal of Rome, therefore became the signal of division over all Europe. Victor IV. Frederic's pope, had Germany, Bohemia, and one half

(1) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. Bunau, ubi sup.

(3) *Annal. de l'Emp.*

(2) M. Paris. Girald. Cambr. Spelman. *Concil*

of Italy on his side. The other kingdoms and states submitted to Alexander III. in honour of whom the Milanese, who were avowed enemies to the emperor, built the city of Alexandria. In vain did Frederic's party endeavour to have it called Cæsaria, the pope's name prevailed: and it was afterward called, out of derision, *Alexandria del Paglia*, or *Alexandria built of straw*, on account of the meanness of its buildings.(1)

Happy had it been for Europe, if that age had produced no disputes attended with more fatal consequences; but unfortunately that was not the case. Milan, for maintaining its independency, was, by the emperor's orders, razed to the foundations, and salt strewed upon its ruins; Brescia and Placentia were dismantled by the conqueror; and all the other cities which had aspired at independency, were deprived of their privileges.

Pope Alexander III. however, who had excited these revolts, and had been obliged to take refuge in France, returned to Rome, after the death of his rival; and, at his return, the civil war was renewed. The emperor caused another pope to be elected, under the appellation of Pascal III. who also dying in a short time, a third was nominated by Frederic, under the title of Calixtus III. Meanwhile Alexander was not intimidated. He solemnly excommunicated the emperor; and the flames of civil discord, which he had raised, continued to spread. The chief cities of Italy, supported by the Greek emperor, and the king of Sicily, entered into an association for the defence of their liberties; and the pope, at length, proved stronger by negotiating than the emperor by fighting. The imperial army, worn out by fatigues and diseases, was defeated by the confederates, and Frederic himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner. About the same time he was defeated at sea by the Venetians, and his eldest son Henry, who commanded his fleet, fell into the hands of the enemy. Pope Alexander, in honour of this victory, sailed out into the Adriatic sea, or Gulf of Venice, accompanied by the whole senate; and, after having pronounced a thousand benedictions on that element, threw into it a ring as a mark of his gratitude and affection. Hence the origin of that ceremony which is annually performed by the Venetians, under the notion of espousing the Adriatic.(2)

In consequence of these misfortunes, the emperor was disposed to an accommodation with the pope; but his pride would not permit him to make any humiliating advance. He therefore rallied his troops, and exerted himself with so much vigour in repairing his loss, that he was soon in a condition to risk another battle, in which his enemies were worsted; and being no less a politician than a general, he seized this fortunate moment to signify his desire of peace to Alexander III. who received the proposals with great joy. Venice had the honour of being the place of reconciliation. The emperor, the pope, and a number of princes and cardinals, repaired to that city, then mistress of the sea, and one of the wonders of the world. There the emperor put an end to his bloody dispute with the see of Rome, by acknowledging the pope, kissing his feet, and holding his stirrup while he mounted his mule.(3)

This reconciliation was attended with the submission of all the towns in Italy, which had entered into an association for their mutual defence. They obtained a general pardon, and were left at liberty to use their own laws and forms of government, but were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, as their superior lord.

Calixtus, the antipope, finding himself abandoned by the emperor, in consequence of that treaty, made his submissions to Alexander III. who received him with great humanity; and in order to prevent, for the future, those schisms which had so often attended the election of popes, his holiness called a general council, in which it was decreed, that no pope should be deemed duly elected without having the votes of two thirds of the college of cardinals in his favour.(4)

The affairs of Italy being thus settled, the emperor returned to Germany

(1) Murat, *Antiq. Ital.*

(3) Bunau, *Hist. Fred. I.*

(2) Ibid.

(4) Mosheïm, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii.

where Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, had raised fresh troubles. He was a proud, haughty and turbulent prince, like most of his predecessors, and not only oppressed his own subjects, but committed violences against all his neighbours. His natural pride was not diminished by his alliance with the king of England, whose daughter he had married. Glad of an opportunity of being revenged upon Henry, who had abandoned him in his Italian expedition, Frederic convoked a diet at Goslar, where the duke was put to the ban of the empire; and, after a variety of struggles the sentence was put in execution. He was divested of all his dominions, which were bestowed upon different vassals of the empire.

Sensible of his folly when too late, the degraded duke threw himself at the emperor's feet, and begged with great humility that some of his territories might be restored. Frederic, touched with his unfortunate condition, referred him to a diet of the empire at Erfurt. There Henry endeavoured to acquit himself of the crimes laid to his charge. But as it was impracticable immediately to withdraw his fiefs from the present possessors, the emperor advised him to reside in England, until the princes who had shared his dominions could be persuaded to relinquish them; and he promised that, in the mean time, no attempts should be made upon the territories of Brunswic or Lunenburg, which he would protect in behalf of Henry's children. In compliance with this advice, the duke retired to England, where he was hospitably entertained by his father-in-law, Henry II. and there his wife bore him a fourth son, from whom the present house of Brunswic, and consequently the present royal family of England, is descended.(1)

While tranquillity was, in this manner, happily restored to Italy and Germany, the Oriental Christians were in the utmost distress. The great Saladin, a prince of Persian extraction, and born in the small country of the Curdes, a nation always warlike, and always free, having fixed himself, by his bravery and conduct, on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conquest over all the East; and finding the settlements of the Christians in Palestine an invincible obstacle to the progress of his arms, he bent the whole force of his policy and valour to subdue that small and barren but important territory. Taking advantage of the dissensions which prevailed among the champions of the Cross, and having secretly gained the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded Palestine with a mighty force; and, aided by the treachery of that count, gained at Tiberias a complete victory over them, which utterly broke the power of the already languishing kingdom of Jerusalem. The holy city itself fell into his hands, after a feeble resistance: the kingdom of Antioch also was almost entirely subdued by his arms; and, except some maritime towns, nothing of importance remained of those boasted conquests, which, near a century before, had cost the efforts of all Europe to acquire.(2)

Clement III. who then filled the papal chair, no sooner received these melancholy tidings, than he ordered a crusade to be preached through all the countries in Christendom. Europe was filled with grief and astonishment at the progress of the Infidels in Asia. To give a check to it seemed the common cause of Christians. Frederic Barbarossa, who was at that time employed in making regulations for the preservation of the peace and good order of Germany, assembled a diet at Mentz, in order to deliberate with the states of the empire on this subject. He took the cross; and his example was followed by his son Frederic, duke of Suabia, together with sixty-eight of the most eminent German nobles, ecclesiastics as well as laymen. The rendezvous was appointed at Ratisbon; and in order to prevent the inconvenience of too great a multitude, the emperor decreed, that no person should take the cross who could not afford to expend three marks of silver. But notwithstanding that regulation, wisely calculated to prevent those necessities which had ruined the former armies, so great was the zeal of the Germans, that adventurers assembled to the number of one hundred and fifty

(1) *Annal. de l'Emp. tom. I.*(2) Malmbourg, *Hist. des Croisades.*

thousand fighting men, well armed, and provided with necessaries for the expedition.(1)

Before his departure, Frederic made a progress through the principal cities of Germany, accompanied by his son Henry, to whom he intended to commit the government of the empire, and that he might omit nothing necessary to the preservation of peace and harmony during his absence, he endeavoured so to regulate the succession to his dominions as that none of his children should have cause to complain, or any pretext to disturb the public tranquillity.

The emperor in person marched at the head of thirty thousand men, by the way of Vienna, to Presburg, where he was joined by the rest of his army. He thence proceeded through Hungary, into the territories of the Greek emperor, who, notwithstanding his professions of friendship, had been detached from the interests of Frederic by Saladin's promises and insinuations, and took all opportunities of harassing the Germans in their march. Incensed at this perfidy, Frederic laid the country under contribution; took and plundered Philippolis; defeated a body of Greek troops that attacked him by surprise; and compelled Isaacus Angelus, emperor of Constantinople, to sue for peace. He wintered at Adrianople; crossed the Hellespont in the spring; refreshed his troops a short time in Laodicea; defeated the Turks in several battles; took and pillaged the city of Iconium, and crossed Mount Taurus. All Asia was filled with the terror of his arms. He seemed to be among the soldiers of the cross what Saladin was among the Turks—an able politician, and a good general, tried by fortune. The Oriental Christians therefore flattered themselves with certain relief from his assistance. But their hopes were suddenly blasted. This great prince was an expert swimmer, ventured to bathe in the cold river Cydnus, in order to refresh himself after fatigue in a sultry climate, perhaps in emulation of the Macedonian conqueror; and by that means caught a mortal distemper, which at once put an end to his life and his bold enterprise.(2)

Thus unfortunately perished Frederic I. in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign—a prince of a firm spirit and strong talents, who had the good of his country always at heart, and who supported the dignity of the empire with equal courage and reputation. He was succeeded in the imperial throne by his son Henry VI. surnamed the severe.—But before I enter on the reign of that prince, my dear Philip, I must carry forward the history of the third crusade, continued by the kings of France and England.

LETTER XXX.

France and England, from the Death of Henry II. to the Granting of the great Charter by King John, with a further Account of the third Crusade.

THE death of Henry II. was an event esteemed equally fortunate by his son Richard, and by Philip Augustus, king of France. Philip had lost a dangerous and implacable enemy, and Richard got possession of that crown which he had so eagerly pursued. Both seemed to consider the recovery of the Holy Land as the sole purpose of their government; yet neither was so much impelled to that pious undertaking by superstition, as by the love of military glory. The king of England, in particular, carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that, when advised by a zealous preacher of the crusade, (who from that merit had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths) to rid himself of his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which the priest affectingly called the king's three favourite daughters, Richard promptly replied, "You counsel well!—and I hereby dispose of the first to

(1) Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*. Bunau, *ubi supra*.

(2) Maimbourg, *ubi sup.* Bunau, *Hist. Fred. I.*

the Templars, of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third to my Bishops.”(1)

The reiterated calamities attending the former crusades taught the kings of France and England the necessity of trying another road to the Holy Land. They determined to conduct their armies thither by sea; to carry provisions along with them; and, by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own states, and with all the western parts of Europe. The first place of rendezvous was the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, when Philip and Richard found their armies amount to one hundred thousand men: an invincible force, animated by religion and glory, and conducted by two warlike monarchs. They renewed their promises of mutual friendship; pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the crusade, and, exchanging the oaths of all their barons and prelates to the same effect, then separated. Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marseilles, both with a view of meeting their fleets, which were severally appointed to assemble in those harbours.(2) They put to sea together; and both, nearly about the same time, were obliged by stress of weather to take shelter in Messina, where they were detained during the whole winter. This event laid the foundation of animosities between them, which were never afterward entirely removed, and proved ultimately fatal to their armament.

But before I proceed to that subject, a few words relative to the character and circumstances of the two princes will be necessary. Philip and Richard, though professed friends, were, by the situation and extent of their dominions, rivals in power; by their age and inclinations, competitors for glory; and these causes of emulation, which might have stimulated them to martial efforts, had they been acting in the field against the common enemy, soon excited quarrels, during their present leisure, between monarchs of such fiery tempers. Equally haughty, ambitious, intrepid, and inflexible, they were irritated at the least appearance of injury, and they were incapable, by mutual condescensions, to efface those occasions of complaint which mutually arose between them. Nor were other sources of discord wanting.

William II. the last king of Naples and Sicily, had married Joan, sister to Richard; and that prince, dying without issue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal sister Constantia, the only legitimate offspring surviving of Roger, the Norman, who conquered those states from the Greeks and Saracens, as we have already seen. Henry VI. then emperor of Germany, had married this princess, in expectation of that rich inheritance; but Tancred, her natural brother, by his interest among the Sicilian nobles, had acquired possession of the throne, and maintained his claim against all the efforts of the empire. The approach of the crusaders naturally gave the king of Sicily apprehensions for his unstable government: and he was uncertain whether he had most reason to dread the presence of the French or English monarch. Philip was engaged in strict alliance with the emperor, Tancred's competitor; Richard was disgusted by his rigour towards the queen-dowager, whom he confined in Palermo, because she had opposed his succession to the crown. Sensible therefore of the delicacy of his situation, Tancred resolved to pay his court to both these princes: nor was he unsuccessful in his endeavours. He persuaded Philip, that it would be highly improper to interrupt the expedition against the infidels, by any attack upon a Christian prince; he restored queen Joan to her liberty, and even found means to make an alliance with Richard. But before this friendship was cemented, Richard, jealous both of Tancred and the inhabitants of Messina, had taken up his quarters in the suburbs, and possessed himself of a small fort which commanded the harbour. The citizens took umbrage. Mutual insults and injuries passed between them and the English soldiers. Philip, who had quartered his troops in the town, endeavoured to accommodate the quarrel, and held a conference with Richard for that purpose.

(1) M. Westminst.

(2) R. Hoveden. Gaus. Vinisuf. *Iter Hierosol* lib ii

While the two kings, who met in the open fields, were engaged in discourse on this subject, a body of the Sicilians seemed to be drawing towards them. Richard, always ardent and impatient, pushed forward, in order to learn the cause of that extraordinary movement; and the English adventurers, insolent from their power, and inflamed by former animosities, wanting only a pretence to attack the Messinese, chased them from the field, drove them into the town, and entered with them at the gates. The king employed his authority to restrain them from pillaging or massacring the defenceless inhabitants; but he gave orders that the standard of England, in token of his victory, should be erected on the walls. Philip, who considered the city of Messina as his quarters, exclaimed against the arrogance of the English monarch, and ordered some of his troops to pull down the standard. But Richard informed him by a messenger, that although he would willingly himself remove that ground of offence, he would not permit it to be done by others; and if the French king attempted such an insult on his dignity, he should not succeed but by the utmost effusion of blood. Philip, satisfied with this species of haughty condescension, recalled his orders, and the difference was seemingly accommodated; but the seeds of rancour and jealousy still remained in the breasts of the two monarchs.(1)

After leaving Sicily, the English fleet was assailed by a furious tempest. It was driven on the coast of Cyprus, and some of the vessels were wrecked near Lemisso in that island. Isaac Comnenus, despot of Cyprus, who had assumed the magnificent title of emperor, pillaged the ships that were stranded, and threw the seamen and passengers into prison. But Richard, who arrived soon after, took ample vengeance on him for the injury. He disembarked his troops; defeated the tyrant, who opposed his landing; entered Lemisso by storm; gained next day a second victory; obliged Isaac to surrender at discretion; established governors over the island; and afterward conferred it as a sovereignty upon Guy of Lusignan, the expelled king of Jerusalem. Thrown into prison, and loaded with irons, the Greek prince complained of the little respect with which he was treated. Richard ordered silver fetters to be made for him; and this phantom of an emperor, pleased with the distinction, expressed a sense of the generosity of his conqueror.(2)

Richard, by reason of these transactions at Cyprus, was later of arriving in Asia than Philip. But the English monarch came opportunely to partake in the glory of the siege of Ptolemais; a seaport town, which had been invested above two years, by the united forces of all the Christians in Palestine, and defended by the utmost efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. Before this place, Frederick, duke of Suabia, son of the emperor Barbarossa, and who succeeded him in the command, together with the remains of the German army, had perished. The arrival of the armies of France and England, however, with Philip and Richard at their head, inspired new life into the besiegers: and the emulation between these rival kings and rival nations, produced extraordinary acts of valour. Richard especially, animated by a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic spirit of that age, drew to himself the attention of all the religious and military world, and acquired a great and splendid reputation. Ptolemais was taken. The Saracen garrison, reduced to the last extremity, surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and the governor engaged that Saladin, besides paying a large sum for their ransom, should release two thousand five hundred Christian prisoners of distinction, and restore the wood of the true cross.(3)

Thus, my dear Philip, was this famous siege, which had so long engaged the attention of all Europe and Asia, brought to the desired close, after the loss of three hundred thousand men, exclusive of persons of superior rank; six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty earls, and five hundred barons. But the French monarch, instead of pursuing the hopes of farther conquest, and redeeming the holy city from slavery, being disgusted with the ascendant

(1) Bened. Abbas. M. Paris. G. Vinisauf. ubi sup.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Benedict. Abbas. G. Vinisauf. lib. iii. Saladin refused to ratify the treaty; and the Saracen prisoners to the number of five thousand, were inhumanly butchered. Id. ibid.

assumed a disguise by the king of England, and having views of many advantages which he might reap by his presence in Europe, declared his resolution of returning to France; and he pleaded his ill state of health as an excuse for his desertion of the common cause. He left however to Richard ten thousand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy; and he renewed his oath never to commit hostilities against that prince's territories during his absence. But no sooner did he reach Italy, than he applied to pope Celestine III. for a dispensation from his vow; and, though denied that request, he still proceeded, but after a more concealed manner, in his unjust projects. He seduced prince John, king Richard's brother, from his allegiance, and did every thing possible to blacken the character of that monarch himself; representing him as privy to the murder of the marquis de Montserrat, who had been taken off, as was well known, by an Asiatic chief, called *The old Man of the Mountain*, the prince of the *Assassins*—a word which has found its way into most European languages, from the practice of these bold and determined ruffians, against whom no precaution was sufficient to guard any man, how powerful soever, and whose resentment the marquis had provoked.(1)

But Richard's heroic actions in Palestine were the best apology for his conduct. The Christian adventurers, under his command, determined, on opening the campaign, to attempt the siege of Ascalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jerusalem; and they marched along the seacoast with that intention. Saladin proposed to intercept their passage, and placed himself on the road with an army of three hundred thousand combatants. On this occasion was fought one of the greatest battles of that age, and the most celebrated for the military genius of the commanders; for the number and valour of the troops, and for the great variety of events which attended it. The right wing of the Christian army commanded by d'Avesness, and the left conducted by the duke of Burgundy, were both broken in the beginning of the day, and in danger of being utterly defeated, when Richard, who commanded in the centre, and led on the main body, restored the battle. He attacked the enemy with admirable intrepidity and presence of mind; performed the part of a consummate general and gallant soldier; and not only gave his two wings leisure to recover from their confusion, but obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, forty thousand of whom are said to have been slain in the field.(2) Ascalon soon after fell into the hands of the Christians: other sieges were carried on with success; and Richard was even able to advance within sight of Jerusalem, the great object of his hopes and fears, when he had the mortification to find, that he must abandon all thoughts of immediate success, and put a stop to the career of victory.

Animated with an enthusiastic ardour for these holy wars, the champions of the cross, at first, laid aside all regard to safety or interest in the prosecution of their pious purpose; and trusting to the immediate assistance of Heaven, set nothing before their eyes but fame and victory in this world, and a crown of glory in the next. But long absence from home, fatigue, disease, famine, and the varieties of fortune which naturally attend war, had gradually abated that fury which nothing was able instantly to allay or withstand. Every leader, except the king of England, expressed a desire of speedily returning to Europe; so that there appeared an absolute necessity of abandoning, for the present, all hopes of farther conquest, and of securing the acquisitions of the adventurers by an accommodation with Saladin. Richard therefore concluded a truce with that monarch; stipulating that Ptolemais, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine, should remain in the hands of the Christians, and that every one of that religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem unmolested.(3) This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours—a magical number, suggested by a superstition well suited to the object of the war.

(1) W. Heming. J. Brompton. G. Vinisaufr. lib. iii. Rymer vol. i.

(2) G. Vinisaufr. lib. iv

(3) W. Heming. lib. ii. G. Vinisaufr. lib. vi.

Saladin died at Damascus, soon after concluding the truce with the leaders of the crusade. He was a prince of great generosity and valour; and it is truly memorable, that, during his fatal illness, he ordered his winding-sheet to be carried as a standard through every street of the city, while a crier went before the person who bore that ensign of mortality, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East!" His last will is also remarkable. He ordered charities to be distributed to the poor, without distinction of Jew, Christian, or Mahometan;(1) intending by this legacy to inculcate, that all men are brethren, and that, when we would assist them, we ought not to inquire what they believe, but what they feel—an admirable lesson to Christians, though from an Infidel. But the advantage of science, of moderation, and humanity, were at that time indeed entirely on the side of the Saracens.

After the truce Richard had no farther business in Palestine, and the intelligence which he received of the intrigues of his brother John and the king of France made him sensible that his presence was necessary in Europe. Not thinking it safe, however, to pass through France, he sailed to the Adriatic; and being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he put on the habit of a pilgrim, with an intention of taking his journey secretly through Germany. But his liberality and expenses betrayed him. He was arrested and thrown into prison by Leopold, duke of Austria, whom he had offended at the siege of Ptolemais, and who sold him to the emperor Henry VI. who had taken offence at Richard's alliance with Tancred, king of Sicily, and was glad to have him in his power.(2) Thus the gallant king of England, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himself, during the most critical state of his affairs, confined to a dungeon, in the heart of Germany, loaded with irons, and entirely at the mercy of his enemy, the basest and most sordid of mankind.(3)

While the high spirit of Richard suffered every insult and indignity in Germany, the king of France employed every means of force and intrigue, of war and negotiation, against the dominions and the person of his unfortunate rival. He made the emperor the largest offers, if he would deliver into his hands the royal prisoner: he formed an alliance by marriage with Denmark, desiring that the ancient Danish claim to the crown of England might be transferred to him: he concluded a treaty with prince John, the king's brother, who is said to have done homage to him for the English crown; and he invaded Normandy, while the traitor John attempted to make himself master of England.(4)

In the mean time Richard, being produced before a diet of the empire, made such an impression on the German princes, by his eloquence and spirit, that they exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor. The pope also threatened him with excommunication; and although Henry had listened to the proposals of the king of France and prince John, he found it would be impracticable for him to execute his and their base purposes, or to detain any longer the king of England in captivity. He therefore concluded a treaty with Richard for his ransom, and agreed to restore him to his freedom for one hundred and fifty thousand marks of pure silver, about three hundred thousand pounds of our present money;(5) an enormous sum in those days.

(1) W. Heming, lib. ii. G. Vinisau, lib. vi.

(2) W. Neubrig. M. Paris

(3) Chron. T. Wykes. Not only the place of Richard's confinement, if we believe the literary history of the times, but even the circumstance of his captivity, was carefully concealed by his vindictive enemies: and both might have remained unknown, but for the grateful attachment of a provengal bard, or minstrel, named Blondel, who had shared that prince's friendship and tasted his bounty. Having travelled over all the European continent to learn the history of his beloved patron, who was a poet, it appears, as well as a hero, Blondel accidentally got intelligence of a certain castle in Germany, where a prisoner of distinction was confined, and guarded with great vigilance. Persuaded by a secret impulse, that this prisoner was the king of England, the minstrel repaired to the place. But the gates of the castle were shut against him, and he could obtain no information relative to the name or quality of the unhappy person it secured. In this extremity, he bethought himself of an expedient for making the desired discovery. He chanted with a loud voice, some verses of a song, which had been composed partly by himself, partly by Richard; and to his unspeakable joy, on making a pause, he heard it re-echoed and continued by the royal captive. (*Hist. Troubadours.*) To this discovery the English monarch is said to have owed eventually his release.

(4) M. Paris. W. Heming. R. Hoveden.

(5) Rymer, vol. i

As soon as Philip heard of Richard's release, he wrote to his confederate John in these emphatical words: "Take care of yourself! the devil is broke loose." How different on this occasion were the sentiments of the English nation!—Their joy was extreme on the appearance of their king, who had acquired so much glory, and spread the reputation of their name to the farthest East. After renewing the ceremony of his coronation, amid the acclamations of all ranks of people, and reducing the fortresses which still remained in the hands of his brother's adherents, Richard passed over with an army into Normandy; impatient to make war upon Philip, and to revenge himself for the many injuries he had sustained from that monarch.(1)

When we consider two such powerful and warlike monarchs, inflamed with personal animosity against each other; enraged by mutual injuries; excited by rivalry; impelled by opposite interests, and instigated by the pride and violence of their own temper, our curiosity is naturally raised, and we expect an obstinate and furious war, distinguished by the greatest events, and concluded by some remarkable catastrophe. We find ourselves, however, entirely disappointed; the taking of a castle, the surprise of a straggling party, a rencounter of horse, which resembles more a rout than a battle, comprehend the whole of the exploits on both sides: a certain proof, as a great historian observes, of the weakness of princes in that age, and of the little authority which they possessed over their refractory vassals.(2)

During this war, which continued, with short intervals, till Richard's death, prince John deserted Philip, threw himself at his brother's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and was received into favour, at the intercession of his mother queen Eleanor. "I forgive him with all my heart," said the king; "and hope I shall as easily forget his offences, as he will my pardon."(3)

Peace was just ready to be concluded between England and France, when Richard was unfortunately slain by an arrow, before an inconsiderable castle which he besieged in hopes of taking from one of his vassals a great mass of gold which had been found hid in the earth. The story is thus related:

Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, had found a treasure, of which he sent part to the king, as a present. But Richard, as superior lord, claimed the whole and, at the head of some Brabançons, besieged the count in the castle of Chalus, in order to make him comply with his demand. The garrison offered to surrender; but the king replied, since he had taken the trouble to come thither and besiege the place in person, he would take it by force, and hang every one of them. The same day Richard, accompanied by Marcadee, leader of his Brabançons, went to survey the castle; when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his shoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the assault; took the place, and hanged all the garrison, except Gourdon, whom he reserved for a more cruel execution.(4)

Richard's wound was not in itself dangerous, but the unskilfulness of the surgeon made it mortal; and when the king found his end approaching, he sent for Gourdon, and demanded the reason why he sought his life. "My father, and my two brothers," replied the undaunted soldier, "fell by your sword, and you intended to have executed me. I am now in your power, and you may do your worst; but I shall endure the most severe torments with pleasure, provided I can think that Heaven has afforded me such great revenge, as, with my own hand, to be the cause of your death." Struck with the boldness of this reply, and humbled by his approaching dissolution, Richard ordered the prisoner to be set at liberty, and a sum of money to be given him. But the blood-thirsty Brabançon, Marcadee, a stranger to such generosity, seized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him.(5)

The most shining part of the character of Richard I. was his military

(1) R. Hoveden. (2) Hume, *Hist. England*. vol. i.

(3) M. Paris.

(4) R. Hoveden. J. Brompton.

(5) Hoveden. The Brabançons were ruffian mercenaries, formed out of the numerous bands of robbers who, during the middle ages, infested every country of Europe, and set the civil magistrate at defiance.

talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried personal courage or intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality obtained him the appellation of *Cœur de Lion*, or the *Lion-hearted Hero*. As he left no issue behind him, he was succeeded by his brother John.

The succession was disputed by Arthur, duke of Brittany, son of Geoffrey, the elder brother of John; and the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared in favour of this young prince's title. The king of France, whose daughter he espoused, also assisted him; and every thing promised success, when Arthur was unfortunately taken prisoner by his uncle John, and inhumanly murdered.

The fate of this unhappy prince is differently related, but the following account seems the most probable. After having employed unsuccessfully different assassins, John went himself in a boat, by night, to the castle of Rouen, where Arthur was confined, and ordered him to be brought forth. Aware of his danger, and subdued by the continuance of his misfortunes, and by the approach of death, the brave youth, who had before gallantly maintained the justice of his cause, threw himself on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy. But the barbarous tyrant, making no reply, stabbed his nephew to the heart, and, fastening a stone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine.(1)

John's misfortunes commenced with his crime. The whole world was struck with horror at his barbarity; and he was from that moment detested by his subjects, both in England and on the continent. The Bretons, disappointed in their fondest hopes, waged implacable war against him, in order to revenge the murder of their duke: and they carried their complaints before the French monarch, as superior lord, demanding justice for the inhuman violence committed by John on the person of Arthur. Philip II. received their application with pleasure; he summoned John to stand trial before him and his peers: and, on his non-appearance, he was declared guilty of felony and parricide, and all his foreign dominions were adjudged forfeited to the crown of France.(2)

Nothing now remained but the execution of this sentence, in order to complete the glory of Philip, whose active and ambitious spirit had long with impatience borne the neighbourhood of so powerful a vassal as the king of England. He therefore greedily embraced the present favourable opportunity of annexing to the French crown the English dominions on the continent; a project which the sound policy of Henry II. and the military genius of Richard I. had rendered impracticable to the most vigorous efforts, and most dangerous intrigues, of this able and artful prince. But the general defection of John's vassals rendered every enterprise easy against him; and Philip not only reunited Normandy to the crown of France, but successively reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poitou, under his dominion.(3) Thus, by the baseness of one prince, and the intrepidity of another, the French monarchy received, in a few years, such an accession of power and grandeur as, in the ordinary course of things, it would have required several ages to attain.

John's arrival in England completed his disgrace. He saw himself universally despised by the barons, on account of his pusillanimity and baseness; and a quarrel with the clergy drew upon him the contempt of that order, and the indignation of Rome. The papal chair was then filled by Innocent III., who, having been exalted to it at a more early period of life than usual, and being endowed with a lofty and enterprising genius, gave full scope to his ambition; and attempted, perhaps more openly than any of his predecessors, to convert that ghostly superiority, which was yielded him by all the European princes, into a real dominion over them; strongly inculcating that extra-

Excluded the protection of general society, these banditti formed a kind of government among themselves. Troops of them were sometimes enlisted in the service of one prince or baron, sometimes in that of another; and they often acted in an independent manner, under leaders of their own. W. Neubrig *Chron. Ger.*

(1) T. Wykes. W. Heming. M. Paris. H. Knighton

(2) *Annal. Morgan.* M. West.

(3) *Chron. Previt.* Ypod. Neust

gant maxim, "that neither princes nor bishops, civil governors nor ecclesiastical rulers, have any lawful power, in church or state, but what they derive from the pope." To this pontiff an appeal was made relative to the election of an archbishop of Canterbury. Two primates had been elected; one by the monks or canons of Christ-Church, Canterbury, and one by the suffragan bishops, who had the king's approbation. The pope declared both elections void; and commanded the monks, under penalty of excommunication, to choose for their primate cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and connected by his interests and attachments with the see of Rome. The monks complied; and John, inflamed with rage at such a usurpation of his prerogative, expelled them the convent; swearing by God's teeth, his usual oath, that, if the pope gave him any farther disturbance, he would banish all the bishops and clergy of England.(1) Innocent, nowever, knew his weakness, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; at that time the grand instrument of vengeance and policy employed against sovereigns by the court of Rome.

The execution of this sentence was artfully calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate with irresistible force on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was suddenly deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the relics, the images, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself had been profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all the churches; the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with shut doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that holy institution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptism of new-born infants, and the communion to the dying. The dead were not interred in consecrated ground: they were thrown into ditches, or buried in the common fields; and their obsequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. The people were prohibited the use of meat, as in Lent, and debarred from all pleasures and amusements. Every thing wore the appearance of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehensions of divine vengeance and indignation.(2)

While England groaned under this dreadful sentence, a new and very extraordinary scene disclosed itself on the continent. Pope Innocent III. published a crusade against the Albigenses, a species of sectaries in the South of France, whom he denominated heretics; because, like all sectaries, they neglected the rites of the church, and opposed the power and influence of the clergy. Moved by that mad superstition, which had hurried such armies into Asia, in order to combat the infidels, and the reigning passion for wars and adventures, people flocked from all parts of Europe to the standard of Simon de Montfort, the general of this crusade. The count of Thoulouse, who protected the Albigenses, was stripped of his dominions; and these unhappy people themselves, though the most inoffensive of mankind, were exterminated with all the circumstances of the most unfeeling barbarity.(3)

Innocent, having thus made trial of his power, carried still farther his ecclesiastical vengeance against the king of England, who was now both despised and hated by his subjects of all ranks and conditions. He gave the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, authority to denounce against John the sentence of excommunication. His subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and a sentence of deposition soon followed. But as this last

(1) M. Paris.

(2) John, besides banishing the bishops, and confiscating the estates of all the ecclesiastics who obeyed the interdict, took a very singular and severe revenge upon the clergy. In order to distress them in the tenderest point, and at the same time expose them to reproach and ridicule, he threw into prison all their concubines. (M. Paris. *Ann. Waverl.*) These concubines were a sort of inferior wives, politically indulged to the clergy by the civil magistrate, after the members of that sacred body were enjoined celibacy by the canons of the church. Padre Paolo. *Hist. Conc. Trid.* lib. i.

(3) *Hist. Albig.*

sentence required an armed force to execute it, the pontiff pitched on Philip II. king of France, as the person into whose hand he could most properly intrust so terrible a weapon: and he proffered that monarch, beside the remission of all his sins, and endless spiritual benefits, the kingdom of England as the reward of his labour.(1)

Seduced by the prospect of present interest, Philip accepted the pope's liberal offer; although he thereby ratified an authority which might one day tumble him from his throne, and which it was the common concern of all princes to oppose. He levied a great army; summoned all the vassals of his crown to attend him at Rouen; collected a fleet of seventeen hundred vessels, great and small, in the sea-ports of Normandy and Picardy; and partly by the zeal of the age, partly by the personal regard universally paid him, prepared a force which seemed equal to the greatness of his enterprise. John, on the other hand, issued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military vassals at Dover, and even of all able-bodied men, to defend the kingdom in this dangerous extremity. An infinite number appeared, out of which he selected an army of sixty thousand men.(2) He had also a formidable fleet at Portsmouth, and he might have relied on the fidelity of both; not indeed from their attachment to him, but from that spirit of emulation which has so long subsisted between the natives of England and France.

All Europe was held in expectation of a decisive action between the two kings, when the pope artfully tricked them both, and took to himself that tempting prize which he had pretended to hold out to Philip. This extraordinary transaction was negotiated by Pandolfo, the pope's legate to France and England. In his way through France, he observed Philip's great armament, and highly commended his zeal and diligence. He thence passed to Dover, under pretence of negotiating with the barons in favour of the French king, and had a conference with John on his arrival. He magnified to that prince the number of the enemy, and the disaffection of his own subjects; intimating, that there was yet one way, and but one, to secure himself from the impending danger; namely, to put himself under the protection of the pope, who, like a kind and merciful father, was still willing to receive him into his bosom.

John, labouring under the apprehensions of present terror, listened to the insidious proposal, and abjectly agreed to hold his dominions as a feudatory of the church of Rome. In consequence of this agreement, he did homage to the pope in the person of his legate, Pandolfo, with all the humiliating rites which the feudal law required of vassals before their liege-lord and superior. He came disarmed into the presence of the legate, who was seated on a throne; he threw himself on his knees before it: he lifted up his joined hands, and put them between those of Pandolfo, and swore fealty to the pope in the following words: "I John, by the grace of God, king of England, and lord of Ireland, for the expiation of my sins, and out of my own free will, with the advice and consent of my barons, do give unto the church of Rome, and to pope Innocent III. and his successors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, together with all the rights belonging to them; and will hold them of the pope, as his vassal. I will be faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the pope my lord, and to his successors lawfully elected: and I bind myself to pay him a tribute of one thousand marks of silver yearly; to wit, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ireland."(3)

Part of the money was immediately paid to the legate, as an earnest of the subjection of the kingdom; after which the crown and sceptre were also delivered to him. The insolent Italian trampled the money under his feet, indicating thereby the pope's superiority and the king's dependent state, and kept the regalia five days; then returned them to John, as a favour from the pope, their common master.

During this shameful negotiation, the French monarch waited impatiently

(1) M. Paris. M. Westminster.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Rymer, vol. I. M. Paris, *Hist. Major*.

at Boulogne for the legate's return, in order to put to sea. The legate at length returned; and the king, to his utter astonishment, was given to understand that he was no longer permitted to attack England, which was become a fief of the church of Rome, and its king a vassal of the Holy See. Philip was enraged at this intelligence: he swore he would no longer be the dupe of such hypocritical pretences; nor would he have desisted from his enterprise but for weightier reasons. His fleet was utterly destroyed by that of England; and the emperor Otho IV., who at once disputed the empire with Frederic II. son to Henry VI., and Italy with the pope, as we shall afterward have occasion to see, had entered into an alliance with his uncle, the king of England, in order to oppose the designs of France, now become formidable to the rest of Europe. With this view he put himself at the head of a prodigious force; and the French monarch seemed in danger of being crushed for having grasped at a present proffered him by the pope.

Philip, however, advanced undismayed to meet his enemies, with an army of fifty thousand chosen men, commanded by the chief nobility of France, and including twelve hundred knights, and between six and seven thousand *gens d'armes*. The emperor Otho, on the other side, had with him the earl of Salisbury, bastard brother to king John, the count of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, seven or eight German princes, and a force superior to that of Philip. The two armies met near the village of Bouvines, between Lisle and Tournay, where the allies were totally routed, and thirty thousand Germans are said to have been slain. (1)

This victory established for ever the glory of Philip, and gave full security to all his dominions. John could therefore hope for nothing farther than henceforth to rule his own kingdom in peace; and his close alliance with the pope, which he was determined at any price to maintain, ensured him, as he imagined, the certain attainment of that felicity. How much was he deceived! A truce was indeed concluded with France, but the most grievous scene of this prince's misfortunes still awaited him. He was doomed to humble himself before his own subjects, that the rights of Englishmen might be restored, and the privileges of humanity secured and ascertained.

The conquest of England by William the Norman, and the introduction of the feudal government into the kingdom, had much infringed the liberties of the natives. The whole people were reduced to a state of vassalage under the kings or barons, and even the greater part of them to a state of actual slavery. The necessity also of devolving great power into the hands of a prince who was to maintain a military dominion over a vanquished nation, had induced the Norman barons to subject themselves to a more absolute authority, as I have already had occasion to observe, than men of their rank commonly submitted to in other feudal governments; so that England, during the course of a hundred and fifty years, had groaned under a tyranny unknown to all the kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. Prerogatives once exalted are not easily reduced. Different concessions had been made by different princes, in order to serve their temporary purposes; but these were soon disregarded, and the same unlimited authority continued to be exercised both by them and their successors. The feeble reign of John, a prince equally odious and contemptible to the whole nation, seemed therefore to afford all ranks of men a happy opportunity of recovering their natural and constitutional rights;—and it was not neglected.

The barons entered into a confederacy, and formally demanded a restoration of their privileges; and, that their cause might wear the greater appearance of justice, they also included those of the clergy and the people. They took arms to enforce their request: they laid waste the royal domains: and John, after employing a variety of expedients, in order to divert the blow aimed at the prerogatives of his crown, was obliged to lower himself and treat with his subjects.

A conference was held between the king and the barons at Runnemeade

between Windsor and Staines; a spot ever since deservedly celebrated, and even hallowed by every zealous lover of liberty. There John, after a debate of some days, signed and sealed the famous *Magna Charta*, or GREAT CHARTER; which either granted or secured very important privileges to every order of men in the kingdom—to the barons, to the clergy, and to the people.

What these privileges particularly were you will best learn, my dear Philip, from the charter itself, which deserves your most early and continued attention, as it involves all the great outlines of a regal government, and provides for the equal distribution of justice, and free enjoyment of property, the chief objects for which political society was first founded by men, which the people have a perpetual and unalienable right to recall, and which no time, nor precedent, nor statute, nor positive institution, ought to deter them from keeping ever uppermost in their thoughts.(1)

The better to secure the execution of this charter, the barons stipulated with the king for the privilege of choosing twenty-five members, of their own order, as conservators of the public liberties: and no bounds were set to the authority of these noblemen, either in extent or duration. If complaint was made of the violation of the charter, any four of the conservators might admonish the king to redress the grievance; and if satisfaction was not obtained, they could assemble the whole council of twenty-five. This august body, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, was empowered to compel him to observe the charter; and, in case of resistance, might levy war against him. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to the five and twenty barons; and the freeholders of each county were to choose twelve knights, who should make report of such evil customs as required redress, conformable to the tenor of the Great Charter.(2)

In what manner John acted after granting the charter, and under these regulations to which he seemed passively to submit, together with their influence on the English constitution, and on the affairs of France, we shall afterward have occasion to see. At present we must cast our eyes on the other states of Europe.

LETTER XXXI.

The German Empire and its Dependencies, Rome, and the Italian States, from the Accession of Henry VI. to the Election of Rodolph of Hapsburg, Founder of the House of Austria, with a Continuation of the History of the Crusades

It is necessary, my dear Philip, that I should here recapitulate a little, for there is no portion of modern history more perplexed than that under review.

The emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, died as you have seen, in his expedition to the Holy Land; and his son, Henry VI., received almost at the same time intelligence of the death of his father and his brother-in-law, William king of Naples and Sicily, to whose dominions he was heir in right of his wife. After settling the affairs of Germany, he levied an army, and marched into Italy, in order to be crowned by the pope, and go with the empress Constantia to recover the succession of Sicily, which was usurped by Tancred, her natural brother. With this view he endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the Lombards, by enlarging the privileges of Genoa, Pisa, and other

(1) The most valuable stipulation in this charter, and the grand security of the lives, liberties, and properties of Englishmen, was the following concession. "No freeman shall be apprehended, or imprisoned or disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or any other way destroyed; nor will we go upon him, nor will we send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." *Mag. Chart. Art. xxxii.* The stipulation next in importance seems to be the singular concession, that "to no man will we sell, to no man will we delay, right and justice." (*Ibid. Art. xxxiii.*) These concessions show, in a very strong light, the violence and iniquitous practices of the Anglo-Norman princes.

(2) *M. Paris Rvmer vol. i.*

cities, in his way to Rome. There the ceremony of coronation was performed the day after Easter, by Celestine III., accompanied with a very remarkable circumstance. That pope, who was then in his eighty-sixth year, had no sooner placed the crown upon Henry's head, than he kicked it off again; as a testimony of the power residing in the sovereign pontiff, to make and unmake emperors.(1)

Henry now prepared for the conquest of Naples and Sicily, in which he was opposed by the pope. For although Celestine considered Tancred as a usurper, and wanted to see him deprived of the crown of Sicily, which he claimed, in imitation of his predecessors, as a fief of the holy see, he was still more averse against the emperor's possessing that kingdom; because such an accession of territory would have rendered him too powerful in Italy for the interests of the church. He dreaded so formidable a vassal. Henry, however, without paying any regard to the threats and remonstrances of his holiness, took almost all the towns of Campania, Apulia, and Calabria; invested the city of Naples, and sent for the Genoese fleet, which he had engaged to come and form a blockade by sea. But, before its arrival, he was obliged to raise the siege, in consequence of a dreadful mortality among his troops, and all future attempts upon the kingdom of Naples and Sicily proved ineffectual during the life of Tancred.(2)

The emperor, after his return to Germany, incorporated the Teutonic knights into a regular order, religious and military, and built a house for them at Coblenz. These Teutonic knights, and also the knights Templars, and knights Hospitallers, were originally monks, who settled in Jerusalem, when it was first taken by the champions of the Cross. They were established into religious fraternities for the relief of distressed pilgrims, and for the care of the sick and wounded, without any hostile purpose. But the holy city being afterward in danger, they took up arms, and made a vow to combat the Infidels, as they had formerly done to combat their own carnal inclinations. The enthusiastic zeal of the times increased their members: they grew wealthy and honourable; were patronised in Europe by different princes, and became a militia of conquerors.(3) Their exploits I shall have occasion to relate.

In what manner Richard I. king of England was arrested, on his return from the Holy Land, by Leopold, duke of Austria, and detained prisoner by the emperor, we have already seen. As soon as Henry had received the money for that prince's ransom, he made new preparations for the conquest of Sicily; and Tancred dying about the same time, he effected his purpose by the assistance of the Genoese. The queen dowager surrendered Salerno, and her right to the crown, on condition that her son William should possess the principality of Tarentum. But Henry, joining the most atrocious cruelty to the basest perfidy, no sooner found himself master of the place, than he ordered the infant king to be castrated; to have his eyes put out, and be confined in a dungeon. The royal treasure was transported to Germany, and the queen and her daughters were shut up in a convent.(4)

While these things were transacting in Sicily, the empress, though near the age of fifty, was delivered of a son named Frederic. And Henry, in the plenitude of his power, assembled soon after a diet of the German princes to whom he explained his intention of rendering the imperial crown hereditary, in order to prevent those disturbances which attended the election of emperors. A decree was passed for that purpose; and Frederic II., yet in his cradle, was declared king of the Romans.(5)

In the meantime the emperor was solicited by the pope to engage in a new crusade, for the relief of the Christians in the Holy Land. Henry obeyed, but took care to turn it to his advantage. He convoked a general diet at Worms, where he solemnly declared his resolution of employing his whole power, and even of hazarding his life, for the accomplishment of so holy an undertaking; and he expatiated on the subject with so much eloquence, that almost the

(1) R. Hoveden. *Annal. Hellas*, lib. ii.

(2) Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* lib. xv.

(3) Helyot. *Hist. des Ordres*.

(4) Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* Relius, de *Reg. Napol. et Sicil.*

(5) Lunig. *Arch. Imp.* Heiss, lib. ii

whole assembly took the cross. Nay, such multitudes, from all the provinces of the empire, enlisted themselves, that Henry divided them into three large armies; one of which, under the command of the bishop of Mentz, took the route of Hungary, where it was joined by Margaret queen of that country, who entered herself in this pious expedition, and actually ended her days in Palestine. The second army was assembled in Lower Saxony, and embarked in a fleet furnished by the inhabitants of Lubec, Hamburg, Holstein, and Friesland, and the emperor in person conducted the third into Italy, in order to take vengeance upon the Normans of Naples and Sicily, who had risen against his government.(1)

The rebels were humbled, and their chiefs condemned to perish by the most excruciating tortures. One Jornandi, of the house of the Norman princes, was tied naked on a chair of red-hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the same burning metal, which was nailed to his head. The empress, shocked at such cruelty, renounced her faith to her husband, and encouraged her countrymen to recover their liberties. Resolution sprung from despair. The inhabitants betook themselves to arms, the empress Constantia headed them; and Henry, having dismissed his troops, no longer thought necessary to his bloody purposes, and sent them to pursue their expedition to the Holy Land, (blessed atonement for his crimes and theirs!) was obliged to submit to his wife, and to the conditions which she was pleased to impose on him in favour of the Sicilians. He died at Messina soon after this treaty; and, as was supposed, of poison administered by the empress, who saw the ruin of her country hatching in his perfidious and vindictive heart.(2)

But Henry, amid all his baseness, possessed many great qualities. He was active, eloquent, brave; his administration was vigorous, and his policy deep. None of the successors of Charlemagne was ever more feared and obeyed, either at home or abroad.

The emperor's son Frederic, having already been declared king of the Romans, became emperor on the death of his father. But as Frederic II. was yet a minor, the administration was committed to his uncle, Philip duke of Suabia, both by the will of Henry and by an assembly of the German princes. Other princes, however, incensed to see an elective empire become hereditary, held a new diet at Cologne, and chose Otho duke of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion. Frederic's title was confirmed in a third assembly, at Arnshurg; and his uncle Philip was elected king of the Romans, in order to give greater weight to his administration.(3)

These two elections divided the empire into two powerful factions, and involved all Germany in ruin and desolation. Innocent III., who had succeeded Celestine in the papal chair, threw himself into the scale of Otho, and excommunicated Philip and all his adherents. This able and ambitious pontiff (of whom I have already had occasion to speak) was a sworn enemy to the house of Suabia; not from any personal animosity, but out of a principle of policy. That house had long been terrible to the popes, by its continued possession of the imperial crown; and the accession of the king of Naples and Sicily made it still more to be dreaded. Innocent, therefore, gladly seized the present favourable opportunity for divesting the house of Suabia of the empire, by supporting the election of Otho, and sowing divisions among the Suabian party. Otho was also patronised by his uncle, the king of England; a circumstance which naturally inclined the king of France to the side of his rival. Faction clashed with faction; friendship with interest; caprice, ambition, or resentment, gave the sway; and nothing was beheld on all hands but the horrors and miseries of civil war.(4)

Meanwhile the empress Constantia remained in Sicily, where all was peace, as regent and guardian for her infant son, Frederic II., who had been crowned king of that island, with the consent of pope Celestine III. But she also had her troubles. A new investiture from the Holy See being necessary on the death of Celestine, Innocent III., his successor, took advantage of the critical

(1) Giannone, *Hist. di Napoli*.

(3) Krantz, lib. viii. Heiss, lib. ii.

(2) Id. *ibid.* Bellus, ubi sup.(4) Id. *ibid.* *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom i

situation of affairs for aggrandizing the papacy at the expense of the kings of Sicily. They possessed, as we have seen, the privilege of filling up vacant benefices, and of judging all ecclesiastical causes in the last appeal: they were really popes in their own islands, though vassals of his holiness. Innocent pretended that these powers had been surreptitiously obtained; and demanded, that Constantia should renounce them in the name of her son, and do liege, pure, and simple homage for Sicily. But before any thing was settled relative to this affair, the empress died, leaving the regency of the kingdom to the pope; so that he was enabled to prescribe what conditions he thought proper to young Frederic.(1)

The troubles of Germany still continued; and the pope redoubled his efforts to detach the princes and prelates from the cause of Philip, king of the Romans, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the king of France. To these remonstrances he proudly replied, "either Philip must lose the empire, or I the papacy."(2)

But all these dissensions and troubles in Europe did not prevent the formation of another crusade, or expedition into Asia, for the recovery of the Holy Land. The adventurers who took the cross were chiefly French and Germans. Baldwin, count of Flanders, was their commander; and the Venetians, as greedy of wealth and power as the ancient Carthaginians, furnished them with ships, for which they took care to be amply paid both in money and territory. The Christian city of Zara, in Dalmatia, had withdrawn itself from the government of the republic: the army of the cross undertook to reduce it to obedience; and it was besieged and taken, notwithstanding the threats and excommunications of the pope.(3) Nothing can show in a stronger light the reigning spirit of those pious adventurers.

The storm next broke upon Constantinople. Isaac Angelus, the Greek emperor, had been dethroned, and deprived of his sight, in 1195, by his brother Alexis. Isaac's son, named also Alexis, who had made his escape into Germany, and was then in the army of the crusade, implored the assistance of its leaders against the usurper; engaging, in case of success, to furnish them provisions, to pay them a large sum of money, and to submit himself to the jurisdiction of the pope. By their means the lawful prince was restored. He ratified the treaty made by his son, and died; when young Alexis, who was hated by the Greeks for having called in the Latins, became the victim of a new faction. One of his relations, surnamed Murtzuffe, strangled him with his own hands, and usurped the imperial throne.(4)

Baldwin and his followers, who wanted only an apology for their intended violence, had now a good one; and, under pretence of revenging the death of Alexis, made themselves masters of Constantinople. They entered it with little or no resistance; put every one who opposed them to the sword, and gave themselves up to all the excesses of avarice and fury. The booty of the French lords alone was valued at four hundred thousand marks of silver: the very churches were pillaged! And what strongly marks the character of that giddy nation, which has been at all times nearly the same, we are told by Nicetas, that the French officers danced with the ladies in the sanctuary of the church of St. Sophia, after having robbed the altar, and drenched the city in blood.(5)

Thus was Constantinople, the most flourishing Christian city in the world, taken for the first time, and sacked by Christians, who had vowed to fight only against infidels!—Baldwin, count of Flanders, the most powerful of these ravagers, got himself elected emperor; and this new usurper condemned the other usurper, Murtzuffe, to be thrown headlong from the top of a lofty column. The Venetians had for their share Peloponnesus, the island of Candia, and several cities on the coast of Phrygia, which had not yet submitted to the Turkish yoke. The marquis de Montferrat seized Thessaly; so that Baldwin had little left except Thrace and Mesia. The pope gained,

(1) Murat. *Antiq. Itcl.* tom. vi.(2) *Gent. Innocent. III.*(3) Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*(4) Nicetas, *Chron.*(5) *Ibid.*

for a time, the whole eastern church; and, in a word, an acquisition was made of much greater consequence than Palestine. Of this indeed the conquerors seemed fully convinced; for, notwithstanding the vow they had taken, to go and succour Jerusalem, only a very inconsiderable number of the many knights who had engaged in this pious enterprise went into Syria, and those were such as could get no share in the spoils of the Greeks.(1)

Innocent III., speaking of this conquest, says, in one of his letters, "God, willing to console his church by the reunion of the schismatics, has made the empire pass from the proud, superstitious, disobedient Greeks, to the humble, pious, catholic, and submissive Latins." So easy it is by words to give that complexion to persons and things which most favours our interests and our prejudices!

I should now, my dear Philip, return to the affairs of Germany; but a few more particulars, consequent on the taking of Constantinople, require first to be noted, as they cannot afterward be brought properly under review.

There still remained a number of princes of the imperial house of Comnenus, who did not lose their courage with the destruction of their empire. One of those, who bore among others the name of Alexis, took refuge on the coast of Colchis; and there, between the sea and mount Caucasus, erected a petty state, to which he gave the name of the Empire of Trebisonde; so much was the word empire abused!—Theodore Lascarus retook Nice, and settled himself in Bithynia by opportunely making use of the Arabs against the Turks. He also assumed the title of emperor, and caused a patriarch to be elected of his own communion. Other Greeks entered into an alliance with the Turks, and even called in their ancient enemies, the Bulgarians, to assist them against the emperor Baldwin, who, being overcome by those barbarians near Adrianople, had his legs and arms cut off, and was left a prey to wild beasts.(2) Henry, his brother and successor, was poisoned in 1216; and, within half a century, the imperial city, which had gone to ruin under the Latins, returned once more to the Greeks.

While these things were transacting in the East, Philip and Otho were desolating the West. At length Philip prevailed; and Otho, obliged to abandon Germany, took refuge in England. Philip, elated with success, got his election confirmed by a second coronation, and proposed an accommodation with the pope, as a means of finally establishing his throne. But before that accommodation could be brought about, he fell a sacrifice to private revenge; being assassinated by the count Palatine of Bavaria, in consequence of a private dispute.(3)

Otho returned to Germany on the death of Philip, married that prince's daughter, and was crowned at Rome by Innocent III. after yielding to the Holy See the long disputed inheritance of the countess Matilda, and confirming the rights and privileges of the Italian cities.

But these concessions, as far at least as they regarded the pope, were only a sacrifice to present policy. Otho therefore no sooner found himself in a condition to act offensively, than he resumed his grant; and not only recovered the possessions of the empire, but made hostile incursions into Apulia, ravaging the dominions of young Frederic, king of Naples and Sicily, who was under the protection of the Holy See. Hence we may date the ruin of Otho. Innocent excommunicated him: and Frederic, now fifteen years of age, was elected emperor, by a diet of the German princes.(4)

Otho, however, on his return to Germany, finding his party still considerable, and not doubting but he should be able to humble his rival by means of his superior force, entered into an alliance with his uncle, John king of England, against Philip Augustus king of France. The unfortunate battle of Bouvines, where the confederates were defeated, as we have seen, completed the fate of Otho. He attempted to retreat into Germany, but was prevented by young Frederic, who had marched into the empire at the head of a powerful army, and was every where received with open arms.

(1) Nicetas. Cantacuzenus.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Heiss, lib. ii. cap. xv

(4) Heiss, lib. ii. cap. xvi.

Thus abandoned by all the princes of Germany, and altogether without resource, Otho retired to Brunswick, where he lived four years as a private man, dedicating his time to the duties of religion. He was not deposed, but forgot; and if it is true that, in the excess of his humility, he ordered himself to be thrown down, and trod upon by his kitchen-boys, we may well say with Voltaire, that the kicks of a turnspit can never expiate the faults of a prince.(1)

Frederic II., being now universally acknowledged emperor, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle with great magnificence: and, in order to preserve the favour of the pope, he added to the other solemnities of his coronation a vow to go in person to the Holy Land.(2)

About this time pope Innocent died, and was succeeded by Honorius III., who expressed great eagerness in forwarding the crusade, which he ordered to be preached up through all the provinces of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary: and his endeavours were crowned with extraordinary success. The emperor indeed excused himself from the performance of his vow, until he should have regulated the affairs of Italy; and almost all the other European monarchs were detained at home by domestic disturbances. But an infinite number of private noblemen and their vassals took the cross, under the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, the archbishop of Mentz, and the bishops of Munster and Utrecht; and Andrew, king of Hungary, who brought with him a body of fine troops, was declared generalissimo of the crusade.(3)

While these adventurers of Upper Germany marched towards Italy, in order to embark at Venice, Genoa, and Messina, a fleet of three hundred sail was equipped in the ports of Lower Saxony, to transport the troops of Westphalia, Saxony, and the territory of Cologne. And those joining the squadron of the Frieslanders, Flemings, and subjects of Brabant, commanded by William count of Holland, George count of Weerden, and Adolphus count of Berg, set sail for the straits of Gibraltar, on their voyage to Ptolemais. But being driven by a tempest into the road of Lisbon, they were prevailed upon to assist Alphonso king of Portugal against the Moors. They defeated these Infidels, and afterward took from them the city of Alcazar.(4)

Meanwhile the king of Hungary and his army, having joined the king of Cyprus, landed at Ptolemais; where he was joyfully received by John de Brienne, a younger brother of the family of that name in Champagne, who had been nominated king of Jerusalem. After refreshing and reviewing the forces, the two kings marched into the great valley of Jesrael, against the Saracens, with the wood of the true cross carried before them. But Coradin, Son of Saphadin, soldan of Egypt and Babylon, and nephew to the famous Saladin, finding himself greatly outnumbered by the Christians, retired without giving battle; and the champions of the cross undertook the siege of Thabor, in which they miscarried. They now separated themselves into four bodies, for the convenience of subsisting. The king of Cyprus died, and the king of Hungary returned to his own dominions, in order to quiet some disturbances which had arisen during his absence.(5)

The fleet from the coast of Spain arrived at Ptolemais soon after the departure of the king of Hungary; and it was resolved in a council of war to besiege Damietta in Egypt, which was accordingly invested by sea and land, and taken after a siege of eighteen months. During the siege Saphadin died: and his eldest son Meledin, his successor in the kingdom of Egypt, who came to the relief of the besieged, was defeated. The duke of Austria, with a large body of troops, returned soon after to Germany; and a reinforcement arrived from the emperor, under the conduct of Cardinal Albano, legate of the Holy See.(6)

This cardinal, who was a Spanish benedictine, pretended that he, as representative of the pope, the natural head of the crusade, had an incontestible

(1) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

(2) Heiss, lib. ii. cap. xvii.

(3) *Annal. Paderborn*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Jac. de Vitri. Maimbourg, ubi supra.

(6) Vertot, *Hist. de Chev. de Malth.* tom. i. Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*, tom. i.

right to be general; and that, as the king of Jerusalem held his crown only by virtue of the pope's license, he ought in all things to pay obedience to the legate of his holiness. Much time was spent in that dispute, and in writing to Rome for advice. At length the pope's answer came, by which he ordered the king of Jerusalem to serve under the Benedictine: and his orders were punctually obeyed. John de Brienne resigned the command, and this monkish general brought the army of the cross between two branches of the Nile, just at the time that river, which fertilizes and defends Egypt, began to overflow its banks. The soldan, informed of the situation of his enemies, flooded the Christian camp, by opening the sluices; and while he burnt their ships on the one side, the Nile, increasing on the other, threatened every hour to swallow up their whole army. The legate therefore now saw himself and his troops in a similar extremity to that in which the Egyptians under Pharaoh are described, when they beheld the sea ready to rush in upon them. In consequence of this pressing danger, Damietta was restored; and the leaders of the crusade were obliged to conclude a dishonourable treaty, by which they bound themselves not to serve against Meledin, soldan of Egypt, for eight years.(1)

The Christians of the East had now no hopes left but in the emperor Frederic II., who was about this time crowned at Rome by pope Honorius III., whose friendship he had purchased, by promising to detach Naples and Sicily from the empire, and bestow it on his son Henry, to be held as a fief of the Holy See. He also promised to pass into Asia with an army, at any time the pope should appoint. But this promise Frederic was very little inclined to perform, and therefore found a thousand pretences for delaying his journey. He was indeed more worthily employed; embellishing and aggrandizing Naples; in establishing a university in that city, where the Roman law was taught; and in expelling the vagrant Saracens, who still infested Sicily.(2)

In the mean time the unfortunate leaders of the crusade arrived in Europe; and the pope, incensed at the loss of Damietta, wrote a severe letter to the emperor, taxing him with having sacrificed the interests of Christianity, by delaying so long the performance of his vow, and threatening him with immediate excommunication if he did not instantly depart with an army into Asia. Frederic, exasperated at these reproaches, renounced all correspondence with the court of Rome; renewed his ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Sicily; filled up vacant sees and benefices, and expelled some bishops, who were creatures of the pope, on pretence of their being concerned in practices against the state.(3)

Honorius at first attempted to combat rigour with rigour, threatening the emperor with the thunder of the church, for presuming to lift up his hand against the sanctuary; but finding Frederic not to be intimidated, his holiness became sensible of his own imprudence, in wantonly incurring the resentment of so powerful a prince, and thought proper to sooth his temper by submissive apologies and gentle exhortations. The emperor and the pope were accordingly reconciled, and conferred together at Veroli; where the emperor, as a proof of his sincere attachment to the church, published some very severe edicts against heresy, which seem to have authorized the tribunal of the inquisition.(4)

A solemn assembly was afterward held at Ferentino, where both the pope and the emperor were present, together with John de Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, who was come into Europe to demand succours against the soldan of Egypt. John had an only daughter named Yolanda, whom he proposed as a wife to the emperor, with the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dower, on condition that Frederic should, within two years, perform the vow he had made to lead an army into the Holy Land. Frederic married her on these terms, because he chose to please the pope: and since that time the kings of Sicily have taken the title of king of Jerusalem.

(1) Vertot, *Hist. de Chen. de Malth.* tom. i. Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*, tom. ii.

(2) Sigon. *Reg Ital.* Giannone, *Hist. di Napoli.*

(3) Ibid.

(4) Petr. de Vignes. lib i

But the emperor was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, having business of more importance on his hands at home. The chief cities of Lombardy had entered into a secret league, with a view to throw off his authority. He convoked a diet at Cremona, where all the German and Italian noblemen were summoned to attend. A variety of subjects were there discussed, but nothing of consequence was settled. An accommodation, however, was soon after brought about, by the mediation of the pope, who, as umpire of the dispute, decreed, that the emperor should lay aside his resentment against the confederate towns, and that the towns should furnish and maintain four hundred knights for the relief of the Holy Land.(1)

Peace being thus concluded, Honorius reminded the emperor of his vow: Frederic promised compliance; but his holiness died before he could see the execution of a project which he seemed to have so much at heart. He was succeeded in the papal chair by Gregory IX., brother of Innocent III., who, pursuing the same line of policy, urged the departure of Frederic for the Holy Land; and finding the emperor still backward, declared him incapable of holding the imperial dignity, as having incurred the sentence of excommunication. Frederic, incensed at such insolence, ravaged the patrimony of St. Peter, and was actually excommunicated. The animosity between the Guelphs and Ghibellines revived; the pope was obliged to quit Rome, and Italy became a scene of war and desolation: or rather of a hundred civil wars, which, by inflaming the minds, and exciting the resentment of the Italian princes, accustomed them but too much to the horrid practices of poisoning and assassination.

During these transactions, Frederic II., in order to remove the cause of so many troubles, and to gratify the prejudices of a superstitious age, resolved to perform his vow. He accordingly embarked for the Holy Land, leaving the affairs of Italy to the management of Renaldo, duke of Spoleto. The pope prohibited his departure, before he was absolved from the censures of the church. But Frederic went in contempt of the church, and succeeded better than any commander who had gone before him. He did not indeed desolate Asia, and gratify the barbarous zeal of the times, by spilling the blood of Infidels; but he concluded a treaty with Meledin, sultan of Egypt, and master of Syria, by which the end of his expedition seemed fully answered. The sultan ceded to him Jerusalem, and its territory, as far as Joppa; Bethlehem, Nazareth, and all the country between Jerusalem and Ptolemais; Tyre, Sidon, and the neighbouring territories. In return for these concessions, the emperor granted the Saracens a truce for ten years, and prudently returned to Italy, where his presence was much wanted.(2)

Frederic's reign, after his return from the East, was one continued quarrel with the popes. The cities of Lombardy had revolted during his absence, at the instigation of Gregory IX., and, before they could be reduced, the same pontiff excited the emperor's son Henry, who had been elected king of the Romans, to rebel against his father. The rebellion was suppressed, the prince was confined, and the emperor obtained a complete victory over the associated towns; but his troubles were not yet ended. The pope excommunicated him anew; and sent a bull into Germany, in order to sow division between Frederic and the princes of the empire, in which are the following remarkable words. "A beast of blasphemy, replete with names, is risen from the sea, with the feet of a bear, the face of a lion, and members of other different animals; which, like the proud, hath opened its mouth in blasphemy against the holy name; not even fearing to throw the arrows of calumny against the tabernacle of God, and the saints that dwell in heaven. This beast, desirous of breaking every thing in pieces by his iron teeth and nails, and of trampling all things under his feet, hath already prepared private battering rams against the wall of the Catholic faith; and now raises open machines, in erecting soul-destroying schools of Ishmaelites; rising, according to report, in oppo-

(1) Richard. Cæron. ap Murat

(2) *Annal. Boior.* lib. vii. Heiss, *Hist. de l'Emp.* lib. ii. cap. xviii Maimbourg, ubi sup.

sition to Christ the Redeemer of mankind, the table of whose covenant he attempts to abolish with the pen of wicked heresy. Be not therefore surprised at the malice of this blasphemous beast; if we, who are the servants of the Almighty, should be exposed to the arrows of his destruction.—This king of plagues was even heard to say, that the whole world has been deceived by three impostors; namely, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet. But he makes Jesus Christ far inferior to the other two: ‘They,’ says he, ‘supported their glory to the last, whereas Christ was ignominiously crucified.’ “He also maintains,” continues Gregory, “that it is folly to believe the one only God, Creator of the Universe, could be born of a *woman*, and more especially of a *virgin*.”(1)

Frederic, on the other hand, in his apology to the princes of Germany, calls Gregory the *Great Dragon*, the *Antichrist*, of whom it is written, “and another Red Horse arose from the sea, and he that sat upon him took Peace from the Earth.”(2)

The emperor’s apology was sustained in Germany; and, finding he had nothing to fear from that quarter, he resolved to take ample vengeance of the pope and his associates. With that view he marched to Rome, where he thought his party was strong enough to procure him admission. But this favourite scheme was defeated by the activity of Gregory, who ordered a crusade to be preached against the emperor, as an enemy of the Christian faith; a step which incensed Frederic so much, that he ordered all his prisoners, who wore the cross, to be exposed to the most cruel tortures.(3)

The two factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines continued to rage with greater violence than ever; involving cities, districts, and even private families, in troubles, divisions, and civil butchery, no quarter being given on either side. Meanwhile Gregory IX. died, and was succeeded in the see of Rome by Celestine IV., and afterward by Innocent IV., formerly cardinal Fresque, and who had always expressed the greatest regard for the emperor and his interest. Frederic was accordingly congratulated upon this occasion; but having more penetration than those about him, he sagely replied, “I see little reason to rejoice. The cardinal was my friend, but the pope will be my enemy.”(4)

Innocent soon proved the justice of this conjecture. He ambitiously attempted to negotiate a peace for Italy. But not being able to obtain from Frederic his exorbitant demands, and in fear for the safety of his own person, he fled into France, assembled a general council at Lyons, and deposed the emperor. “I declare,” said he, “Frederic II. attainted and convicted of sacrilege and heresy, excommunicated and dethroned; and I order the electors to choose another emperor, reserving to myself the disposal of the kingdom of Sicily.”(5)

Frederic was at Turin when he received the news of his deposition, and behaved in a manner that seemed to border upon weakness. He called for the casket in which the imperial ornaments were kept; and opening it, and taking the crown in his hand, “Innocent,” cried he, “has not yet deprived me of thee: thou art still mine! and before I part with thee much blood shall be spilt.”(6)

Conrad, the emperor’s second son, had been declared king of the Romans, on the death of his brother Henry, which soon followed his confinement; but the empire being now declared vacant by the pope, the German bishops, (for none of the princes were present,) at the instigation of his holiness, proceeded to the election of a new emperor. And they chose Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, who was styled in derision, “The King of Priests.”

Innocent now renewed the crusade against Frederic. It was proclaimed by the preaching friars, since called Dominicans, and the minor friars, known by the name of Cordeliers or Franciscans, a new militia of the court of Rome, which, about this time, began to be established in Europe. The pope, how-

(1) Gob. Pers. *Cosmod.* cap. lxiv.(2) Id. *ibid.*(3) Krantz. lib. viii. Murat. *Annal. Ital.* tom vi(4) Id. *ibid.*(5) Gob. Pers. *ubi sup.*(6) M Paris, *Hist. Major.*

ever, did not confine himself to these measures only, but engaged in conspiracies against the life of an emperor who had dared to resist the decree of a council, and oppose the whole body of monks and zealots. Frederic's life was several times in danger from plots, poisonings, and assassinations; which induced him, it is said, to make choice of Mahometan guards, whom he was certain would not be under the influence of the prevailing superstition.

Meanwhile the landgrave of Thuringia dying, the same prelates who had taken the liberty of creating one emperor made another; namely, William count of Holland, a young nobleman of twenty years of age, who bore the same contemptuous title as his predecessor.(1)

Fortune, which had hitherto favoured Frederic, seemed now to desert him. He was defeated before Parma, which he had long besieged; and, to complete his misfortune, he soon after learned, that his natural son Entius, whom he had made king of Sardinia, was worsted and taken prisoner by the Bolognese.

In this extremity, Frederic retired to his kingdom of Naples, in order to recruit his army: and there died of a fever, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.(2) He was a prince of great genius, erudition, and fortitude; and, notwithstanding all the troubles he had to encounter, he built towns, founded universities, and gave a kind of new life to learning, in Italy.

After the death of Frederic II. the affairs of Germany fell into the utmost confusion, and Italy continued long in the same distracted state in which he had left it. The clergy took arms against the laity, the weak were oppressed by the strong, and laws divine and human were disregarded. But a particular history of that unhappy period would fill the mind with disgust and horror: I shall therefore only observe, that after the death of Frederic's son Conrad, who had assumed the imperial dignity as successor to his father, and the death of his competitor, William of Holland, a variety of candidates appeared for the empire, and several were elected by different factions; among whom was Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England. But no emperor was properly acknowledged, till the year 1273, when Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, was unanimously raised to the vacant throne.

During the interregnum which preceded the election of Rodolph,—Denmark, Holland, and Hungary, entirely freed themselves from the homage they were wont to pay to the empire; and nearly about the same time several German cities erected a municipal form of government, which still continues. Lubec, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic, united for their mutual defence against the encroachments of the great lords, by a famous association, called the Hanseatic League; and these towns were afterward joined by eighty others, belonging to different states, which formed a kind of commercial republic. Italy also during this period assumed a new form of government. That freedom for which the cities of Lombardy had so long struggled was confirmed to them for a sum of money: they were emancipated by the fruits of their industry. Sicily likewise changed its government and its prince, as shall be related in the history of France, which furnished a sovereign to the Sicilians.

I next propose to carry forward the affairs of England, to the reign of Edward I., a period at which the history of our own island becomes peculiarly interesting to every Briton.

LETTER XXXII.

England, from the Granting of the Great Charter, to the Reign of Edward I.

You have already seen, my dear Philip, in what manner king John was forced by his barons to grant the Great Charter of English liberty, and the regulations necessary for preserving it, to which he seemed passively to submit. He went still farther; he dismissed his forces, and promised that his

(1) *Annal. Boier.*

(2) *Krantz, lib. viii. Heiss, lib. ii. cap. xvii.*

government should be as gentle as his people could wish it. But he only dissembled till he should find a favourable opportunity to revoke all his concessions; and, in order to facilitate such an event, he secretly sent abroad emissaries to enlist foreign soldiers, and to invite the rapacious Brabançons into his service, by the prospect of sharing the spoils of England. He also despatched a messenger to Rome, to lay the Great Charter before the pope, who, considering himself as superior lord of the kingdom, was incensed at the temerity of the barons, and issued a bull annulling the charter, absolving the king from his oath to observe it, and denouncing a general sentence of excommunication against every one who should persevere in maintaining such treasonable pretensions.(1)

John now pulled off the mask; he recalled all that he had done; and, as his foreign mercenaries arrived along with the bull, he expected nothing but universal submission. But our gallant ancestors were not so easily to be frightened out of their rights. Langton, the primate, though he owed his elevation to an encroachment of the court of Rome, refused to obey the pope in publishing the sentence of excommunication against the barons. Persons of all ranks, among the clergy as well as laity, seemed determined to maintain, at the expense of their lives, the privileges granted in the Great Charter. John had therefore nothing to rely on for re-establishing his tyranny, but the sword of his Brabançons: and that unfortunately proved too strong, if not for the liberties of England, at least for its prosperity.

The barons, after obtaining the Great Charter, had sunk into a kind of fatal security, having not only dismissed their vassals, but taken no rational measures for reassembling them on any emergency: so that the king found himself master of the field, without any adequate force to oppose him. Castles were defended, and skirmishes risked, but no regular opposition was made to the progress of the royal arms; while the ravenous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and incensed prince, were let loose against the houses and estates of the barons, and spread devastation over the whole face of the kingdom. Nothing was to be seen, from Dover to Berwick, but the flames of villages, castles reduced to ashes, and the consternation and misery of the helpless inhabitants.(2)

In this desperate extremity, the barons, dreading the total loss of their liberties, their lives, and their possessions, had recourse to a remedy no less desperate. They offered to acknowledge, as their sovereign, prince Lewis, eldest son of Philip Augustus, king of France, provided he would protect them from the fury of their enraged monarch. The temptation was too great to be resisted by a prince of Philip's ambition. He sent over instantly a small army to the relief of the barons, and afterward a more numerous body of forces, with his son Lewis at their head; although the pope's legate threatened him with interdicts and excommunications, if he presumed to invade the dominions of a prince under the immediate protection of the Holy See. Assured of the fidelity of his subjects, these menaces were little regarded by Philip.

The French monarch, however, took care to preserve appearances in his violences, and only appearances. He pretended his son Lewis had accepted the offer from the English barons without his advice, and contrary to his inclinations, and that the armies sent into England were levied in that prince's name. But these artifices were not employed by Philip to deceive. He knew that the pope had too much penetration to be so easily imposed upon, and that they were too gross even to gull the people; but he knew, at the same time, that the manner of conducting any measure is of as much consequence as the measure itself, and that a violation of decency, in the eye of the world, is more criminal than a breach of justice.

Lewis no sooner landed in England than John was deserted by his foreign troops, who, being principally levied in the French provinces, refused to serve against the heir of their monarchy; so that the barons had the melan-

(1) Rymer, vol. i. M Paris, *Hist. Major*.(2) M. Paris. *Chron. Maitres*.

choly prospect of succeeding in their purpose, and of escaping the tyranny of their own king, by imposing on themselves and the nation a foreign yoke. But the imprudent partiality of Lewis to his countrymen increased that jealousy which it was so natural for the English to entertain in their present situation, and did great hurt to his cause. Many of the dissatisfied barons returned to the king's party; and John was preparing to make a last effort for his crown, when death put an end to his troubles and his crimes, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His character is nothing but a complication of vices, equally mean and odious; ruinous to himself and destructive to his people. But a sally of wit upon the usual corpulency of the priests, more than all his enormities, made him pass with the clergy of that age for an impious prince. "How plump and well fed is this animal!" exclaimed he, one day, when he had caught a very fat stag; "and yet I dare swear he never heard mass."(1)

John was succeeded by his son Henry III., only nine years old, at his father's death: and for once a minority proved of singular service to England. The earl of Pembroke, who by his office of mareschal was at the head of the military power, and consequently, in perilous times, at the head of the state, determined to support the authority of the infant prince. He was chosen protector; and, fortunately for the young monarch and for the nation, the regency could not have been intrusted into more able or more faithful hands. In order to reconcile all classes of men to the government of his pupil, he made him renew and confirm the Great Charter. And he wrote letters in Henry's name to all the malecontent barons, representing, that whatever animosity they might have harboured against the late king, they ought to retain none against his son, who had now succeeded to his throne, but neither to his resentments nor to his principles, and was resolved to avoid the paths which had led to such dangerous extremities; exhorting them, at the same time, by a speedy return to their duty, to restore the independency of the kingdom, and secure that liberty for which they had so zealously contended, and which was now confirmed to them by a second charter.(2)

These arguments, enforced by the character of Pembroke, had a mighty influence on the barons. Most of them secretly negotiated with him, and many of them openly returned to their duty. Lewis, therefore, who had made a journey to France, and brought over fresh succours with him from that kingdom, found his party much weakened on his return; and that the death of John, contrary to all expectation, had blasted his favourite designs. He laid siege, however, to Dover, which was gallantly defended by Hubert de Burgh. In the meantime, the French army, commanded by the count de Perche, was totally defeated by the earl of Pembroke, before the castle of Lincoln; and four hundred knights, with many persons of superior rank, were made prisoners by the English. Lewis, when informed of this fatal event, retired to London, which was the centre and life of his party. He there received intelligence of a new disaster, which extinguished all his hopes. A French fleet, with a strong reinforcement on board, had been repulsed on the coast of Kent, and obliged to take shelter in their own harbours.(3)

The English barons, after this second advantage gained over the French, by the royal party, hastened from all quarters to make peace with the protector, and prevent, by an early submission, those attainders to which they were exposed on account of their rebellion; while Lewis, whose cause was now totally desperate, began to be anxious for the safety of his person, and was glad, on any tolerable conditions, to make his escape from a country where every thing was become hostile to him. He accordingly concluded a treaty with Pembroke, by which he promised to evacuate the kingdom; only stipulating, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, a restitution of their honours and fortunes, and the free and equal enjoyment of those liberties which had been granted to the rest of the nation.(4) Thus, my dear Philip, was happily terminated a civil war, which seemed to spring from the most

(1) M. Paris.

(4) Rymer, vol. i.

(2) Rymer, vol. i. Brady Append No 143.

(3) M. Paris.

incurable hatred and jealousy, and had threatened to make England a province of France.

The prudence and equity of the protector, after the expulsion of the French, contributed to cure entirely those wounds which had been made by intestine discord. He received the rebellious barons into favour: observed strictly the terms of peace which he had granted them; restored them to their possessions; and endeavoured, by an equal behaviour, to bury all past animosities in perpetual oblivion. But, unfortunately for the kingdom, this great and good man did not long survive the pacification: and Henry, when he came of age, proving a weak and contemptible prince, England was again involved in civil broils, which it would be equally idle and impertinent to relate; as they were neither followed, during many years, by an event of importance to society, nor attended with any circumstances which can throw light upon the human character. Their causes and consequences were alike insignificant.

It is necessary, however, to observe, that the king having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, was surrounded by a multitude of strangers, from that and other countries, whom he caressed with the fondest affection, and enriched by an imprudent generosity. The insolence of these foreigners, is said to have arisen to such a height, that when, on account of their outrages or oppressions, an appeal was made to the laws, they scrupled not to say, "What do the laws of England signify to us? We mind them not." This open contempt of the English constitution, roused the resentment of the barons, and tended much to aggravate the general discontent arising from the preference shown to strangers, as it made every act of violence, committed by a foreigner, appear not only an injury, but an insult. Yet no remonstrance or complaint could ever prevail on the king to abandon them, or even to moderate his attachment towards them.

But Henry's profuse bounty to his foreign relations, and to their friends and favourites, would have appeared more tolerable to the English, had any thing been done for the benefit of the nation, or had the king's enterprises in foreign countries, been attended with any success or glory to himself or the public. Neither of these, however, was the case. As imprudence governed his policy, misfortune marked his measures. He declared war against France, and made an expedition into Guienne, upon the invitation of his father-in-law, who promised to join him with all his forces; but being worsted at Taillebourg, he was deserted by his allies, lost what remained to him of Poitou, and was obliged to return with disgrace into England.(1)

Want of economy, and an ill-judged liberality, were the great defects in Henry's domestic administration. These kept him always needy, and obliged him continually to harass his barons for money, under different pretences. Their discontents were thereby increased, and he was still a beggar. Even before his foreign expedition, his debts had become so troublesome, that he sold all his plate and jewels, in order to discharge them. When this expedient was first proposed to him, he asked where he should find purchasers, "In the city of London," it was replied. "On my word," said he, "if the treasury of Augustus were brought to sale, the citizens are able to be the purchasers. These clowns, who assume to themselves the name of barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to necessities."(2) And he was thenceforth observed to be more greedy in his exactions upon the citizens.

Many however as were the grievances that the English, during this reign, had reason to complain of in their civil government, they seem to have been still less burthensome than those which proceeded from spiritual usurpations and abuses; and which Henry, who relied on the pope for the support of his tottering authority, never failed to countenance. All the chief benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians, great numbers of whom were sent over to be provided for: and non-residence and pluralities were carried to so enormous a height, that Mansel, the king's chaplain, is computed to have held,

(1) M. Paris W. Hemling. *Chron. France*

(2) M. Paris

at one time, seven hundred ecclesiastical livings. The pope exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices: the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues, without exception; the third of such as exceeded one hundred marks a year, and the half of such as were possessed by non-residents! He claimed also the goods of all intestate clergymen: he pretended a right to inherit all money got by usury; and he levied voluntary contributions on the people.(1)

But the most oppressive expedient employed by the court of Rome, in order to drain money from England, was that of embarking Henry in a project for the conquest of Sicily. On the death of the emperor Frederic II., the succession of that island devolved to his son Conrad, and afterward to his grandson Conradine, yet an infant; and as Mainfroy, the emperor's natural son, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the young prince, had formed a scheme for usurping the sovereignty, Innocent IV. had a good apology for exerting that superiority which the popes claimed over Sicily, and at the same time of gratifying his hatred against the house of Suabia. He accordingly attempted to make himself master of the kingdom; but being disappointed in all his enterprises by the activity and artifices of Mainfroy, and finding that his own force was not sufficient for such a conquest, he made a tender of the crown to Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III., and supposed to be the richest subject in Europe. Richard had the prudence to reject the dangerous present, but not the power to prevent the evil. The same offer being afterward made to the king, in favour of his second son Edmond, that weak monarch was led, by the levity and thoughtlessness of his disposition, to embrace the insidious proposal, and immense sums were drained from England, under pretence of carrying this project into execution; for the pope took that upon himself. But the money was still found insufficient: the conquest of Sicily was as remote as ever. Henry, therefore, sensible at length of the cheat, was obliged to resign into the pope's hands that crown which he had more than purchased, but which it was never intended either he or his family should inherit.(2)

The earl of Cornwall had now reason to value himself on his foresight, in refusing the fraudulent bargain with Rome, and in preferring the solid honours of an opulent and powerful prince of the blood in England, to the empty and precarious glory of a foreign dignity; but he had not always firmness sufficient to adhere to this resolution. His immense wealth made the German princes cast their eyes on him as a candidate for the empire, after the death of William of Holland; and his vanity and ambition for once prevailed over his prudence and his avarice. He went over to Germany, was tempted to expend vast sums on his election, and succeeded so far as to be chosen by a faction, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle; but having no personal or family connexions in that country, he never could attain any solid power. He therefore found it necessary to return into England, after having lavished away the frugality of a whole life, in order to procure a splendid title.(3)

England, in the mean while, was involved in new troubles. The weakness of Henry's government, and the absence of his brother, gave reins to the factious and turbulent spirit of the barons. They demanded an extension of their privileges; and, if we may credit the historians of those times, had formed a plan of so many limitations on the royal authority, as would have reduced the king to a mere cipher. Henry would agree to nothing but a renewal of the Great Charter; which, at the desire of the barons, was ratified in the following manner. All the prelates and abbots were assembled: they held burning tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read before them; they denounced the sentence of excommunication against every one who should violate that fundamental law: they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, "May the soul of every one, who incurs this sentence, so stink and corrupt in hell!" The king also bore a part in the ceremony, and subjoined, "So help me God! I will keep all these articles inviolate, as I am

(1) M. Paris.

(2) Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. *Chron. Dunst.*

(3) M. Paris

a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed.”(1)

This tremendous ceremony, however, was no sooner over than the king forgot his engagements, and the barons renewed their pretensions. At the head of the malecontents was Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, a man of great talents and boundless ambition, who had married Eleanor, the king's sister, and hoped to wrest the sceptre from the feeble and irresolute hand that held it. He represented to his associates the necessity of reforming the state, and of putting the execution of the laws into other hands than those which had hitherto been found, from repeated experience, unfit for that important charge. After so many submissions and fruitless promises, the king's word, he said, could no longer be relied on, and his inability to violate national privileges could thenceforth only ensure their preservation.

These observations, which were founded in truth, and entirely conformable to the sentiments of those to whom they were addressed, had the desired effect. The barons resolved to take the administration into their own hands; and Henry, having summoned a parliament at Oxford, found himself a prisoner in his national council, and was obliged to submit to the terms prescribed to him, called the Provisions of Oxford. According to these provisions twelve barons were selected from among the king's ministers; twelve more were chosen by the parliament; and to these twenty-four barons unlimited authority was granted to reform the state. Leicester was at the head of this legislative body, to which the supreme power was in reality transferred; and their first step seemed well calculated for the end which they professed to have in view. They ordered that four knights should be chosen by each county; that they should make inquiry into the grievances of which their neighbourhood had reason to complain, and should attend the ensuing parliament, in order to give information to that assembly of the state of their particular counties.(2)

The earl of Leicester and his associates, however, having advanced so far as to satisfy the nation, instead of continuing in the same popular course, immediately provided for the extension and continuation of their own exorbitant authority, at the expense both of the king and the people. They enjoyed the supreme power near three years; and had visibly employed it, not for the reformation of the state, their original pretence for assuming it, but for the aggrandizement of themselves and families. The breach of trust was evident to all the world: every order of men in England felt it, and murmured against it; and the pope, in order to gain the favour of the nation, absolved the king, and all his subjects, from the oath which they had taken to observe the Provisions of Oxford.(3)

As soon as Henry received the pope's absolution from his oath, accompanied with threats of excommunication against all his opponents, he resumed the government; offering, however, to maintain all the regulations made by the reforming barons, except those which entirely annihilated the royal authority. But these haughty chieftains could not peaceably resign that uncontrolled power which they had so long enjoyed. Many of them adopted Leicester's views, which held in prospect nothing less than the throne itself. The civil war was renewed in all its horrors: and after several fruitless negotiations, the collected force of the two parties met near Lewes in Sussex, where the royal army was totally defeated, and the king and prince Edward made prisoners.

No sooner had Leicester obtained this victory, and got the royal family in his power, than he acted as sole master, and even tyrant of the kingdom. He seized the estates of no less than eighteen barons, as his share of the spoil gained in the battle of Lewes; he engrossed to himself the ransom of all the prisoners, and told his barons, with wanton insolence, that it was sufficient for them that he had saved them, by that victory, from the forfeitures and attainders which hung over them. All the officers of the crown were

(1) W. Heming. M. Paris. M. West.

(2) Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. Chron. Dunst.

(3) Ibid.

named by him: the whole authority, as well as arms of the state, was lodged in his hands.(1)

But it was impossible that things could remain long in this equivocal situation. It became necessary for Leicester, either to descend to the rank of a subject, or mount up to that of a sovereign; and he could do neither without peril. He summoned a new parliament; which, for his own purposes, he fixed on a more democratical basis than any called since the Norman conquest, if not from the foundation of the monarchy. He ordered returns to be made not only of two knights from every shire, but also of deputies from the boroughs:(2) and thus introduced into the national council a second order of men, hitherto regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in those august assemblies, or have any share in the government of the state.

But although we are indebted to Leicester's usurpation for the first rude outline of the House of Commons, his policy only forwarded by some years an institution for which the general state of society had already prepared the nation; and that house, though derived from so invidious an origin, when summoned by legal princes, soon proved one of the most useful members of the constitution, and gradually rescued the kingdom, as we shall have occasion to see, both from aristocratical and regal tyranny. It is but just, however, to observe, that as this necessary, and now powerful branch of our constitution, owed its rise to usurpation, it is the only one of the three that has latterly given a usurper to the state. The person to whom I allude is Oliver Cromwell: and I will be so bold as to affirm, that if ever England is again subjected to the absolute will of any ONE man, unless from abroad, that man must be a member of the House of Commons. The people are alike jealous of the power of the king and of the nobles: but they are themselves greedy of dominion, and can only possess it through their representatives. A popular member of the lower house, therefore, needs only ambition, enterprise, and a favourable conjuncture, to overturn the throne; to strip the nobles of their dignities; and, while he blows the trumpet of liberty, to tell his equals they are slaves.

Leicester's motive for giving this form to the parliament was a desire of crushing his rivals among the powerful barons; and trusting to the popularity acquired by such a measure, he made the earl of Derby be accused in the king's name, and ordered him to be seized and committed to prison without being brought to any legal trial. Several other barons were threatened with the same fate, and deserted the confederacy. The royalists flew to arms; prince Edward made his escape; and the joy of this young hero's appearance, together with the oppressions under which the nation laboured, soon produced him a force which Leicester was unable to resist. A battle was fought near Evesham, where Leicester was slain, and his army totally routed. When that nobleman, who possessed great military talents, observed the vast superiority in numbers, and excellent dispositions of the royalists, he exclaimed, "The Lord have mercy on our souls! for I see our bodies are prince Edward's: he has learned from me the art of war."(3) Another particular deserves to be noticed. The old king, disguised in armour, having been purposely placed by the rebels in the front of the battle, had received a wound, and was ready to be put to death, when he weakly, but opportunely, cried out, "Spare my life! I am Henry of Winchester, your king!"(4) His brave son flew to his rescue, and put him in a place of safety.

The victory of Evesham proved decisive in favour of the royal party, but was used with moderation. Although the suppression of so extensive a rebellion commonly produces a revolution in government, and strengthens as well as enlarges the prerogatives of the crown, no sacrifices of national liberty were exacted upon this occasion. The clemency of this victory is also remarkable; no blood was shed on the scaffold. The mild disposition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the insolence of power, and gradually restored order to the several members of the state.

(1) Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. W. Heming. H. Knyghton.

(3) W. Heming. M. Paris.

(2) Ibid.

(4) W. Heming. lib. iii.

The affairs of England were no sooner settled than prince Edward, seduced by a thirst of glory, undertook an expedition into the Holy Land; where he signalized himself by many acts of valour, and struck such terror into the Saracens, that they employed an assassin to murder him. The ruffian wounded Edward in the arm, but paid for his temerity with his life.(1) Meanwhile the prince's absence from England was productive of many pernicious consequences, which the old king, unequal to the burden of government, was little able to prevent.(2) He therefore implored his gallant son to return, and assist him in swaying that sceptre which was ready to drop from his feeble hands. Edward obeyed; but before his arrival the king expired, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his reign, the longest in the English annals.

The most obvious feature in the character of Henry III. is his weakness. From this source, rather than from insincerity or treachery, arose his negligence in observing his promises; and hence, for the sake of present convenience, he was easily induced to sacrifice the lasting advantages arising from the trust and confidence of his people. A better head, with the same dispositions, would have prevented him from falling into so many errors! but (every good has its alloy!) with a worse heart, it would have enabled him to maintain them.

Prince Edward had reached Sicily, in his return from the Holy Land, when he received intelligence of the death of his father, and immediately proceeded homeward. But a variety of objects, my dear Philip, claim your attention, before I carry farther the transactions of our own island, which now become truly important. The reign of Edward I. forms a new era in the history of Britain.

LETTER XXXIII.

France, from the Reign of Philip Augustus, to the End of the Reign of Lewis IX. commonly called St. Lewis, with some Account of the last Crusade.

THE reign of Philip Augustus has already engaged our attention. We have had occasion to observe the great abilities of that prince, both as a warrior and a politician; we have seen him reunite many fine provinces to the kingdom of France at the expense of the English monarchy: we have seen him attempt the conquest of England itself; and we have also seen in what manner prince Lewis was obliged to abandon that project, notwithstanding the power and the intrigues of Philip. Soon after the return of Lewis, his father died, and left the kingdom of France twice as large as he had received it; so that future acquisitions became easy to his successors.

Lewis VIII. however, did not enlarge the monarchy. His short reign was chiefly spent in a crusade against the Albigenses, in the prosecution of which he died. He was succeeded by his son Lewis IX. commonly called St. Lewis. During the minority of this prince, though in his twelfth year at his accession, a variety of disorders arose in France, occasioned chiefly by the ambition of the powerful vassals of the crown. But all these were happily composed by the prudence and firmness of Blanche of Castile, the regent and queen-mother.

Lewis no sooner came of age than he was universally acknowledged to be the greatest prince in Europe; and his character is, perhaps, the most singular in the annals of history. To the mean and abject superstition of a monk he united all the courage and magnanimity of a hero; nay, what may be deemed still more wonderful, the justice and integrity of the sincere patriot; and, where religion was not concerned, the mildness and humanity of the true

(1) M. Paris. T. Wykes.

(2) The police was so loose during the latter part of Henry's reign, that not only single houses, but whole villages, were often pillaged by bands of robbers. *Chron. Dunst.*

philosopher. So far was he from taking advantage of the divisions among the English during the reign of Henry III., or attempting to expel those dangerous rivals from the provinces which they still possessed in France, that he entertained many scruples in regard to the sentence of attainder pronounced against the king's father; and had not his bishops, it is said, persuaded him that John was justly punished for his barbarity and felony, he would have restored all the conquests made by Philip Augustus.(1)

When Gregory IX., after excommunicating Frederic II., offered the empire to the count of Artois, brother to St. Lewis, this pious prince acted in the same disinterested manner. He did not indeed refuse that gift as what the pope had no right to bestow; but he replied, that Frederic had always appeared to him a good Catholic; that ambassadors should first be sent to him, to know his sentiments touching his faith; that, if orthodox, there could be no reason for attacking him; but if heretical, war ought to be carried on against him with violence; and, in such case, even against the pope himself.(2)

This was Lewis's foible. Persuaded that heretics, or those who did not hold the established belief, deserved the punishment of death, he favoured the tribunal of the inquisition; and the same turn of thinking led him to ascribe merit to a war against infidels. His humane heart became a prey to the barbarous devotion of the times. Being seized with a dangerous illness, which deprived him of his senses, and almost of his life, his heated imagination took fire, and he thought he heard a voice commanding him to shed the blood of infidels. He accordingly made a vow, as soon as he recovered, to engage in a new crusade, and immediately took the cross. Nor could any remonstrances engage him to forego his purpose: he considered his vow as a sacred obligation, which it was not permitted man to dissolve.(3)

But Lewis, though not to be dissuaded from his eastern expedition, was in no hurry to depart. He spent four years in making preparations, and in settling the government of his kingdom, which he left to the care of his mother; and, at length, set sail for Cyprus, accompanied by his queen, his three brothers, and almost all the knights of France. At Cyprus it was resolved to make a descent upon Egypt, as experience hath shown that Jerusalem and the Holy Land could never be preserved while that country remained in the hands of the infidels.(4) But before I speak of the transactions of Egypt, I must say a few words of the state of the East in those times.

Asia, my dear Philip, from the earliest ages, has been the seat of enormous monarchy, and the theatre of the most astonishing revolutions. You have seen with what rapidity it was overrun by the Arabs, and afterward by the Turks; you have seen those conquering people, for a time, borne down by the champions of the cross, and Saladin himself sink beneath the arm of our illustrious Richard. But neither the zeal of the Christians, nor the enthusiasm of the Mahometans, who were supposed to have carried conquest to its utmost point, was attended with a success equal to the hardy valour of the Moguls, or Western Tartars, under Genghiz-Kan; who, in a few years, extended his dominions from a small territory, to more than eighteen hundred leagues, from east to west, and above a thousand from north to south. He conquered Persia, and pushed his conquests as far as the Euphrates; subdued Indostan, and great part of China; all Tartary, and the frontier provinces of Russia.

This wonderful man died in 1226, when he was preparing to complete the conquest of China. His empire was divided among his four sons, whose names it is unnecessary here to mention. They continued united till the death of Octay, his successor as Great Kan, who totally subjected Egypt. One of his grandsons passed the Euphrates; dispossessed the Turks of that part of Asia Minor now called Natolia, and terminated the dominion of the Caliphs of Bagdat. Another of them carried terror into Poland, Hungary, Dalmatia, and to the very gates of Constantinople.(5)

(1) Nangius, in *Vita Ludovici IX.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) De la Croix, *Vit. Genghiz-Kan. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. iii. fol. edit*

These Western Tartars, accustomed from their birth to brave hunger, fatigue, and death, were irresistible, while they preserved their savage austerity of manners. The offspring of the same deserts which had produced the Scythians, the Huns, and Turks, they were more fierce than either; and as the Goths had formerly seized upon Thrace, when expelled by the Huns from their native habitations, the Korasmians, in like manner, flying before the Moguls, overran Syria and Palestine, and made themselves masters of Jerusalem in 1244, putting the inhabitants to the sword.⁽¹⁾ The Christians, however, still possessed Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, and Ptolemais; and though always divided among themselves, and cutting one another's throats, they united in imploring the assistance of Europe against this danger.

Such was the situation of the East, and of the Oriental Christians, when St. Lewis set out for their relief. But instead of sailing immediately for Palestine, he made a descent, as I have observed, upon Egypt. His declared purpose in so doing, has been already explained. But as the soldan of Egypt was not now in possession of Jerusalem, this invasion must have proceeded from the king of France's ignorance of the affairs of the East; or from an ambition of conquering so fine a country, more than from any hope of advancing the interests of Christianity.

Lewis and his prodigious army, said to have been transported in eighteen hundred ships, landed near the city of Damietta; which, contrary to all expectation, was abandoned to them. He afterward received fresh succours from France; and found himself in the plains of Egypt at the head of sixty thousand men, the flower of his kingdom, by whom he was both obeyed and loved. What might not have been expected from such a force, under such a general! Not only Egypt, but Syria, should have yielded to their arms. Yet this crusade, like all the rest, terminated in sorrow and disappointment. One half of these fine troops fell a prey to sickness and debauchery; the other was defeated by the soldan, at Massoura; where Lewis beheld his brother Robert of Artois killed by his side, and himself taken prisoner, together with his other two brothers, the count of Anjou and the count of Poitiers, and all his nobility.⁽²⁾

The French, however, were still in possession of Damietta. There St. Lewis's consort was lodged; and thinking her safety doubtful, as the place was besieged, she addressed herself to the Sieur Joinville, a venerable knight, and made him promise, on the faith of chivalry, to cut off her head, if ever her virtue should be in danger. "Most readily," answered Joinville, in the true spirit of the times, "will I perform at your request what I thought indeed to do of myself, should misfortune make it necessary." But he had happily no occasion to put his promise into execution. Damietta held out, and a treaty was concluded with the soldan; by which that city was restored, in consideration of the king's liberty, and a thousand pieces of gold paid for the ransom of the other prisoners.⁽³⁾

Lewis was now solicited to return to Europe with the remnant of his fleet and army, but devotion led him to Palestine; where he continued for four years, without effecting any thing of consequence. In the mean time the affairs of France were in much confusion. The queen-mother, during the king's captivity, had unadvisedly given permission to a fanatical monk to preach a new crusade for her son's release; and this man, availing himself of the pastoral circumstance in the Nativity, assembled near one hundred thousand people of low condition, whom he called shepherds. It soon appeared, however, that they might with more propriety have been styled wolves. They robbed and pillaged wherever they came; and it was found necessary to disperse them by force of arms. Nor was that effected without much trouble.⁽⁴⁾

The death of the queen mother determined Lewis, at last, to revisit France. But he only returned in order to prepare for a new crusade; so strongly had

(1) De la Croix, *Vit. Genghis-Kan*. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. lii. fol. edit.

(2) Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis*.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Fontainay, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallic*, tom. xi. Boulby, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. lii

that madness taken hold of his mind! Meanwhile his zeal for justice, his care to reform abuses, his wise laws, his virtuous example, soon repaired the evils occasioned by his absence. He established, on a solid foundation, the right of appeal to the royal judges, one of the best expedients for reducing the exorbitant power of the nobles. He absolutely prohibited private wars, which the feudal anarchy had tolerated: he substituted juridical proofs, instead of those by duel; and, no less enlightened than pious, he rescued France from the exactions of the court of Rome.(1)

In his transactions with his neighbours, Lewis was alike exemplary. Equity and disinterestedness were the basis of his policy. If he sometimes carried these virtues too far, as a prince, they always did him honour as a man: they even procured him respect as a sovereign; and secured to his subjects the greatest blessings that a people can enjoy—peace and prosperity. He ceded to James I. of Arragon his incontestible right to Rousillon and Catalonia, which had been subject to France from the time of Charlemagne, in exchange for certain claims of that monarch to some fiefs in Provence and Languedoc; and he restored to the English crown Quercy, Perigord, and the Limousin, for no higher consideration than that the king of England should renounce all right to Normandy, Maine, and the other forfeited provinces, which were already in the possession of France. But Lewis, as has been observed, was doubtful of the right by which he held those provinces. And although an ambitious prince, instead of making this compromise, might have taken advantage of the troubles of England under Henry III. to seize Guienne, and all that remained to that monarchy in France, such a prince might also, by these means, have drawn on himself the jealousy of his neighbours, and in the end have fallen a sacrifice to his rapacity; whereas, Lewis, by his moderation, acquired the confidence of all Europe, and was chosen arbiter between the king of England and his barons, at a time when it was his interest to have ruined both; an honour never conferred upon any other rival monarch, and with which, perhaps, no other could ever safely have been trusted. He determined in favour of the king without prejudice to the people; he annulled the Provisions of Oxford, as derogatory to the rights of the crown, but enforced the observation of the Great Charter. And although this sentence was rejected by Leicester and his party, it will remain to all ages an eternal monument of the equity of Lewis.(2)

The most blameable circumstance in this great monarch's conduct, and perhaps the only one that deserves to be considered in that light, was his approbation of the treaty between his brother and the pope, relative to Sicily. That kingdom had formerly been offered, as you have seen, to the earl of Cornwall, and to prince Edmond, son of Henry III. After being given up by England, it was offered to the count of Anjou: he accepted it; and Lewis permitted a crusade to be preached in France against Mainfroy, who had now actually usurped the Sicilian throne, in prejudice of his nephew Conradine. The count of Anjou marched into Italy at the head of a numerous army. Mainfroy was defeated and slain in the plains of Benevento, and Conradine appeared in vindication of his native rights. He also was routed, and taken prisoner, together with his uncle, the duke of Austria; and both were executed at Naples, upon a scaffold, at the request of the pope, and by the sentence of a pretended court of justice;(3) an indignity not hitherto offered to a crowned head.

In consequence of the revolution that followed this barbarity, by which Charles, count of Anjou, established himself on the Sicilian throne, the ancient rights of that island were annihilated, and it fell entirely under the jurisdiction of the pope. Meanwhile St. Lewis, who, either out of respect to his holiness, or of complaisance to his brother, thus beheld with indifference the liberties of mankind sacrificed, and the blood of princes unjustly spilled, was preparing to lead a new army against the infidels. He hoped to make a convert

(1) Fontainay, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallic*, tom. xi. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii.

(2) Rymer, vol. i. *Chron. T. Wykes. Chron. Dunst. M. Paris. W. Heming.*

(3) Giannone, *Hist. di Nap.*

of the king of Tunis; and, for that purpose, landed on the coast of Africa, sword in hand, at the head of his troops. But the Mussulman refused to embrace Christianity: the French army was seized with an epidemical distemper, of which Lewis beheld one of his sons expire, and another at the point of death, when he was seized with it himself, and died in the fifty-sixth year of his age. His son and successor, Philip, recovered; kept the field against the Moors; and saved the remains of the French army, which procured him the name of the Hardy.⁽¹⁾ But the reign of this prince must not at present engage our attention; we must return to the affairs of Spain, which had still little connexion with the rest of Europe, but was every day rising into consequence.

LETTER XXXIV.

Spain, from the Middle of the Eleventh to the End of the Thirteenth Century.

WE left Spain, my dear Philip, towards the middle of the eleventh century, dismembered by the Moors and Christians, and both a prey to civil wars. About that time Ferdinand, son of Sancho, surnamed the Great, king of Navarre and Arragon, reunited to his dominions Old Castile, together with the kingdom of Leon, which he took from his brother-in-law, whom he slew in battle. Castile then became a kingdom, and Leon one of its provinces.⁽²⁾

In the reign of this Ferdinand lived Don Roderigo, surnamed the Cid, who actually married Chimene, whose father he had murdered. They who know nothing of this history, but from the celebrated tragedy written by Corneille, suppose that Ferdinand was in possession of Andalusia. The Cid began his famous exploits by assisting Don Sancho, Ferdinand's eldest son, to strip his brothers and sisters of the inheritance left them by their father; but Sancho being murdered in one of these unjust expeditions, his brothers entered again into possession of their estates.

A short digression will be here necessary. Besides the many kings at this time in Spain, who amounted to near the number of twenty, there were also many independent lords, who came on horseback completely armed, and followed by several squires, to offer their service to the princes and princesses engaged in war. The princes with whom these lords engaged girded them with a belt, and presented them with a sword, with which they gave them a slight blow on the shoulder; and hence the origin of knights-errant, and of the number of single combats, which so long desolated Spain.

One of the most celebrated of these combats was fought after the murder of that king Sancho, whose death I have just mentioned, and who was assassinated while he was besieging his sister Auraca in the city of Zamora. Three knights maintained the honour of the infanta against Don Diego de Lara, who had accused her. Don Diego overthrew and killed two of the infanta's knights; and the horse of the third having the reigns of his bridle cut, carried his master out of the lists, and the combat was declared undecided.

Of all the Spanish knights, the Cid distinguished himself most eminently against the Moors. Several knights ranged themselves under his banner; and these knights, with their squires and horsemen, composed an army covered with iron, and mounted on the most beautiful steeds in the country. With this force he overcame several Moorish kings; and having fortified the city of Alcaassar, he there erected a little sovereignty.

But of the various enterprises in which the Cid and his followers were engaged, the most gallant was the siege of Toledo, which his master Alphonso VI., king of Old Castile, undertook against the Moors. The noise of this siege, and the Cid's reputation, brought many knights and princes from France and Italy; particularly Raymond, count of Toulouse, and two princes of the blood-royal of France, of the branch of Burgundy. The Moorish

¹ Joinville, ubi sup. Mezeray, tom. iii. Henault tom i

⁽²⁾ Mariana, *Hist. de Espana.*

king, named Hiaya, was the son of Almamon, one of the most generous princes mentioned in history, and who had afforded an asylum, in this very city of Toledo, to Alphonso, when persecuted by his brother Sancho. They had lived together for a long time in strict friendship; and Almamon was so far from detaining Alphonso, when he became king by the death of Sancho, that he gave him part of his treasures, and they shed tears, it is said, at parting. But the spirit of those times made every thing lawful against Infidels; and even meritorious. Several Moorish princes went out of the city to reproach Alphonso with his ingratitude, and many remarkable combats were fought under the walls.

This siege lasted a whole year; at the end of which Toledo capitulated: on condition that the Moors should enjoy their religion and laws, and suffer no injury in their persons or property.⁽¹⁾ All New Castile, in a short time, yielded to the Cid, who took possession of it in the name of Alphonso; and Madrid, a small place, which was one day to become the capital of Spain, fell into the hands of the Christians.

Immediately after the reduction of Toledo, Alphonso called an assembly of bishops, who, without the concurrence of the people, formerly thought necessary, promoted a priest named Bernard to the bishoprick of that city; and pope Urban II., at the king's request, made him primate of Spain. The king and the pope were also anxious to establish the Roman liturgy and ritual in place of the Gothic, or Musarabic, hitherto in use. The Spaniards contended zealously for the ritual of their ancestors: the pope urged them to receive that which he had given his infallible sanction: a violent squabble arose; and, to the disgrace of human reason, a religious opinion was referred to the decision of the sword. Two knights accordingly entered the lists in complete armour. The Musarabic champion was victorious; but the king and the archbishop had influence enough to get a new trial appointed, though contrary to all the laws of combat. The next appeal was to God by fire. A fire being prepared for that purpose, a copy of each liturgy was cast into the flames. The fire, most likely, respected neither; but authority prevailed. The Roman liturgy was ordered to be received; yet some churches were permitted to retain the Musarabic.⁽²⁾

Alphonso, either from policy or inclination, augmented the dominions which he had acquired through the valour of the Cid, by marrying Zaid, daughter of Abenhabet, the Mahometan king of Seville, with whom he received several towns in dowry: and he is reproached with having, in conjunction with his father-in-law, invited the Miramolin of Africa into Spain. But be that as it may, the Miramolin came; and, instead of assisting, as was expected, the king of Seville, in reducing the petty Moorish princes, he turned his arms against Abenhabet; took the city of Seville, and became a dangerous neighbour to Alphonso.⁽³⁾

In the mean time the Cid, at the head of his army of knights, subdued the kingdom of Valencia. Few kings in Spain were, at that time, so powerful as he; yet he never assumed the regal title, but continued faithful to his master Alphonso. He governed Valentia, however, with all the authority of a sovereign, receiving ambassadors, and being treated with the highest respect by all nations. After his death, which happened in 1096, the kings of Castile and Arragon continued their wars against the Infidels; and Spain was more drenched in blood than ever, and more desolated.

Alphonso, surnamed the Battle-giver, king of Navarre and Arragon, took Saragossa from the Moors; and that city, which afterward became the capital of the kingdom of Arragon, never again returned under the dominion of the Infidels. He was continually at war either with the Christians or Mahometans; and the latter gained a complete victory over them, which mortified him so much, that he died of chagrin, leaving his kingdom by will to the Knights Templars. This was bequeathing a civil war as his last legacy.

(1) Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hisp.* Mariana, ubi sup. Ferreras, *Hist. de Espana.*

(3) Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hisp.*

(2) Id ibid

The testament was esteemed valid; but fortunately these knights were not in a condition to enforce it; and the states of Arragon chose for their king Garcias Remiero, brother to the deceased monarch. He had led a monastic life for upwards of forty years, and proved incapable of governing. The people of Navarre therefore chose another king, descended from their ancient monarchs; and, by this division, both these states became a prey to the Moors. They were saved by the timely assistance of Alphonso VII., king of Castile, who had obtained many victories over the Infidels, and in return for his protection received the city of Saragossa from the Arragonese, and the homage of the king of Navarre. This success so much elated Alphonso, that he assumed the title of Emperor of Spain.(1)

Alphonso Henriquez, count of Portugal, received about this time the title of king from his soldiers, after a victory obtained over the Moors; and he took Lisbon from them by the assistance of the crusaders, as has been already mentioned. On this occasion, pope Alexander III., steady to the policy of his predecessors, took advantage of the papal maxim, that all countries conquered from the Infidels belong to the Holy See, to assert his superiority over Portugal; and Alphonso politically allowed him an annual tribute of two marks of gold, on receiving a bull from Rome confirming his regal dignity and his infallible right to that territory.(2)

A very few efforts would now have been sufficient to have driven the Moors entirely out of Spain: but for that purpose it was necessary that the Spanish Christians should be united among themselves, whereas they were unhappily engaged in perpetual wars one with another. They united, however, at length, from a sense of common danger, and also implored the assistance of the other Christian princes of Europe.

Mahomet Ben Joseph, Miramolin of Africa, having crossed the sea with an army of near one hundred thousand men, and being joined by the Moors in Andalusia, assured himself of making an entire conquest of Spain. The rumour of this great armament roused the attention of the whole European continent. Many adventurers came from all quarters. To these the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, united their forces: the kingdom of Portugal also furnished a body of troops; and the Christian and Mahometan armies met in the defiles of the Black Mountain, or Sierra Morena, on the borders of Andalusia, and in the province of Toledo. Alphonso the Noble, king of Castile, commanded the centre of the Christian army: the archbishop of Toledo carried the cross before him. The Miramolin occupied the same place in the Moorish army: he was dressed in a rich robe, with the Koran in one hand, and a sabre in the other. The battle was long and obstinately disputed, but at length the Christians prevailed:(3) and the sixteenth of July, the day on which the victory was gained, is still celebrated in Toledo.

The consequences of this victory, however, were not so great as might have been expected. The Moors of Andalusia were strengthened by the remains of the African army, while that of the Christians was immediately dispersed. Almost all the knights who had been present at the battle returned to their respective homes as soon as it was over. But although the Christians seemed thus to neglect their true interest, by allowing the Mahometans time to recruit themselves, the Moors employed that time more to their own hurt than the Christians could if united against them. All the Moorish states, both in Spain and Africa, were rent in pieces by civil dissensions, and a variety of new sovereigns sprang up, which entirely broke the power of the Infidels.

The period seemed therefore arrived, to use the language of that haughty and superstitious nation, marked out by Heaven for the glory of Spain, and the expulsion of the Moors. Ferdinand III., styled by his countrymen St. Ferdinand, took from the Infidels the famous city of Cordova, the residence of the first Moorish kings; and James I. of Arragon dispossessed them of

(1) Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hisp*(2) Neusville, *Hist Gen de Port.*(3) Rod. Tolet. *de Ret. Hisp*

the island of Majorca, and drove them out of the fine kingdom of Valentia. St. Ferdinand also subdued the province of Murcia, and made himself master of Seville, the most opulent city belonging to the Moors.(1) Death at length put an end to his conquests: and if divine honours are due to those who have been the deliverers of their country, Spain justly reverences the name of Ferdinand III.

Alphonso, surnamed the Astronomer, or the Wise, the son of St. Ferdinand, likewise exalted the glory of Spain; but in a manner very different from that of his father. This prince, who rivalled the Arabians in the sciences, digested the celebrated Spanish code, called *Las Partidas*; and under his inspection those astronomical tables were drawn up, which still bear his name, and do honour to his memory. In his old age he saw his son Sancho rebel against him, and was reduced to the disagreeable necessity of leaguings with the Moors against his own blood, and his rebellious Christian subjects. This was not the first alliance which Christians had entered into with Mahometans against Christians; but it was certainly the most excusable.

Alphonso invited to his assistance the Miramolin of Africa, who immediately crossed the sea; and the two monarchs met at Zara, on the confines of Granada. The behaviour and speech of the Miramolin, on this occasion, deserves to be transmitted to the latest posterity. He gave the place of honour to Alphonso at meeting: "I treat you thus," said he, "because you are unfortunate; and enter into alliance with you merely to revenge the common cause of all kings and all fathers."(2)

The rebels were overcome; but the good old king died before he had time to enjoy the fruits of his victory: and the Miramolin being obliged to return to Africa, the unnatural Sancho succeeded to the crown in prejudice to the offspring of a former marriage. He even reigned happily; and his son Ferdinand IV. took Gibraltar from the Moors.(3)

This Ferdinand is called by the Spanish historians the Summoned: and the reason they assign for it is somewhat remarkable. Having ordered two noblemen, in a fit of anger, to be thrown from the top of a rock, those noblemen, before they were pushed off, summoned him to appear in the presence of God within a month; at the end of which he died.(4) It is to be wished, as Voltaire very justly observes, that this story were true; or, at least, believed to be so by all princes who think they have a right to follow their own imperious wills at the expense of the lives of their fellow-creatures.

These are the circumstances most worthy of notice in the history of Spain, during the period here examined. We must now take a view of the progress of society.

LETTER XXXV.

Progress of Society in Europe during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.

You have already, my dear Philip, seen letters begin to revive, and manners to soften, about the middle of the eleventh century. But the progress of refinement was slow during the two succeeding centuries, and often altogether obstructed by monastic austerities, theological disputes, ecclesiastical broils, and the disorders of the feudal anarchy. Society, however, made many beneficial advances before the close of this period. These I shall endeavour distinctly to trace.

The influence of the spirit of chivalry on manners, as we have seen, was great and singular; it enlarged the generousities of the human heart, and soothed its ferocity. But being unhappily blended with superstition, it became itself the means of violence: armed one half of the species against the other, and precipitated Europe upon Asia. I allude to the crusades.

(1) Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hisp.*

(3) *Id. Ibid.*

(2) Ferreras et Mariana, *ubi supra*

(4) Ferreras, *Hist. Espana.*

Yet these romantic expeditions, though barbarous and destructive in themselves, were followed by many important consequences, equally conducive to the welfare of the community and of the individual. All adventurers who assumed the cross being taken under the immediate protection of the church, and its heaviest anathemas denounced against such as should molest their persons or their property, private hostilities were for a time suspended or extinguished: the feudal sovereigns became more powerful, and their vassals less turbulent; a more steady administration of justice was introduced, and some advances were made towards regular government.

The commercial effects of the crusades were no less considerable than their political influence. Many ships were necessary to transport the prodigious armies which Europe poured forth, and also to supply them with provisions. These ships were principally furnished by the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese; who acquired, by that service, immense sums of money, and opened to themselves at the same time, a new source of wealth, by importing into Europe the commodities of Asia. A taste for these commodities became general. The Italian cities grew rich, powerful, and obtained extensive privileges. Some of them erected themselves into sovereignties, others into corporations or independent communities;(1) and the establishment of those communities may be considered as the first great step towards civilization in modern Europe.

This subject requires your particular attention. The feudal government, as I have frequently had occasion to observe, had degenerated into a system of oppression. The nobles had reduced the great body of the people to a state of actual servitude, and the condition of those denominated free was little, if at all, more desirable. Not only the inhabitants of the country, but even whole cities and villages, held of some great lord, on whom they depended for protection; and the citizens were no less subject to his arbitrary jurisdiction than those employed in cultivating the estates of their masters. Services of various kinds, equally disgraceful and oppressive, were exacted from them without mercy or moderation: and they were deprived of the most natural and unalienable rights of humanity. They could not dispose of their effects by will, appoint guardians to their children, or even marry, without the consent of their superior lord.(2)

Men in such a condition had few motives to industry. Accordingly we find all the cities of Europe, before their enfranchisement, equally poor and wretched. But no sooner were they formed into bodies politic, governed by magistrates chosen from among their own members, than the spirit of industry revived, and commerce began to flourish. Population increased with independency; the conveniences of life with the means of procuring them; property gave birth to statutes and regulations; a sense of common interest enforced them; and the more frequent occasions of intercourse among men, and kingdoms, gradually led to a greater refinement in manners, and tended to wear off those national and local prejudices which create dissension and animosity between the inhabitants of different states and provinces.

The manner in which these immunities were obtained was different in the different kingdoms of Europe. Some of the Italian cities, as we have seen, acquired their freedom by arms, others by money; and in France and Germany many of the great barons were glad to sell charters of liberty to the towns within their jurisdiction, in order to repair the expense incurred by the crusades. The sovereigns also granted, or sold, like privileges to the towns within the royal domain, in order to create some power that might counterbalance their potent vassals, who often gave law to the crown.(3) The practice quickly spread over Europe; and before the end of the thirteenth century its beneficial effects were generally felt.

These effects were no less extensive upon government than upon manners

(1) Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* vol. ii.

(2) *Ordon. des Rois de France*, tom. i. lib. Dach. *Spicileg.* tom. xi. Murat. *Antiquit. Ital.* vol. iv

(3) Du Cange, *voc. communia*.

Self-preservation had obliged every man, during several centuries, to court the patronage of some powerful baron, whose castle was the common asylum in times of danger; but towns surrounded with walls, and filled with citizens trained to arms, bound by interest as well as the most solemn engagements to protect each other, afforded a more commodious and secure retreat. The nobles became of less importance, when they ceased to be the sole guardians of the people; and the crown acquired an increase of power and consequence, when it no longer depended entirely upon its great vassals for the supply of its armies. The cities contributed liberally towards the support of the royal authority, as they regarded the sovereigns as the authors of their liberty, and their protectors against the domineering spirit of the nobles. Hence another consequence of corporation charters.

The inhabitants of cities having obtained personal freedom, and municipal jurisdiction, soon aspired at civil liberty and political power. And the sovereigns, in most kingdoms, found it necessary to admit them to a share in the legislature, on account of their utility in raising the supplies for government; it being a fundamental principle in the feudal policy, that no free man could be taxed but with his own consent. The citizens were now free; and the wealth, the power, and the consequence which they acquired on recovering their liberty, added weight to their claim to political eminence, and seemed to mark them out as an essential branch in the constitution. They had it much in their power to supply the exigencies of the crown, and also to repress the encroachment of the nobles. In England, Germany, and even in France, where the voice of liberty is heard no more, the representatives of communities accordingly obtained, by different means, a place in the national council, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.(1)

Thus, my dear Philip, an intermediate power was established between the king and nobles, to which each had recourse alternately, and which sometimes opposed the one, and sometimes the other. It tempered the rigour of aristocratical oppression with a mixture of popular liberty, at the same time that it restrained the usurpations of the crown: it secured to the great body of the people, who had formerly no representatives, active and powerful guardians of their rights and liberties; and it entirely changed the spirit of the laws, by introducing into the statutes and the jurisprudence of the European nations ideas of equality, order, and public good.

To this new power that part of the people still in servitude, the villains, who resided in the country, and were employed in agriculture, looked up for freedom. They obtained it, though contrary to the spirit of the feudal polity. The odious names of masters and slaves were abolished. The husbandman became farmer of the same fields which he had formerly been compelled to cultivate for the benefit of another. He reaped a share of the fruits of his own industry. New prospects opened, new incitements were offered to ingenuity and enterprise. The activity of genius was awakened; and a numerous class of men, who formerly had no political existence, were restored to society and augmented the force and riches of the state.

The second great advance which society made, during the period under review, was an approach towards a more regular administration of justice. The barbarous nations who overran the Roman empire, and settled in its provinces, rejected the Roman jurisprudence, as I have had occasion to observe, with the same contempt that they spurned the Roman arts. Both respected objects of which they had no conception, and were adapted to a state of society with which they were then unacquainted. But as civilization advanced, they became sensible of the imperfection of their own institutions, and even of their absurdity. The trial by ordeal and by duel was abolished in most countries before the end of the thirteenth century, and various attempts were made to restrain the practice of private war; one of the greatest abuses in the feudal polity, and which struck at the foundation of all government.

(1) M. l'Abbe Mably, *Observat. sur l'Hist. de France*, tom. II. Henault, tom. I. Plessel, *Abregé de l'Hist. de Droit d'Allemagne*. Brady, *Treatise of Boroughs*. Madox, *Firma Burgi*.

As the authority of the civil magistrate was found ineffectual to remedy this evil, the church interposed; and various regulations were published, in order to set bounds to private hostilities. But these all proving insufficient, supernatural means were employed; a letter was sent from heaven to a bishop of Aquitaine, enjoining men to cease from violence, and be reconciled to each other. This revelation was published during a season of public calamity, when men were willing to perform any thing in order to avert the wrath of an offended God. A general reconciliation took place: and a resolution was formed, that no man should, in time to come, attack or molest his adversaries during the seasons set apart for celebrating the great festivals of the church, or from the evening of Thursday in each week to the morning of Monday in the week ensuing; the intervening days being considered as particularly holy. Christ's passion having happened on one of those days, and his resurrection on another. This cessation from hostilities was called "The Truce of God;" and three complete days, in every week, allowed such a considerable space for the passions of the antagonists to cool, and for the people to enjoy a respite from the calamities of war, as well as to take measures for their own security, that, if the Truce of God had been exactly observed, it must have gone far towards putting an end to private wars. That, however, was not the case; the nobles prosecuted their quarrels, as formerly, till towards the end of the twelfth century, when a carpenter of Guienne gave out, that Jesus Christ, together with the Blessed Virgin, had appeared to him, and, having commanded him to exhort mankind to peace, had given him, as a proof of his mission, an image of the Virgin holding her son in her arms, with this inscription: "Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, give us peace!" This law fanatic was received as an inspired messenger of Heaven. Many prelates and barons assembled at Puy, and took an oath, not only to make peace with all their own enemies, but to attack such as refused to lay down their arms and to be reconciled to their enemies. They formed an association for that purpose, and assumed the honourable name of "The Brotherhood of God." Like associations were formed in other countries; and these, together with civil prohibitions, enforced by royal power, contributed to remove this pernicious evil.(1)

When society was thus emerging from barbarism, and men were become sensible of the necessity of order, a copy of Justinian's Pandects was discovered at Amalphi, in Italy: and although the age had still too little taste to relish the beauty of the Roman classics, it immediately perceived the merit of a system of laws, in which all the points most interesting to mankind were settled with precision, discernment, and equity. All men of letters were struck with admiration at the wisdom of the ancients: the Justinian code was studied with eagerness; the professors of civil law were appointed, who taught this new science in most countries of Europe.

The effects of studying and imitating so perfect a model were, as might be expected, great. Fixed and general laws were established; the principles and the forms by which judges should regulate their decisions were ascertained; the feudal law was reduced into a regular system; the canon law was methodised; the loose uncertain customs of different provinces or kingdoms were collected and arranged with order and accuracy. And these improvements in the system of jurisprudence had an extensive influence upon society. They gave rise to a distinction of professions.

Among rude nations no profession is honourable but that of arms; and, as the functions of peace are few and simple, war is the only study. Such had been the state of Europe during several centuries. But when law became a science, the knowledge of which required a regular course of studies, together with long attention to the practice of courts, a new order of men naturally acquired consideration and influence in society. Another profession beside that of arms was introduced, and reputed honourable among the

(1) Du Cange, *Gloss. voc. Treuga*. Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. i. Robertson's *Introd. Hist. Charles V.* sect. l. Hume, *Hist. England*, Append. l.

laity: the talents requisite for discharging it were cultivated; the arts and virtues of peace were placed in their proper rank: and the people of Europe became accustomed to see men rise to eminence by civil as well as military employment.(1)

The study of the Roman law had also a considerable influence upon letters. The knowledge of a variety of sciences became necessary, in order to expound with judgment the civil code; and the same passion which made men prosecute the juridical science with so much ardour made them anxious to excel in every branch of literature. Colleges and universities were founded, a regular course of studies was planned, and a regular set of professors established. Privileges of great value were conferred upon masters and scholars; academical titles and honours were invented, as rewards for the different degrees of literary eminence; and an incredible number of students, allured by these advantages, resorted to the new seats of learning.(2)

But a false taste unhappily infected all those seminaries; which is thus ingeniously accounted for by a learned and inquisitive writer:—Most of the persons who attempted to revive literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had received instruction, and derived their principle of science, from the Greeks in the Eastern empire, or the Arabs in Spain and Africa. Both those people, acute and inquisitive to excess, corrupted the sciences which they cultivated. The Greeks rendered theology a system of speculative refinement, or endless controversy; and the Arabs communicated to philosophy a spirit of metaphysical and frivolous subtlety. Misled by these guides, the persons who first applied to science were involved in a maze of intricate inquiries. Instead of allowing their fancy to take its natural range, and produce such works of elegant invention as might have improved the taste and refined the sentiments of the age; instead of cultivating those arts which embellish human life, and render it delightful, they spent the whole force of their genius in speculations as unavailing as they were difficult.(3)

But, fruitless and ill-directed as these speculations were, their novelty roused, and their boldness engaged, the human mind; and although science was further circumscribed in its influence, and prevented during several ages from diffusing itself through society, by being delivered in the Latin tongue, its progress deserves to be mentioned, as one of the great causes which contributed to introduce a change of manners into modern Europe. That ardent though mistaken spirit of inquiry which prevailed put ingenuity and invention in motion, and gave them vigour: it led men to a new employment of their faculties, which they found to be agreeable as well as interesting; it accustomed them to exercises and occupations that tended to soften their manners and to give them some relish for those gentle virtues which are peculiar to nations among whom science has been successfully cultivated.

Some ages indeed elapsed before taste, order, and politeness were restored to society: but anarchy and barbarism gradually disappeared with ignorance; the evils of life, with its crimes; and public and private happiness grew daily better understood; until Europe (wisely governed!) came to enjoy all those advantages, pleasures, amusements, and tender sympathies, which are necessary to alleviate the pains inseparable from existence, and sooth the sorrows allied to humanity.

(1) Montesquieu. *L'Esprit des Loix*. liv. xxviii. Hume, *Hist. England*, chap. xxlii. Roberts: *Hist. Charles V.* sect. 1.

(2) *Id. Ibid.*

(3) Robertson, *ubi sup.*

LETTER XXXVI.

England during the Reign of Edward I. with an Introduction to the History of Scotland; some Account of the Conquest of that Country by the English, and the final Reduction of Wales.

THE reign of Edward I. my dear Philip, as already observed, forms a new era in the history of Britain. I must now make you sensible what entitles it to that distinction.

As soon as Edward returned to England (where his authority was firmly established, by his high character both at home and abroad), he applied himself assiduously to the correcting of those disorders which the civil commotions, and the loose administration of his father, had introduced into every part of government. His policy, though severe, was equally liberal and prudent. By an exact distribution of justice, and a rigid execution of the laws, he gave at once protection to the inferior orders of the state, and diminished the arbitrary power of the nobles. He made it a rule in his own conduct to observe, except upon extraordinary occasions, the privileges secured to the barons by the Great Charter, and he insisted on their observance of the same charter towards their vassals; he made the crown be regarded as the grand fountain of justice, and the general asylum against violence and oppression. By these wise measures, the state of the kingdom was soon wholly changed; order and tranquillity were restored to society, and vigour to government. (1)

Now it was that the enterprising spirit of Edward began more remarkably to show itself. He undertook an expedition against Lewellyn prince of Wales, who had formerly joined the rebellious barons, and whose two brothers, David and Roderic, had fled to Edward for protection; craving his assistance to recover their possessions, and seconding his attempts to enslave their native country.

The Welch prince had no resource against the superior force of Edward but the inaccessible situation of his mountains, which had hitherto protected his forefathers against all the attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors. He accordingly retired with the bravest of his subjects among the hills of Snowdon. But Edward, no less vigorous than cautious, pierced into the heart of the country, and approached the Welch army in its last retreat. Having carefully secured every pass behind him, he avoided putting to trial the valour of a nation proud of its ancient independency. He trusted to the more slow but sure effects of famine for success; and Lewellyn was at length obliged to submit, and receive the terms imposed upon him by the English monarch. (2)

These terms, though sufficiently severe, were but ill observed by the victors. The English oppressed and insulted the inhabitants of the districts which were yielded to them. The indignation of the Welch was roused they flew to arms; and Edward again entered Wales with an army, not displeased with the occasion of making his conquest final. This army he committed to the command of Roger Mortimer, while he himself waited the event in the castle of Rudhlan; and Lewellyn, having ventured to leave his fastnesses, was defeated by Mortimer, and slain, together with two thousand of his followers. All the Welch nobility submitted to Edward, and the laws of England were established in that principality. (3)

In order to preserve his conquest, Edward had recourse to a barbarous policy. He ordered David, brother to Lewellyn, and his successor in the principality of Wales, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for taking arms in defence of his native country, which he had once unhappily

(1) M. West. T. Walsingham.

(2) T. Wykes.

(3) T. Walsingham. T. Wykes *Annal. Waverl.* Powel, *Hist. Wales.*

deserted, and for maintaining by force his own hereditary authority. He also ordered all the Welch bards to be collected together and put to death; from a belief, and no absurd one, that he should more easily subdue the independent spirit of the people, when their minds ceased to be roused by the ideas of military valour and ancient glory, preserved in the traditional poems of these minstrels, and recited or sung by them on all public occasions and days of festivity.(1)

Edward's conduct, in regard to Scotland, at which his ambition now pointed, is little more excusable. But several things must be premised, my dear Philip, before I proceed to his transactions with that country.

On the final departure of the Romans from this island, you have seen the Scots and Picts, its northern inhabitants, ravaging South Britain. They were repelled, but not subdued, by the Saxons; and the first Norman princes were too much occupied with the affairs of the continent to push their conquests beyond the Tweed. Meanwhile fierce and bloody wars were, during several ages, carried on between the Scots and Picts, and Kenneth II., the sixty-ninth Scottish king, according to tradition, had obtained, in 838, a complete victory over the Picts, and united into one monarchy the whole country at present known by the name of North Britain. The Scots thenceforth became more formidable; and, having less business on their hands at home, were always ready to join the English malecontents, and made frequent incursions into the bordering counties. In one of these incursions, as I have had occasion to notice, William king of Scotland was taken prisoner; and Henry II., as the price of his liberty, not only extorted from him an exorbitant ransom, and a promise to surrender the places of greatest strength in his dominions, but compelled him to do homage for his whole kingdom. Richard I., a more generous, but less politic, prince than his father, solemnly renounced his claim of homage, and absolved William from the other hard conditions which Henry had imposed. The crown of Scotland was therefore again rendered independent, and the northern potentate only did homage for the fiefs which he enjoyed in England, (a circumstance which has occasioned many mistakes, and much dispute among historians) in the same manner as the king of England himself swore fealty to the French monarch, for the fiefs which he inherited in France. But on the death of Alexander III. near a century after the captivity of William, Edward I., availing himself of the situation of affairs in Scotland, revived the claim of sovereignty which had been renounced by Richard.(2)

This is the real state of the controversy concerning the independency of Scotland, which took its rise about this time, and in the following manner. As Alexander left no male issue, nor any descendant except Margaret of Norway, his granddaughter, who did not long survive him, the right of succession belonged to the descendants of David earl of Huntingdon, third son of king David I. Of that line, two illustrious competitors for the crown appeared: Robert Bruce, son of Isabel, earl David's second daughter; and John Baliol, grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter. According to the rules of succession now established, Baliol's right was preferable: he would succeed as the representative of his mother and grandmother; and Bruce's plea of being one degree nearer the common stock would be disregarded. But in that age the question appeared no less intricate than important: the sentiments of men were divided: each claim was supported by a powerful faction; and arms alone, it was feared, must terminate a dispute too weighty for the laws to decide.

In this critical situation the parliament of Scotland, in order to avoid the miseries of civil war, embraced the dangerous resolution of appealing to Edward I. He was accordingly chosen umpire, and both parties agreed to acquiesce in his decree. Now it was that this ambitious and enterprising prince, already master of Wales, resolved more determinedly to make himself lord of the whole island of Britain, by reviving his obscure claim of

(1) Sir J. Wynne.

(2) Buchanan, *Hist. Scot.*, lib. viii. Robertson, book i

feudal superiority over Scotland. Under pretence of examining the question with the utmost solemnity, he summoned all the Scottish barons to attend him in the castle of Norham, a place situated on the southern bank of the Tweed; and having gained some, and intimidated others, he prevailed on all who were present, not excepting Bruce and Baliol, the two competitors for the succession, to acknowledge Scotland a fief of the English crown, and swear fealty to him as their sovereign liege lord.(1)

This step led to another still more important. As it was in vain to pronounce a sentence which he had not power to execute, Edward demanded possession of the disputed kingdom, that he might be able to deliver it to him whose right should be found preferable: and that exorbitant demand was complied with both by the barons and the claimants. He soon after gave judgment in favour of Baliol, as being the least formidable of the competitors, we are told by a respectable historian;(2) but, in justice to Edward, I am bound to say, that his award, which was no less equitable than solemn, seemed to proceed merely from the state of the question. He not only referred it to the consideration of a hundred and forty commissioners, partly English and partly Scotch, but proposed it to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe, who returned a uniform answer conformable to the king's decree. Baliol renewed the oath of fealty to England, and was put in possession of the kingdom.(3)

Edward, having thus established his unjust claim of feudal superiority over Scotland, aspired next at the absolute sovereignty and dominion of that kingdom. He attempted to provoke Baliol by indignities; to rouse him to rebellion, and to rob him of his crown, as the punishment of his pretended treason and felony. The passive spirit of Baliol accordingly began to mutiny; and he entered into a secret alliance with France, which was already engaged in a war with England, the more effectually to maintain his independency.

The expenses attending these multiplied wars of Edward, and his new preparations for reducing Scotland, obliged him to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies, and introduced the lower orders of the state into the public councils. This period, therefore, the twenty-third year of his reign, seems to be the true era of the House of Commons: for the former precedent of representatives from the boroughs, summoned by the earl of Leicester, was regarded as the act of a violent usurpation, and had been discontinued in all the subsequent parliaments. But when the multiplied necessities of the crown produced a greater demand for money than could be conveniently answered by the common mode of taxation, Edward became sensible, that the most expeditious way of obtaining supplies was to assemble the deputies of all the boroughs: to lay before them the exigencies of the state; to discuss the matter in their presence, and to require their consent to the demands of their sovereign. He therefore issued writs to the sheriffs, enjoining them to send to parliament, along with two knights of the shire, two deputies from each borough within their county, provided with sufficient powers from their community, to consent to what levies should seem necessary for the support of government—"as it is a most equitable rule," says he, in his preamble to this writ, "that what concerns all should be approved of by all; and common dangers be repelled by united efforts."(4) Such a way of thinking implies a generosity of mind much superior to what might be expected from Edward's general conduct.

The aldermen and common-council, after the election of these deputies, gave surety for their attendance before the king and parliament; and their charges were borne by the borough that sent them.(5) How different in that, as well as in other respects, from our more modern representatives!—Instead of checking and controlling the authority of the king, they were naturally induced to adhere to him, as the great fountain of justice, and to support him against the power of the nobles, who at once suppressed them, and disturbed

(1) Rymer, vol. ii. W. Hemming, vol. i.

(3) Rymer, vol. ii. W. Hemming, vol. i.

(5) Id. *ibid.* *Reliquie Spelm.*(2) Robertson, *Hist. Scotland*, book i.(4) Brady, *Treaties of Boroughs*, from the Records.

him in the execution of the laws. The king, in his turn, gave countenance to an order of men so useful, and so little dangerous. The peers also were obliged to pay them some respect, on account of their consequence as a body. By these means the commons, or third estate, long so abject in England, as well as in all other European nations, rose gradually to their present importance; and, in their progress, made arts and commerce, the necessary attendants on liberty and equality, flourish in Britain.

Edward employed the supplies granted by his people in warlike preparations against his northern neighbour. He cited Baliol as his vassal, to appear in an English parliament, to be held at Newcastle. But that prince, having now received pope Celestine's dispensation from his oath of fealty, renounced the homage which had been done to England, and set Edward at defiance. This bravado was but ill supported by the military operations of the Scots. Edward crossed the Tweed without opposition, at the head of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Berwick was taken by assault; the Scottish army was totally routed near Dunbar; the whole southern part of the kingdom was subdued; and the timid Baliol, discontented with his own subjects, and overawed by the English, instead of making use of those resources which were yet left, hastened to make his submissions to the conqueror. He expressed the deepest penitence for his disloyalty to his liege lord; and he made a solemn and irrevocable renunciation of his crown into the hands of Edward.(1)

The English monarch marched as far north as Aberdeen and Elgin without meeting a single enemy. No Scotsman approached him, but to pay him submission and do him homage. Even the turbulent Highlanders, ever refractory to their own princes, and averse against the restraints of law, endeavoured by a timely obedience to prevent the devastation of their country: and Edward, flattering himself that he had now attained the great object of his wishes, in the final reduction of Scotland, left earl Warrenne governor of the kingdom, and returned with his victorious army into England.(2)

Here a few particulars are necessary. There was a stone, to which the popular superstition of the Scots paid the highest veneration. All their kings were seated on it when they received the rite of inauguration. Ancient tradition assured them, that their nation should always govern where this stone was placed; and it was carefully preserved at Scone, as the true palladium of their monarch, and their ultimate resource under all misfortunes. Edward got possession of it, and carried it with him into England. He also gave orders to destroy all the records, and all those monuments of antiquity which might preserve the memory of the independency of the kingdom of Scotland, and refute the English claims of superiority. The great seal of Baliol was broken, and that prince himself was carried prisoner to London, and committed to close custody in the Tower.(3) Two years after he was restored to liberty, and submitted to a voluntary banishment in France; where, without making any farther attempt for the recovery of his royalty, he died in a private station.

Edward was not so successful in an effort which he made for the recovery of Guienne. The French monarch, Philip IV., surnamed the fair, had robbed England of this province, by an artifice similar to that which Edward had practised against the Scots. He had cited the English monarch, as his vassal, to answer, in the court of peers, the charge of treason against his sovereign; for having permitted his subjects to seize some Norman vessels, and denied satisfaction: and Edward, refusing to comply, was declared guilty of treason, and the dutchy of Guienne confiscated. An English army was sent over to recover it under the earl of Lancaster, who died in a short time; and the earl of Lincoln, who succeeded him in the command, failed in the attempt. But the active and ambitious spirit of Edward could not rest satisfied so long as the ancient patrimony of his family remained in the hands of his rival.

(1) Rymer, vol. ii. Hemming, vol. i. *Trivet Annal.*

(3) W. Hemming. T. Walsingham.

(2) *Ld. ibid*

He therefore entered into an alliance with the earls of Holland and Flanders;(1) and hoped, that when he should enter the frontiers of France, at the head of his English, Flemish, and Dutch armies, the French king would purchase peace by the restitution of Guienne.

But in order to set this vast machine in motion, considerable supplies were necessary from parliament; and these Edward readily obtained both from the lords and commons. He was not so fortunate in his impositions on the clergy, whom he always hated, and from whom he demanded a fifth of all their moveables, as a punishment for their adherence to the Mounfort faction. They urged the pope's bull in opposition to all such demands; and Edward, instead of applying to Boniface VIII., then pontiff, for a relaxation of his mandate, boldly told the ecclesiastics, that since they refused to support the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it, and he would accordingly put them out of the protection of the laws.

This vigorous measure was immediately carried into execution. Orders were issued to the judges to receive no cause brought before them by the clergy; to hear and decide all causes in which they were defendants; to do every one justice against them, but to do them justice against nobody. The ecclesiastics soon found themselves in the most miserable situation imaginable. They could not remain always in their own houses or convents for want of subsistence: if they went abroad in quest of necessities, they were robbed and abused by every ruffian, and no redress could be obtained by them for the most violent injury. The spirit of the clergy was at last broken by this harsh treatment. They all either publicly or privately complied with the king's demands, and received the protection of the laws.(2) Not one ecclesiastic, as the sagacious Hume remarks, seemed willing to suffer for the sake of religious privileges, this new species of martyrdom, the most tedious and languishing of any; the most mortifying to spiritual pride, and not rewarded by that crown of glory which the church holds up with such ostentation to her faithful sons.

But all these supplies were not sufficient for the king's necessities. He was obliged to exert his arbitrary power, and lay an oppressive hand on every order of men in the kingdom. The people murmured, and the barons mutinied, notwithstanding their great personal regard for Edward. He was obliged to make concessions; to promise all his subjects a compensation for the losses they had sustained; and to confirm the Great Charter, with an additional clause, in order to secure the nation for ever against all impositions and taxes without consent of parliament.(3) These concessions, my dear Philip, our ancestors had the honour of extorting, by their boldness and perseverance, from the ablest, the most warlike, and the most ambitious monarch that ever sat upon the throne of England. The validity of the Great Charter was never afterward formally disputed.

Such a number of domestic discontents obstructed the king's embarkation for Flanders; so that he lost the proper season for action, and after his arrival made no great progress against the enemy. The French monarch, however, proposed a cessation of arms; and peace was soon after brought about by the mediation of the pope, in consequence of which Guienne was restored to England.

In the mean time the Scots rebelled. Earl Warrenne having returned to England, on account of his ill state of health, had left the administration entirely in the hands of Ormsby and Cressingham, the officers next in rank, who, instead of acting with that prudence and moderation necessary to reconcile the Scottish nation to a yoke which they bore with such extreme reluctance, exasperated every man of spirit by the rigour and severity of their government. Among these William Wallace, whose heroic exploits are worthy of just panegyric, but to whom the fond admiration of the Scots has ascribed many fabulous acts of prowess, undertook and accomplished the

(1) Rymer, vol. ii. Hemming, vol. i.

(3) T. Walsingham W. Hemming.

(2) W. Hemming, vol. i. *Chron. Dunst.* vol. ii

desperate project of delivering his native country from the dominion of foreigners. He had been provoked by the insolence of an English officer to put him to death; and finding himself on that account obnoxious to the conquerors, he fled into the woods, and offered himself as a leader to all whom the oppressions of the English governors had reduced to the like necessity. He was of a gigantic stature, and endowed with wonderful strength of body; with invincible fortitude of mind; with disinterested magnanimity; with incredible patience, and ability to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the severities of the seasons: so that he soon acquired, among his desperate associates, that authority to which his virtues so eminently entitled him. Every day brought accounts of his gallant actions, which were received with no less favour by his countrymen than terror by the enemy. All men who thirsted after military fame were desirous to partake of his renown: his successful valour seemed to vindicate the nation from the ignominy under which it had fallen by its tame submission to the English; and although no nobleman of note ventured yet to join the party of Wallace, he had gained a general confidence and attachment which birth and fortune alone are not able to confer.

So many fortunate enterprises brought the valour of the Scottish chieftain's followers to correspond with his own: and he determined to strike a decisive blow against the English government. Ormsby, apprised of this intention, fled hastily into England; and all the other officers of his nation imitated his example. The terror added courage to the Scots, who betook themselves to arms in every quarter. Many of the principal barons openly countenanced Wallace's party: and the nation, shaking off its fetters, prepared to defend, by one united effort, that liberty which it had so unexpectedly recovered from the hands of its oppressors.

Meanwhile Warrenne, having collected an army of forty thousand men in the North of England, in order to re-establish his authority, suddenly entered Annandale, before the Scots had united their forces, or put themselves in a posture of defence; and many of the nobles, alarmed at the danger of their situation, renewed their oaths of fealty, and received a pardon for past offences. But Wallace, still undaunted, continued obstinate in his purpose. As he found himself unable to give battle to the enemy, he marched northwards, with an intention of prolonging the war, and of turning to his advantage the situation of that mountainous and barren country. Warrenne attacked him in his camp near Stirling, on the banks of the Forth, where the English army was totally routed. Cressingham, whose impatience urged this attack, was slain; Warrenne was obliged to retire into England, and the principal fortresses in Scotland surrendered to the conqueror.⁽¹⁾

Wallace was now universally revered as the deliverer of his country, and received from his followers the title of Regent or guardian of the kingdom, a dignity which he well deserved. Not satisfied with expelling the enemy, he urged his army to march into England, and revenge all past injuries by retaliating on that hostile nation. The Scots, who deemed every thing possible with such a leader, joyfully attended his call. They broke into the northern counties during the winter season, laying every thing waste before them; and, after extending their ravages on all sides, as far as the bishopric of Durham, returned into their own country loaded with spoils, and crowned with glory, under the victorious Wallace.⁽²⁾

Edward was in Flanders when he received intelligence of these events; and, having already concluded a peace with France, he hastened over to England, in assured hopes, not only of wiping off every disgrace, but of recovering the important conquest of Scotland, which he had always considered as the chief glory of his reign. With this view he collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland; and, with an army of one hundred thousand combatants, entered the devoted kingdom. Scotland was never at any time able to withstand such a force. At present it was without a head, and torn by intestine jealousies. The elevation of Wallace was the

(1) W. Hemming. T. Walsingham.

(2) W. Hemming, vol. 1

object of envy to the nobility, who repined to see a private man raised above them by his rank, and still more by his reputation. Sensible of these evils, Wallace resigned his authority; and the chief command devolved upon men more eminent by birth, though less distinguished by abilities, but under whom the nobles were more willing to serve in defence of their country. They fixed their station at Falkirk, where Edward came up with them, and the whole Scottish army was broken, and chased off the field with great slaughter.(1)

The subjection of Scotland, however, was not yet accomplished. The English army, after reducing all the southern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of provisions; and the Scots, no less enraged at their present defeat than elevated by their past victories, still maintained the contest for liberty. They were again victorious, and again subdued. Wallace alone maintained his independency amid the universal slavery of his countrymen. But he was at length betrayed to the English by his friend Sir John Monteith: and Edward, whose natural bravery and magnanimity should have led him to respect like qualities in an enemy, ordered this illustrious patriot to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made submission or sworn fealty to England, and to be executed on Tower-hill.(2) He could not think his favourite conquest secure, while Wallace was alive. Hence the unworthy fate of a man, who had defended for many years, with signal valour and perseverance, the liberties of his native country.

But the barbarous policy of Edward failed of the purpose to which it was directed. The cruelty and injustice exercised upon Wallace, instead of breaking the spirit, only roused more effectually the resentment of the Scots. All the envy which, during his lifetime, had attended that gallant chieftain, being now buried in his grave, he was universally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and equally lamented by all ranks of men. The people were every where disposed to rise against the English government: and a new and more fortunate leader soon presented himself, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance.

Robert Bruce, son of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland, had succeeded in consequence of his father's death, to all his pretensions; and the death of John Baliol, which happened about the same time in France, seemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. He had formerly served in the English army; but in a private conference held with Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, the flame of patriotism was suddenly conveyed from the breast of one hero to that of another. Bruce regretted his engagement with Edward, and secretly determined to seize the first opportunity of rescuing from slavery his oppressed country. The time of deliverance seemed now come. He hoped that the Scots, without a leader, and without a king, would unanimously repair to his standard, and seat him on the vacant throne. Inflamed with the ardour of youth, and buoyed up by native courage, his aspiring spirit saw alone the glory of the enterprise, or regarded the difficulties that must attend it as the source only of greater glory. The miseries and oppressions which he had beheld his countrymen suffer in their unequal contest for independency, the repeated defeats and misfortunes which they had undergone in the struggle, proved but so many incentives to bring them relief, and to lead them boiling with revenge against the haughty victors.

In consequence of this resolution, and some suspicions that Edward was apprised of it, Bruce suddenly left the English court, and arrived in a few days at Dumfries in Annandale, the chief seat of his family interest. There a number of the nobility were happily assembled, and among the rest John Cummin, to whom he had formerly communicated his designs, and who had basely revealed them to Edward. The noblemen were astonished at the appearance of Bruce, and yet more when he told them that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country; and hoped, with

(1) T. Walsingham. T. Wykes. W. Hemming.

(2) M. West. Geo Buchanan.

their assistance, to redeem the Scottish name from all the indignities which it had so long suffered from the tyranny of their imperious masters. It were better, he said, if Heaven should so decree it, to perish at once like brave men, with swords in their hands, than to dread long, and at last undergo the fate of the unfortunate Wallace.(1)

The spirit with which this discourse was delivered, the bold sentiments which it conveyed, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, assisted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impression on the minds of the nobles, and roused all those principles of indignation and revenge with which they had long been secretly actuated. They declared their unanimous resolution to use the utmost efforts in delivering their country from bondage, and to second the courage of Bruce, in asserting his and their undoubted rights against their common oppressors. Cummin alone, who had privately taken his measures with Edward, opposed the general determination, by representing the great power of the English nation; and Bruce, already informed of his treachery, followed him out of the assembly, and, running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, asked him on his return, if the traitor was slain. "I believe so," replied Bruce. "And is that a matter," cried Kirkpatrick, "to be left to conjecture? I will secure him." He accordingly drew his dagger, ran to Cummin, and stabbed him to the heart.(2)

This deed of Bruce and his associates, my dear Philip, which contains circumstances justly condemned by our present manners, was regarded in that age as an effort of manly vigour and just policy. Hence the family of Kirkpatrick took for the crest of their arms a hand with a bloody dagger; and as a motto, the words employed by their ancestor, when he executed that violent action: "I will secure him!"

The murder of Cummin affixed the seal to the conspiracy of the Scottish nobles. They had now no resource left, but to shake off the yoke of England or perish in the attempt. The genius of the nation roused itself from its long dejection; and Bruce, flying to different quarters, excited his partisans every where to arms. He successfully attacked the dispersed bodies of the English; got possession of many castles; and, having made his authority be acknowledged in most parts of the kingdom, was solemnly crowned at Seone, by the bishop of St. Andrew's, who had zealously embraced his cause. The English were again driven out of the kingdom, except such as took shelter in the fortresses still in their hands; and Edward found that the Scots, already twice conquered by his valour, were yet to subdue.

Conscious however of his superior power, as well as superior skill in arms, this great monarch made light of his antagonist. He thought of nothing but victory and vengeance. He sent a body of troops into Scotland under Aynar de Valence, his general; who, falling unexpectedly upon Bruce, threw his army into disorder, and obliged him to take shelter in the Western Isles. Edward himself was advancing with a mighty force, determined to make the now defenceless Scots the victims of his severity, when he unexpectedly sickened and died at Carlisle; enjoining with his latest breath his son and successor to prosecute the war, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland.(3) But that, as we shall afterward have occasion to see, the second Edward was little able to accomplish.

The character of Edward I., as a warrior and politician, has already been sufficiently delineated. I shall therefore forbear touching again on those particulars, and conclude this letter with his merit as a legislator, which has justly obtained him the honourable appellation of the English Justinian. The numerous statutes passed during his reign settle the chief points of jurisprudence; and, as Sir Edward Coke observes, truly deserve the name of establishments, because they have been more constant, standing, and durable laws, than any made since. The regular order maintained in his adminis-

(1) M. West. Geo. Buchanan.

(2) W. Hemming. M. West. T. Walsingham. G. Buchanan, lib. viii.

(3) T. Walsingham. Trivet, *Annal.* 1307.

tration also gave the common law an opportunity to refine itself; brought the judges to a certainty in their determinations, and the lawyers to a precision in their pleadings. He regulated the jurisdiction of the several courts; established the office of justice of the peace, completed the division of the court of Exchequer into four distinct courts, each of which managed its separate branch, without dependence upon any one magistrate; and as the lawyers afterward invented a method of carrying business from one court to another, the several courts became rivals and checks on each other; a circumstance which tended very much to improve the practice of the law in this country. (1) But although Edward took so much care that his subjects should do justice to each other, we cannot ascribe it to his love of equity; for in all his transactions, either with them or with his neighbours, he always desired to have his own hands free:—and his violences upon both were not few.

LETTER XXXVII.

England, during the Reign of Edward II., with an Account of the Affairs of Scotland.

THE critical situation of affairs between England and Scotland at the death of Edward I. makes it necessary, my dear Philip, to carry farther the history of our own island, before we return to the transactions on the continent.

No prince ever ascended the English throne with more advantages than Edward II. He was in the twenty-third year of his age, and universally beloved by the people, both on account of the sweetness of his own disposition, and as the son and successor of their illustrious monarch. He was at the head of a great army, ready to subject the whole island to his sway; and all men promised themselves tranquillity and happiness under his government. But the first act of his reign blasted all these hopes, and showed him totally unqualified for his high station. Instead of prosecuting the conquest of Scotland, according to the desire of his father, he returned into England, after a few feeble efforts, and immediately disbanded his forces; although Robert Bruce had, before this time, emerged from his obscurity, and was become sufficiently formidable to make more vigorous measures necessary.

The next step taken by Edward was no less weak and imprudent. He recalled Piers Gaveston, a youthful favourite, whom the late king had banished the realm on account of his ascendancy over this prince; and whom, on his death-bed, he had made him promise never more to entertain. Gaveston was the son of a Gascon knight of some distinction, and by his shining accomplishments had early insinuated himself into the affections of young Edward, whose heart was easily caught by appearances, and strongly disposed to friendship and confidence. He was endowed with the utmost elegance of shape and person; was noted for a fine mien and easy carriage; had distinguished himself in all warlike and genteel exercises, and was celebrated for those quick sallies of wit in which his countrymen usually excel. Little wonder that such a person was thought necessary to a gay monarch, whose foibles he was able to flatter: but a wise king will have no public favourite, and still less a foreign one. Edward experienced this danger.

Gaveston no sooner arrived at court than he was loaded with benefits, and exalted to the highest honours. The king bestowed upon him the earldom of Cornwall, which had escheated to the crown by the death of prince Edmond, son of Richard king of the Romans. He married him to his own niece; and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royalty but as it served to add lustre to this object of his fond idolatry. The haughty barons, already justly dissatisfied with Edward's conduct in regard to Scotland, were enraged at the superiority of a minion whom they despised. Nor did they take any care to

(1) Hale, *Hist of English Law*.

conceal their animosity. Meanwhile Gaveston, instead of disarming envy by the moderation and modesty of his behaviour, displayed his power and influence with the utmost ostentation. Every day multiplied his enemies; and nothing was wanting but time to cement their union, and render it fatal both to him and his master.

This union was at length effected by Thomas earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and first prince of the blood. He put himself at the head of that party among the barons who desired the depression of this insolent stranger. The confederated nobles bound themselves by oath to expel Gaveston: they took arms for that purpose, and Edward was obliged to banish him. But he was afterward recalled, reinstated in his former consequence, and became more than ever the object of general detestation among the nobility, on account of his ostentation and insolence. A new confederacy was formed against him: he was again banished, and again recalled by the fond deluded monarch. A universal revolt took place: Edward and his favourite were hunted from corner to corner; and Gaveston at last fell by the hands of the public executioner.(1)

After the death of Gaveston, the king's person became less obnoxious to the people. The discontents of all men seemed to be much appeased; the animosities of faction no longer prevailed; and England, it was hoped, would now be able to take vengeance on all her enemies, but especially on the Scots, whose progress was become the object of general resentment and indignation.

Soon after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Robert Bruce made himself master of the whole kingdom, except a few fortresses. He daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion: he enlisted under his standard every bold spirit, and he enriched his followers with the spoils of the enemy. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatness and renown of that warlike family, seconded Robert in all his enterprises. Edward Bruce, the king's brother, also distinguished himself by his valour; and the dread of the English power being now abated by the feeble conduct of Edward, even the least sanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independency. They obtained a truce, which was of short duration, and ill observed on both sides. But, short as it was, it served to consolidate the power of the king, and introduce order into the civil government. War was renewed with greater fury than ever. Not content with defending himself, Robert made successful inroads into England; subsisted his needy followers by the plunder of the country, and taught them to despise the military genius of a people who had long been the object of their terror.

Edward, at length roused from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to risk too much against a superior force, had again retired into his mountains. The English monarch advanced beyond Edinburgh; but being destitute of provisions, and ill supported by his nobility, he was obliged to return home, without gaining any advantage over the enemy. The seeming union, however, of all parties in England, after the death of Gaveston, opened again the prospect of reducing Scotland, and promised a happy conclusion to a war in which both the interests and the passions of the nation were so deeply engaged.

Edward assembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finishing at one blow this important enterprise. He summoned the most warlike of his vassals from Gascony: he enlisted troops from Flanders, and other foreign countries: he invited over great numbers of the disorderly Irish, as to a certain prey: he joined to them a body of Welch, who were actuated by like motives: he collected the whole military force of England, and entered Scotland at the head of an army of near one hundred thousand men. The Scottish army did not exceed thirty thousand combatants; but being composed of men who had distinguished themselves by many acts of valour, who were rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader as Bruce, be esteemed

(1) T. Walsingham. T. de la More. W. Hemming.

equal to a far more numerous body. Robert, however, left as little as possible to the superior gallantry of his troops. He posted himself strongly at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling; the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, and which was on the point of surrendering. He had a rivulet in front, a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left. In this situation he waited the approach of Edward.

The English army arrived in sight towards evening, and a smart combat immediately commenced between two bodies of cavalry. Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in a single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cleft his antagonist to the chine with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body, and night prevented any farther hostilities. Meanwhile the Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the prowess of their prince, prognosticated a happy issue to the contest of the ensuing day; and the English, confident in their numbers, and elated by past successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge. The darkness, though but of a few hours, was borne with impatience: and Edward, as soon as light appeared, drew up his forces, and advanced against the Scots. Both armies engaged with great ardour, and the dispute was fierce and bloody. Sir James Douglas had broken the English cavalry; but their line of infantry was still firm, when a stratagem decided the fortune of the field. Bruce had collected a number of wagoners and sumpter boys, and furnished them with standards. They appeared upon the heights towards the left. The English mistook them for a fresh army coming to surround them: a panic seized them; they threw down their arms and fled. The Scots pursued with great slaughter as far as Berwick; and, besides an inestimable booty, took many persons of quality prisoners, with above four hundred gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity, and whose ransom was a new accession of wealth to the victorious army. Edward himself narrowly escaped, by taking shelter in Dunbar, whence he passed by sea to Berwick.(1)

Such was the great and decisive battle of Bannockburn, which secured the independency of Scotland; fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom, and may be deemed the most signal blow that the English monarchy has received since the Norman invasion. The number of slain is not certainly known, but it must have been very great; for the impression of this defeat on the minds of the English was so strong, that no superiority of force could encourage them to keep the field against the Scots for some years.

In order to avail himself of his present success, Robert entered England; ravaged all the northern counties without opposition; and, elated by his continued prosperity, now entertained hopes of making the most important conquests at the expense of the English. He sent over his brother Edward with an army of six thousand men into Ireland, and he himself followed soon after with a more numerous body of troops. But a grievous famine, which at that time desolated both Britain and Ireland, reduced the Scottish army to the greatest extremity; so that Robert was obliged to return, with his forces much diminished, into his own country. His brother, who assumed the title of King of Ireland, after experiencing a variety of hardships, was defeated and slain by the English near Dundalk; and Robert became sensible that he had attempted projects too extensive for the force of his narrow kingdom.

Edward, besides the disasters which he suffered from the invasion of the Scots, and the opposition formed against his government in Ireland, was harassed with a rebellion in Wales: and the factions of his nobility troubled him yet more than all these. They took advantage of the public calamities to insult his fallen fortunes, and endeavoured to establish their own independency on the ruins of the throne. The king's unhappy situation obliged him to comply with all their demands. The ministry was new modelled by the direction of Lancaster, and that prince was placed at the head of the council. Edward himself was evidently by nature unfit to hold the reins of govern-

(1) Mon. Malms. T. de la More. T. Walsingham. • Ypod. Neust

ment. He was sensible of his own defects, and sought to be governed; yet every favourite (for such they were rather than ministers) whom he successively chose, was regarded as a fellow-subject exalted above his rank and station, and became the object of envy to the chief nobility. The king's principal favourite, after the death of Gaveston, was Hugh le Despenser, or Spenser, a young man of English birth, and of a noble family. He possessed all the exterior accomplishments of person and address that were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward, but was destitute of that moderation and prudence which might have qualified him to mitigate the envy of the great, and conduct himself quietly through the perils of the dangerous station to which he was advanced.

No sooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenser, than the turbulent Lancaster and most of the great barons regarded him as their rival, made him the object of their animosity, and formed violent plans for his ruin. They withdrew themselves from parliament, betook themselves to arms, and demanded the banishment of the favourite and his father. These noblemen were then absent. The father was abroad, the son at sea; and both were employed in executing different commissions. The king therefore replied, that his coronation oath, by which he was bound to observe the laws, restrained him from giving his assent to so illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were accused of no crime, nor had any opportunity afforded them of giving answer. But equity and reason proved a feeble barrier against men who had arms in their hands, and who, being already involved in guilt, saw no safety but in success and victory. They entered London with their troops; and giving into the parliament, which was then sitting, a charge against the Spensers, (of which they did not attempt to prove one article,) they procured, by menaces and violence, a sentence of perpetual exile against those ministers.⁽¹⁾

This act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquiesce, rendered his person and authority so contemptible, that every one thought himself entitled to treat the royal family with neglect. The queen was publicly insulted; but, as that princess was generally beloved, Edward was permitted to take vengeance on the offender. Having now some forces on foot, and having concerted measures with his friends throughout England, he ventured to pull off the mask; to attack all his enemies; and to recall the two Spensers, whose sentence he declared illegal, unjust, and contrary to the tenor of the Great Charter.⁽²⁾

The king had now got the start of the barons; an advantage which in those times was generally decisive. It proved so in the present instance. Lancaster alone made resistance; he was taken prisoner, condemned by a court martial, and led to execution. About twenty more of the most notorious offenders were afterward condemned by legal trial, and executed. Many were thrown into prison; some made their escape beyond sea; and most of the forfeitures were seized by young Spenser, whose rapacity was insatiable. The barons of the king's party were disgusted with this partial division of the spoils: the envy against the favourite rose higher than ever. The people, who always hated him, made him still more the object of their aversion: all the relations of the attainted barons vowed revenge; and although tranquillity was in appearance restored to the kingdom, the general contempt of the king, and odium of Spenser, engendered future revolutions and convulsions.

In such a situation no success could be expected from foreign wars. Edward, therefore, after making one more fruitless attempt against Scotland, whence he retreated with dishonour, found it necessary to terminate hostilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years. This truce was so much the more seasonable for England, as the nation was at that time threatened with hostilities from France. Charles the Fair had some grounds of complaint against the English ministers in Guienne, and seemed desirous to

(1) Tyrrel, from the Register of C. C. Canterbury. T. Walsingham *Tuttle's Collect.* par. ii. Rymer. vol. iii.

(2) Rymer, *ubi sup.*

take advantage of Edward's weakness, in order to confiscate all his foreign dominions.

After an embassy by the earl of Kent, the king's brother, had been tried in vain, queen Isabella obtained permission to go over to Paris, and endeavour to adjust matters with her brother. She there found a number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian faction; and their common hatred of young Spenser soon begot a secret friendship and correspondence between them and that princess, who envied the favourite his influence with the king. Among these refugees was Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welch Marches, who had been condemned for high treason, but had made his escape from the Tower. His consequence introduced him to queen Isabella, and the graces of his person and address advanced him quickly in her affections. He became her confidant and counsellor in all her measures; and, gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to sacrifice at last to her passion, all the sentiments of honour and fidelity to her husband. Hating now the man she had injured, and whom she never loved, she entered ardently into all Mortimer's conspiracies; and having artfully got into her hands the young prince, and heir of the monarchy, she resolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. She engaged her brother to take part in the same criminal purpose: her court was daily filled with exiled barons: Mortimer lived in the most declared intimacy with her, and a correspondence was secretly carried on with the malecontent party in England.(1)

When Edward was informed of these alarming circumstances, he required the queen speedily to return with the prince. But Isabella publicly replied, that she would never set foot in the kingdom, until Hugh Spenser was for ever removed from his presence and counsels. This declaration procured her great popularity in England, and drew a decent veil over all her treasonable enterprises. She no sooner arrived with her son in England than the king was entirely deserted. He fled to Wales. The elder Spenser, now earl of Winchester, and governor of the castle of Bristol, was delivered by the garrison into the hands of his enemies; and, being instantly condemned without any trial, witness, or accusation, to suffer death, he was hanged on a gibbet in his armour. His unhappy but more criminal son soon after shared the same fate: and the king, disappointed in his expectation of succours from the Welch, was seized among their mountains, where he had endeavoured to conceal himself, and confined in Kenilworth castle. Meanwhile the queen, taking advantage of the prevailing delusion, summoned in Edward's name a parliament at Westminster; where the king was accused of incapacity for government, and by the authority of her partisans deposed. The prince, a youth of fourteen years of age, was placed on the throne, and the queen was appointed regent during his minority.(2)

The great body of the people are seldom long in the wrong with respect to any political measure. Corrupted as they now were by the licentiousness of the times, and inflamed by faction, they could not, in the present instance, remain insensible to the voice of nature. A wife had first dishonoured, next invaded, and then dethroned her husband: she had made her infant son an instrument in this unnatural treatment of his father; and had, by false pretences, seduced the nation into rebellion against their sovereign, whose weakness was his only crime. All these circumstances were so odious in themselves, and formed such a complicated scene of guilt, that the least reflection sufficed to open men's eyes, and make them detest so flagrant an infringement of every public and private duty.

The earl of Lancaster, formerly earl of Leicester, to whose custody the dethroned monarch had been committed, was soon touched with sentiments of compassion and generosity towards his sovereign; and beside using him with gentleness and humanity, he was supposed to have entertained more honourable intentions in his favour. The king was therefore taken out of

(1) T. Walsingham. T. de la More. Ypod. Neust.

(2) Ypod. Neust. T. Walsingham. T. de la More. Rymer, vol. iv

his hands, and delivered over to lord Berkeley Maltravers, and Gournay, who were intrusted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While in the custody of Berkeley, Edward was still treated with the gentleness and respect due to his rank and his misfortunes; but when the turn of Maltravers and Gournay came, every species of indignity was offered him, as if their intention had been to break entirely the unhappy prince's spirit, and to employ his sorrows and afflictions, instead of more violent and more dangerous means, as the instruments of his murder. That method of laying Edward in his grave, however, appearing too slow to the impatient Mortimer, he sent orders to Gournay and Maltravers to despatch the king secretly: and these ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel as possible. Taking advantage of the indisposition of Berkeley, in whose custody he then was, but who was incapacitated by sickness from attending his charge, they came to Berkeley-castle, and put themselves in possession of the king's person. They threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him, and thrust into his fundament a horn, through which they burnt his bowels with a red-hot iron. But although outward marks of violence were prevented by this expedient, the atrocious deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams of the agonizing king.(1)

Thus perished the unfortunate Edward II. It is not easy for imagination to figure a man more innocent and inoffensive, or a prince less fitted for governing a fierce and turbulent people. The vigour and capacity of the son made ample amends for his father's weakness. But a variety of objects must occupy our attention before we consider the reign of Edward III.

LETTER XXXVIII.

The German Empire and its Dependencies, Rome, and the Italian States, from the Election of Rodulph of Hapsburg, to the Death of Henry VII.

THE German empire, my dear Philip, as I have already had occasion to observe, could not properly be said to have a head, from the death of Frederic II., till the election of Rodulph count of Hapsburg. This great captain, who had some time exercised the office of grand marshal to Ottocarus, king of Bohemia, and was raised to the imperial dignity on account of his military talents, no sooner found himself in possession of the august throne, than he employed his authority in suppressing the disorders which had prevailed during the interregnum; and he succeeded so well in his endeavours, that peace and security were soon generally re-established in Germany. He destroyed in Thuringia sixty castles, which were the retreats of banditti, and ordered ninety-nine highwaymen to be hanged at one time in the city of Erfurt.(2)

Having thus in some measure settled the interior police of the empire, Rodulph assembled a diet at Mentz, where he granted new privileges to Goslar and other cities, and confirmed those which had been granted by his predecessors. Here also the deliberations of the assembly turned upon the conduct of certain princes, who had protested against the election of the count of Hapsburg. Among these was Ottocarus, king of Bohemia, against whom the diet had other causes of dissatisfaction. He had seized upon the dutchy of Austria, after the death of Frederic, the last duke; and the states complained of the oppressions which they suffered under this usurper, from whom they begged to be delivered.

A second diet was summoned on this subject at Augsburg: where Ottocarus not appearing, or doing homage by his ambassadors, was declared a rebel to the empire. His possession of Austria, Stiria, Carniola, and Carin-

(1) T. Walsingham. T. de la More

(2) *Annal. Boior.* Heiss, liv. li. c. 22.

thia, was adjudged illegal: and the emperor was desired to divest him of those territories.

When this sentence was notified to Ottocarus, he arrogantly exclaimed, "To whom should I do homage?—I owe Rodulph nothing: he was formerly my servant, and I paid him his wages. My possessions I will maintain with the point of my sword."⁽¹⁾

In consequence of this resolution, Ottocarus associated himself with several other German princes, and among the rest with the duke of Bavaria. But they were all at last obliged to submit; and the proud Ottocarus himself not only relinquished the contested territories, but did homage for Bohemia and Moravia.

This homage was performed in the island of Camberg in the Danube, under a close canopy, in order to save Ottocarus from a public humiliation. He repaired to the place all covered with gold and jewels. Rodulph, by a superior pride, received him in the most coarse and simple dress; and in the midst of the ceremony, either by accident or design, the curtains of the canopy fell back, and exposed to the eyes of the people, and the armies that lined the banks of the river, the haughty king on his knees, with his hands joined between those of his conqueror, whom he had so often called his steward, and to whom he now became cup-bearer.

The wife of Ottocarus, a Russian princess, and no less haughty than her husband, was so much hurt by this mortifying circumstance, that she induced him to renounce the treaty he had concluded with Rodulph, and again have recourse to arms for the recovery of Austria. The emperor immediately marched against him; and a battle ensued, in which Ottocarus was slain.

Rodulph now discovered himself to be no less a politician than a warrior. He gave the government of Austria and its appendages to his eldest son, count Albert; whom he afterward, in a diet at Augsburg, publicly invested with that duchy, which was incorporated with the college of the princes. Hence the rise of the house of Austria. And he at the same time invested Rodulph, another of his sons, with the county of Suabia, which belonged to him in right of his wife. He also wisely resolved to adhere to the articles of the treaty with Ottocarus; and accordingly put his infant son Winceclus under the tutelage of the marquis of Brandenburg.⁽²⁾

But although Rodulph's authority was now fully established in Germany, he was far from being master in Italy. The imperial crown had indeed been confirmed to him by Gregory X. on his ceding to the Holy See the lands of the Countess Matilda, and all the territories mentioned in the grants made to the church by former emperors. In so doing, Rodulph properly yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen, who never did it without reluctance, and cities which it was not in his power to command. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, had a greater number of ships than the emperor could muster of ensigns: Florence was become considerable, and already the nurse of the liberal arts.

Rodulph spent the latter part of his reign in establishing the grandeur of his family in Austria. He granted privileges to the clergy; bestowed new dignities upon the noblemen; diminished the taxes; built and repaired public edifices; and behaved with so much generosity and moderation, as won the hearts of all men. But notwithstanding his popularity, he could not procure his son Albert, duke of Austria, to be elected king of the Romans; a disappointment which, together with the death of his son Rodulph, so much chagrined him, that he died soon after. He was a prince of great valour, sagacity, and probity; and raised the empire, from a state of misery and confusion, to the enjoyment of peace, policy, and riches.⁽³⁾

(1) *Æn. Sylv. Hist. Bohem.*

(2) Heiss, ubi sup. Du Mont. *Corp. Diplom.* tom. i.

(3) Heiss, lib. ii. c. 22. Barre, tom. vi. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. Nothing can show in a stronger light Rodulph's resolution and presence of mind than his behaviour at his coronation. The absence of the imperial sceptre, supposed to be that of Charlemagne, which had been mislaid, seemed to afford some disaffected noblemen a pretext for refusing the oath of allegiance:—"This is my sceptre," said Rodulph, seizing a crucifix; and all the princes and nobles instantly took the oath, and did him homage as emperor. Heiss, &c. ubi sup.

After an interregnum of nine months, which was productive of many disorders, the German princes raised to the imperial throne Adolphus of Nassau, on the same principle which had made them choose his predecessor. He seemed capable of maintaining the glory of the empire at the head of its armies, without being able to enslave it.

The reign of this prince was one continued scene of troubles, and at last terminated in his deposition. His necessities had made him guilty of several acts of injustice; which Albert duke of Austria, dissatisfied at not succeeding to the imperial throne, took care to represent in the worst light. A confederacy was formed against Adolphus, and he was deposed by the archbishop of Mentz, in the name of the princes of the empire.

"Six years ago," said the archbishop, "the empire being vacant, we canonically elected Adolphus, count of Nassau, king of the Romans, knowing at that time no person more worthy of the dignity. At first he conducted himself wisely, following the counsels of the most prudent electors and princes of his court. But he began by degrees to despise their advice, and listen to the counsels of young persons without either sense or experience; then he found himself destitute of means and friends to assist him sincerely in bearing the burden of government. The electors perceiving his indigence, and swayed by many other motives, have demanded the pope's consent to depose him, and choose another emperor. We are told that our envoys have obtained the consent of his holiness; though those of Adolphus affirm the contrary: but we, having no regard to any authority except that which is vested in ourselves, and finding Adolphus incapable of governing the empire, do depose him from the imperial dignity, and elect Albert, duke of Austria, king of the Romans."(1)

Adolphus, apprised of this election, raised the siege of Ruffach, in Alsace, and marched towards Spire, where he encamped. He was reinforced by the count Palatine Rodolph, Otho duke of Bavaria, and the cities of Spire and Worms, which had never deserted his cause. Albert advanced towards him, in order to dispute the imperial crown by arms. They engaged between Gelnheim and the cloister of Rosendal, and the battle was maintained with much obstinacy on both sides. In the heat of action Adolphus, singling out his rival, attacked him hand to hand, haughtily exclaiming, "Here you shall resign to me the empire and your life!"—"Both," replied Albert, "are in the hands of God," and immediately struck his competitor with such violence in the face, that he fell from his horse and was instantly slain.(2)

During the reign of Adolphus, and also of his predecessor Rodolph, the Jews were persecuted in the empire with great cruelty, on a supposition that they had slain several Christian children, and committed other crimes, which excited the hatred of the public. They were accused of having stolen a consecrated host: and the credulous people, without examining into the matter, were so much incensed at this pretended sacrilege, that the inhabitants of Nuremberg, Rottemberg, Amberg, and several other towns of Franconia and Bavaria, seized all the unhappy Israelites that fell in their way; committed them to the flames, and drove the rest to such despair, that numbers chose rather to destroy themselves and families than run the hazard of falling into the hands of the merciless Christians. Nor was this unhappy people treated with more indulgence in Holland and Friesland, their present asylum, at that time provinces of the empire.(3)

Though Albert had been elected king of the Romans before his victory over Adolphus, and consequently became emperor on the death of that prince, he chose to have his title confirmed by a new diet; which was accordingly assembled for that purpose at Frankfort, the elector of Triers and the Palatine not having formerly given their votes: and he was afterward solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The concourse of people on that oc-

(1) Chron. Colm.

(3) *Annal. Steron.* Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii. Dr. Mosheim leaves it doubtful whether the accusation against the Jews were true or false; but his learned and judicious translator, in a note, gives reason to believe they were insidiously forged

(2) *Ibid.*

casion was so great, that the duke of Saxony, the emperor's brother, and several other persons, were squeezed to death in the crowd.(1)

The first years of Albert's reign were disquieted by a quarrel with the pope and the ecclesiastical electors. Boniface VIII., the last pontiff who pretended to dispose of crowns, and who carried the pretensions of the apostolic see as high as any of his predecessors, took part with the three German archbishops, who had refused to answer the emperor's summons. They were at length, however, obliged to submit; and Boniface confirmed the election of Albert, when he wanted to make him the instrument of his vengeance against Philip, king of France. But the emperor did not obtain this confirmation, it is said, till he had declared that "the empire was transferred by the Holy See from the Greeks to the Germans; that the sovereign pontiff had granted to certain ecclesiastical and secular princes the right of electing a king of the Romans, destined to the empire; and that emperors and kings derive their regal power from the pope."(2)

The most remarkable event in this reign is the rise of the republic of Switzerland. Fortified by their natural situation, surrounded with mountains, torrents, and woods, the Swiss, having nothing to fear from strangers, had lived happily in a rugged country, suited only to men who have been accustomed to a frugal and laborious course of life. Equality of condition was the basis of their government. They had been free from time immemorial; and when any of their nobility attempted to tyrannize, they were either altogether expelled, or reduced within bounds by the people. But although the Swiss were extremely jealous of their liberty, they had always been submissive to the empire, on which they depended; and many of their towns were free and imperial.

When Rodolph of Hapsburg was elected emperor, several lords of castles formally accused the cantons of Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, of having withdrawn themselves from their feudal subjection. But Rodolph, who had formerly fought against those petty tyrants, decided in favour of the citizens and thenceforth these three cantons were under the patronage, but not the dominion, of the house of Austria.

Rodolph always treated the Swiss with great indulgence, and generously defended their rights and privileges against the noblemen who attempted to infringe them. Albert's conduct in these respects was just the reverse of his father's: he wanted to govern the Swiss as an absolute sovereign, and had formed a scheme for erecting their country into a principality for one of his sons. In order to accomplish this purpose, he endeavoured to persuade the cantons of Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, to submit voluntarily to his dominion. In case of compliance, he promised to rule them with great lenity; but finding them tenacious of their independency, and deaf to all his solicitations, he resolved to tame them by rougher methods, and appointed governors, who domineered over them in the most arbitrary manner.

The tyranny of these governors exceeded all belief. Geisler, governor of Ury, ordered his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market-place of Altorf, and every passenger was commanded, on pain of death, to pay obeisance to it. But the independent spirit of William Tell, who, among others, had projected the deliverance of his country, disdained to pay that absurd homage. On this, the governor ordered him to be hanged; but remitted the punishment, on condition that he should strike an apple from his son's head with an arrow. Tell, who was an excellent marksman, accepted the alternative, and had the good fortune to strike off the apple without hurting his son. But Geisler perceiving a second arrow under William's coat, inquired for what purpose that was intended: "It was designed for thee," replied the indignant Swiss, "If I had killed my son." For that heroic answer he was doomed to perpetual imprisonment, though fortune happily put it out of the governor's power to carry his sentence into execution.

This and other acts of wanton tyranny, determined Arnould Melchatt, a

(1) Heiss, lib. ii. chap. xxiv.

(2) *Hist. de Domel. de Bonif. VIII. avec Philip le Bel.* Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. iii.

native of Underwald, Werner Straffacher of Schwitz, and Walter Furtz of Ury, to put in execution those measures which they had concerted for delivering themselves and their country from the Austrian dominion. Naturally bold and enterprising, and united by a long intimacy of friendship, they had frequently met in private to deliberate upon this interesting subject: each associated three others; and these twelve men accomplished their important enterprise, without the loss of a single life. Having prepared the inhabitants of their several cantons for a revolt, they surprised the Austrian governors, and conducted them to the frontiers; obliging them to promise upon oath, never more to serve against the Helvetian nation, then dismissed them; (1) an instance of moderation not perhaps to be equalled in the history of mankind, of a people incensed against their oppressors, and who had them in their power.

Thus, my dear Philip, these three cantons, Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, delivered themselves from the Austrian yoke, and established that liberty which they still enjoy. The other cantons soon engaged in this confederacy, which gave birth to the republic of Switzerland. Never did any people fight longer or harder for their liberty than the Swiss. They have purchased it, as we shall have occasion to see, by above sixty battles against the Austrians; and it is to be hoped they will long preserve it, for never were the beneficial effects of liberty more remarkable than in Switzerland. The change of government seems to have produced a change in the face of the country. The rude soil, which lay neglected under cruel and tyrannical masters, now appears cultivated; the craggy rocks are covered with vines; and the wild heath, tilld by the hands of freedom, is become a fruitful plain.

When Albert was ready to hazard his forces against that courage which is inspired by the enthusiasm of new-born liberty, he fell a sacrifice to his rapacity and injustice. His own nephew John, who could not obtain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, resolved to make sure of his revenge. This injured youth, confederating with three others, stabbed the emperor in presence of his court and army, on the banks of the river Prus, in the neighbourhood of Switzerland. (2) No sovereign was ever less regretted, though few have died more tragically. He did not want valour, or abilities; but a desire of aggrandizing his family influenced his whole conduct, and made him violate every public and private tie.

The imperial throne continued vacant for seven months after the assassination of Albert. At length the electors assembled at Frankfort, and chose Henry count of Luxemburg; who was crowned, without opposition, at Aix-la-Chapelle. A diet was soon after held at Spire, where sentence of death was pronounced against prince John for the murder of his uncle, the late emperor; whose sons, at the same time, demanded the investiture of Austria and the other hereditary dominions of their father, which Henry intended to seize. They obtained their demand, on making him sensible, that as the house of Austria had already sent two emperors out of the world, it might yet prove fatal to a third, if he did not desist from his unjust pretensions. (3)

At this assembly also appeared Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia. She had been contracted to John, count of Luxemburg, son of the present emperor, Henry VII., and now king of Bohemia. But the marriage had been delayed, from time to time, under different pretences. The princess therefore demanded that the contract might be fulfilled, or cause shown why the nuptials should not be solemnized: and understanding that a report had been spread to the disadvantage of her chastity, she repaired to the emperor's antichamber, undressed herself to the shift, in the presence of the ladies there assembled, and approaching Henry in that condition, requested that she might be immediately examined by matrons. She was accordingly committed to the inspection of some experienced ladies and midwives, who unanimously declared her an unspotted virgin; and in

(1) *Sterler. Annal. Helvetic.*

(3) *Heise, lib. ii. chap. 25.*

(2) *Rebdorf. ad ann. 1308.*

consequence of their testimony, the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence, in presence of the electors and other princes and noblemen of the diet.(1)

This is a point on which our modern physicians would have had many consultations. They pretend that the signs of virginity are altogether precarious, though every old woman affirms them infallible. And fortunately the daughter of Wincseslaus was judged by old women; for so scrupulous were the bridegrooms of those days on the article of chastity, that the slightest suspicion in regard to it was sufficient to obstruct the marriage, or ruin the happiness of a couple for life.

The emperors, from the time of Frederic II., seemed to have lost sight of Italy. But Henry VII., as soon as he had settled the affairs of the North, resolved to re-establish the imperial authority in that country. With this view a diet was held at Frankfort; where proper supplies being granted for the emperor's journey, well known by the name of the Roman Expedition, he set out for Italy, accompanied by the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, the archbishop of Triers, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Savoy and Flanders, with other noblemen, and the militia of all the imperial towns.

Italy was still divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, who butchered one another without humanity or remorse. But their contest was no longer the same: it was not now a struggle between the empire and the priesthood, but between faction and faction, inflamed by mutual jealousies and animosities. Pope Clement V. had been obliged to leave Rome, which was distracted by the anarchy of popular government. The Colonnas, the Ursini, and the Roman barons, divided the city: and this division was the cause of the long abode of the popes in France, as we shall have occasion to see in the history of that kingdom; so that Rome seemed equally lost to the popes and the emperors. Sicily was in the possession of the house of Arragon, in consequence of the famous massacre called the Sicilian Vespers, which delivered that island from the tyranny of the French, as shall be afterward more fully related. Carobert, king of Hungary, disputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert, son of Charles II., of the house of Anjou. The house of Este had established itself at Ferrara; and the Venetians wanted to make themselves masters of that country. The old league of the Italian cities no longer subsisted. It had been formed with no other view than to oppose the emperors; and since they had neglected Italy, the cities were wholly employed in aggrandizing themselves at the expense of each other. The Florentines and the Genoese made war upon the republic of Pisa. Every city was also divided into faction within itself; Florence between the Blacks and the Whites, and Milan between the Visconti and the Turriani.

In the midst of these troubles Henry VII. appeared in Italy, and caused himself to be crowned king of Lombardy at Milan. The Guelphs had concealed the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning were attached to a particular circlet of metal. But Henry, contemning such a thought, ordered a new crown to be made with which the ceremony of inauguration was performed.(2)

Cremona was the first place that ventured to oppose the emperor. He reduced it by force, and laid it under heavy contributions. Parma, Vicenza, and Placentia, made peace with him on reasonable conditions. Padua paid a hundred thousand crowns, and received an imperial officer as governor. The Venetians presented Henry with a large sum of money, an imperial crown of gold enriched with diamonds, and a chain of very curious workmanship. Brescial made a desperate resistance, and sustained a very long siege: in the course of which the emperor's brother was slain, and his army diminished to such a degree, that the inhabitants ventured to march out, under the command of their prefect, Thibault de Drussati, and give him battle. But they were repulsed with great loss, after an obstinate engagement, and at last obliged to submit. Their city was dismantled.

(1) Heiss, lib. ii. chap. 25.

(2) Struv. period ix. sec. 4.

From Brescia Henry marched to Genoa, where he was received with expressions of joy, and splendidly entertained. He next proceeded to Rome, where, after much bloodshed, he received the imperial crown from the hands of the cardinals. Clement V., who had originally invited Henry into Italy, growing jealous of his success, had leagued with Robert king of Naples and the Ursini faction to oppose his entrance into Rome. He entered it in spite of them, by the assistance of the Colonnas. (1)

Now master of that ancient city, Henry appointed it a governor; and ordered, that all the cities and states of Italy should pay him an annual tribute. In this order he comprehended the kingdom of Naples, to which he was going to make good his claims of superiority by arms, when he died at Benevento of poison, as it is commonly supposed, given him by a Dominican friar in the consecrated wine of the sacrament. (2)

During the last years of the reign of Henry VII. who was a valiant and politic prince, the knights of the Teutonic order aggrandized themselves by making war upon the Pagans of the North. They possessed themselves of Samogitia, after butchering all the inhabitants who refused to embrace Christianity: they took Dantzick, and purchased Pomerella of a marquis of Brandenburg, to whom it then belonged. But while the order was making these acquisitions in Europe, it lost all its possessions in Asia. (3)

The affairs of France now claim our attention.

LETTER XXXIX.

France, from the Death of Lewis IX., till the Accession of the House of Valois.

You have already, my dear Philip, seen the pious Lewis IX. perish on the coast of Africa, in a second expedition against the Infidels. The most remarkable circumstance in the reign of his son and successor, Philip III., surnamed the Hardy, a prince of some merit, but much inferior to his father, is the interest that he took in the affairs of his uncle Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily. This circumstance naturally leads us to an account of the famous Sicilian Vespers, and of the war between France and Arragon.

Charles, by the severity of his government, had not only rendered himself but his family odious to the Sicilians; and the insolence and debauchery of the French troops had excited an irreconcilable aversion against the whole nation. At the same time, the boundless ambition of this prince, who was actually preparing to attack the Greek emperor, Michael Paleologus, and was suspected to have an eye to the German empire, raised a general jealousy of him among his neighbours. Of that number was pope Nicholas III., who particularly dreaded Charles's power; and, if he is not slandered by the French historians, contrived the scheme of his humiliation, though it did not take effect till after the death of his Holiness. It was conducted by John di Prodicta, a Sicilian nobleman, who had secretly prepared the minds of his countrymen for a revolt: and an accident gave it birth.

On the evening of Easter-day, as the French and Sicilians were going in procession to the church of Montreale, in the neighbourhood of Palermo, a bride happened to pass by with her train; when one Droguet, a Frenchman, instantly ran to her, and began to use her in a rude manner, under pretence of searching for concealed arms. A young Sicilian, flaming with resentment, stabbed Droguet to the heart; a tumult ensued, and two hundred Frenchmen were slain on the spot. The enraged populace now ran to the city, crying aloud, "Kill the French! Kill the French!"—and, without any distinction of age or sex, murdered every person of that nation found in Palermo. The same fury spread itself through the whole island, and produced a general

1) Struv. ubi sup. Cuspin. *Vit. Hen. VII.*

(3) Pet. de Duisburgh, *Chronic. Prussie.* Solignac, *Hist. de Pologne.*

(2) Id. *ibid.*

tom. vi.

Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne.*

massacre. The rage of the conspirators was so great, that they did not even spare their own relations, but ripped up women with child by Frenchmen, and dashed the half-formed infants against the walls; while the priests, catching the general phrensy, butchered all their French penitents.(1)

Peter, king of Arragon, who had married the daughter of Mainfroy, the former usurper of Sicily, supported the Sicilians in their rebellion, and openly claimed the kingdom in right of his wife. The Sicilians received him with open arms. He was crowned at Palermo; and Charles of Anjou was obliged to abandon the island, after having besieged Messina for six weeks in vain. He had now no hopes but from France, where the nobility in general were well affected to him, and readily offered to furnish troops for his support. In this disposition they were encouraged by Philip III. Martin IV., who had succeeded Nicholas III. in the see of Rome, was also entirely in the interest of Charles; who might probably have recovered Sicily, had he not imprudently agreed to decide the dispute with Peter by single combat.

The king of Arragon, who had the duel very little at heart, was by that means enabled to amuse his rival, and fix his own family on the throne of Sicily, which became a separate kingdom from Naples. In the mean time, the pope excommunicated Peter, and gave his dominions to any of the younger sons of France that the king should choose to name. Philip III., flattered by this proposal, declared his son Charles of Valois king of Arragon and Valentia, and count of Barcelona. He put himself at the head of a numerous army in order to realize these honours; and he furnished, at the same time, his uncle Charles of Anjou with a fleet and army for the recovery of Sicily. Splendid projects! which proved the ruin of both.

Charles had left his son of the same name at Naples, with strict orders to risk nothing until his arrival with succours from France. But that young prince, provoked by the Arragonese fleet, sailed out with the force under his command, and was defeated and taken prisoner before his father's return; a circumstance which so much affected the king, that he is said to have strangled himself with a halter—a death sufficiently mild for such a tyrant.(2)

Meanwhile the French army, under the command of Philip, had penetrated into Catalonia, and laid siege to Gironne, which made a gallant defence. The king of Arragon, being in the neighbourhood with a small army, attacked a convoy going to the French camp, and received a mortal wound. Gironne surrendered; and Philip, having put a good garrison into it, dismissed part of his fleet, which had been principally hired from the Italian states. Roger di Loria, the Arragonese admiral, who durst not attack the French fleet while entire, burnt and destroyed it when divided, seizing all the money and provisions intended for the support of the army: and these losses sunk so deeply into the mind of Philip, that he secretly repassed the Pyrenees, and died a few days after at Perpignan.(3)

Philip III. was the first French monarch who granted Letters of Nobility, which he bestowed on Ralph the Goldsmith. In so doing, he only restored the ancient constitution of the Franks, who being all of one blood, were esteemed equally noble, and alike capable of the highest offices. The notion of a particular and distinct noblesse took its rise towards the close of the second race, when many of the officers of the crown had usurped and converted into hereditary dignities, the offices and jurisdictions which they received from royal favour.(4)

The reign of Philip IV., surnamed the Fair, the son and successor of Philip the Hardy, forms an era in the history of France, by the civil and political regulations to which it gave birth; the institution of the supreme tribunals, called Parliaments, and the formal admission of the commons, or third estate, into the general assemblies of the nation. How the French commons came afterward to be excluded from these assemblies, we shall have occasion to see in the course of our narration.

The first care of Philip was to compose all differences with his neighbours,

(1) Spondan. Malespina. Giannone, *Hist. di Napoli*.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Nag. *Chron.*

(4) Henault, tom. i.

as he found his finances exhausted: and this he was enabled to effect by the mediation of Edward I. of England, against whom he afterward ungenerously commenced hostilities, while that monarch was engaged in a war with Scotland. Philip also attempted, at the expense of much blood and treasure, to seize the country of Flanders, which had leagued with England. But as these wars were neither distinguished by any remarkable event, nor followed by any consequence that altered the state of either country, I shall proceed to the transactions between Philip and the see of Rome, and the extinction of the order of Knights Templars.

Pope Boniface VIII., of whose arrogance I have already had occasion to speak, prohibited the clergy in general from granting any aids or subsidies to princes without his leave. Philip IV., who was no less haughty than his holiness, and very needy, thought the clergy, as being the richest order of the state, ought to contribute to the wants of the crown, when the situation of affairs made it necessary, and without any application to Rome; he therefore encountered the pope's bull by an edict, forbidding any of the French clergy to send money abroad without the royal permission. This was the first cause of the famous quarrel between Boniface and Philip; and the insolence of a bishop of Pamiers threw things into a still greater ferment.

This man, named Bernard Saissetti, who had rebelled against the king in his diocese, was appointed by Boniface legate to the French court. An obnoxious subject thus invested with a dignity, which, according to the see of Rome, made him equal to the sovereign himself, came to Paris and braved Philip, threatening his kingdom with an interdict. A layman who had behaved in such a manner would have been punished with death, but the person of a churchman was sacred; and Philip was satisfied with delivering this incendiary into the hands of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne, not daring to treat him as a criminal.

Pope Boniface, enraged at the confinement of his legate, issued a bull, declaring, "That the vicar of Christ is vested with full authority over the kings and kingdoms of the earth:" and the clergy of France received, at the same time, an order from his holiness to repair to Rome. A French archdeacon carried this bull and these orders to the king, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the pope as his temporal sovereign. This insolence was answered with a moderation little suited to the character of Philip. He contented himself with ordering the pope's bull to be thrown into the fire, and prohibiting the bishops from departing the kingdom. Forty of them, however, with many of the heads of religious orders, went to Rome, notwithstanding the king's prohibition. For this trespass he seized all their temporalities.

While Boniface and his council were considering the conduct of Philip, and by means of his confessor brought his most secret thoughts under review, that politic prince assembled the states of his kingdom. They acknowledged his independent right to the sovereignty of France, and disavowed the pope's claim. It was on this occasion that the representatives of cities were first regularly summoned to the national assembly.⁽¹⁾

Philip was now at full liberty to treat the pope as an open enemy. He accordingly leagued with the family of Colonna, and sent William de Nogaret, a celebrated lawyer, into Italy, with a sum of money, in order to raise troops. A body of desperadoes were suddenly and secretly collected, with which William and Sciarra Colonna surprised Boniface at Anagni, a town in his own territories, and the place of his birth, exclaiming, "Let the pope die! and long live the king of France!" Boniface, however, did not lose his courage. He dressed himself in his cope, put the tiara upon his head; and, holding the keys in one hand and the cross in the other, presented himself with an air of majesty before his conquerors. On this occasion, it is said, Sciarra had the brutality to strike him, crying out, "Tyrant! renounce the pontificate, which thou hast dishonoured."—"I am pope," replied Boniface

(1) Henault, ubi sup. Du Chesne. Polyd. Virg.

with a look of intrepidity, "and I will die pope!" This gallant behaviour had such an effect on the minds of the inhabitants, that they rose against his enemies, and rescued him from their hands. But Boniface was so much affected by the indignities which had been offered him, that he died in a few days.(1)

On the death of Boniface, the cardinals elected Nicholas Boccacini, who took the name of Benedict XI. He was a mild and good man; and, being desirous of using his power for the promoting of peace, he revoked the sentence of excommunication which his predecessor had fulminated against Philip the Fair. He also pardoned the Colonnas, and showed a great disposition to reform that corruption which death spread itself through the dominions of the church. But these proceedings, so notorious in themselves excited the hatred of his licentious and vindictive countrymen, who suddenly took him off by poison. He was succeeded by Clement V., who, being a Frenchman, and entirely in the interest of Philip, fixed his residence in France. By means of this pope the French monarch hoped to have obtained the empire for his brother, Charles of Valois, and actually reunited the city of Lyons to his kingdom.(2)

But although this was justly considered as a great acquisition, Philip had occasion for the assistance of Clement in an affair that lay nearer his heart. I allude to the suppression of the order of Knights Templars. That religious and military order, which took its rise, as has been already observed, during the first fervour of the crusades, had made rapid advances in credit and authority; and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample possessions in every Christian country, but more especially in France. The great riches of those knights, and other concurring causes, had however relaxed the severity of their discipline. Convinced by experience, by fatigues, and by dangers, of the folly of their fruitless expeditions into Asia, they chose rather to enjoy in ease their opulent fortunes in Europe; and being all men of birth, they scorned the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time wholly in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. By these means the Templars had in a great measure lost that popularity which first raised them to honour and distinction. But the immediate cause of their destruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair.

The severity of the taxes, and the mal-administration of Philip and his council in regard to the coin, which they had repeatedly altered in its value, occasioned a sedition in Paris. The Knights Templars were accused of being concerned in the tumult. They were rich, as has been observed; and Philip was no less avaricious than vindictive. He determined to involve the whole order in one undistinguished ruin; and, on no better information than that of two knights condemned by their superiors to perpetual imprisonment for their vices, he ordered all the Templars in France to be committed to prison on one day, and imputed to them such enormous and absurd crimes as are sufficient of themselves to destroy all the credit of the accusation. They were universally charged with robbery, murder, and the vices most shocking to nature; and it was pretended, that every one whom they received into their order was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to spit upon the cross, and to join to this impiety the superstition of worshipping a gilded head, which was secretly kept in one of their houses at Marseilles. The novice was also said to be initiated by many infamous rites, which could serve no other purpose but to degrade the order in his eyes: and, as Voltaire very justly observes, it shows a very indifferent knowledge of mankind, to suppose there can be any societies that support themselves by the badness of their morals, or who make a law to enforce the practice of impudence and obscenity. Every society endeavours to render itself respectable to those who are desirous of becoming members of it.

Absurd, however, as these accusations appear, above one hundred knights

(1) A. Baillet, *Hist. de Demeler du Boniface VIII. avec Philip le Bel.*

(2) Trivet. *Annal. Menitr. Hist. Conc. de Lyons.*

were put to the rack, in order to extort from them a confession of their guilt. The more obstinate perished in the hands of their tormentors. Several, in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was desired of them. Forged confessions were imputed to others; and Philip, as if their guilt had now been certain, proceeded to a confiscation of all their treasures. But no sooner were these unhappy men relieved from their tortures than they disavowed their forced confessions; exclaimed against the forgeries; justified the innocence of their order, and appealed to the many gallant actions performed by them as a full apology for their conduct.

Enraged at this disappointment, and thinking himself bound in honour to proceed to extremities, Philip ordered fifty-four Templars, whom he branded as relapsed heretics, to perish by the punishment of fire in his capital. Great numbers expired, after a like manner, in different parts of the kingdom: and when the tyrant found that the perseverance of those unhappy victims, in justifying to the last their innocence, had made deep impression on the minds of the people, he endeavoured to overcome the constancy of the Templars by new inhumanities. John de Molay, the grand-master of the order, and another great officer, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a scaffold, erected before the church of Notre-dame at Paris. A full pardon was offered them on one hand; a fire destined for their execution was shown them on the other. But these gallant noblemen persisted in the protestation of their own innocence and that of their order; and, as the reward of their fortitude, they were instantly hurried into the flames by the public executioner.(1)

In all this barbarous injustice, Clement V., who then resided at Poitiers, fully concurred; and, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, in a general council held at Vienne, without examining a single witness, or making any inquiry into the truth of facts, he abolished the whole order. The Templars all over Europe were thrown into prison; their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny, and the power of their enemies still pursued and oppressed them. But no where, except in France, were the smallest traces of their guilt pretended to be found. Some countries sent ample testimony of their piety and morals: but, as the order was now annihilated, their lands in France, Italy, England, and Germany, were given to the Knights Hospitalers. In Spain, they were given to the knights of Calatrava, an order established to combat the Moors.(2)

Philip, soon after the suppression of this order, revived his quarrel with the count of Flanders, whose dominions he again unsuccessfully attempted to unite to the crown of France. The failure of that project, together with some domestic misfortunes, threw him into a languishing consumption, which carried him off in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the forty-seventh of his age. He was certainly a prince of great talents; and, notwithstanding his vices, France ought to reverence his memory. By fixing the parliaments, or supreme courts of judicature, he secured the ready execution of justice to all his subjects; and, though his motive might not be the most generous for calling in the third estate into the national council, he by that measure put it in the power of the French nation to have established a free government.

Lewis X., surnamed Hutin, the son and successor of Philip the Fair, began his reign with an act of injustice. At the instigation of his uncle, the count of Valois, he caused his prime minister Marigny to be executed, on account of many pretended crimes, and magic among the rest, but in reality on account of his supposed riches, which were confiscated to the crown.

But neither the confiscation of Marigny's effects, nor of those who were styled his accomplices, being sufficient for the king's wants, he extorted money from the nobility, under various pretences: he levied a tenth upon the clergy: he sold enfranchisements to the slaves employed in cultivating the royal domains; and when they would not purchase their freedom, he

(1) Puteau, *Hist. de la Condemnat. de Templiers*. Nic. Gartler, *Hist. Templar*. Steph. Baluz. *Vit. Pentif. Avinion*.

(2) Id. *Ibid*. Rymer, vol. iii. Vertot, *Hist. Chev. Malthe* tom ii.

declared them free, whether they would or not, and levied the money by force!(1) He died, like his father, after an unsuccessful attempt upon Flanders.

On the death of Lewis X. a violent dispute arose in regard to the succession. The king left one daughter, by his first wife, Margaret of Burgundy, and his queen, Clemence of Hungary, pregnant. Clemence was brought to bed of a son, who lived only eight days. It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never descend to a female; and as nations in accounting for principles which they regard as fundamental, and as peculiar to themselves, are fond of grounding them on primary laws rather than on blind custom, it had been usual to derive this maxim (though, according to the best antiquarians, falsely) from a clause in the Salian Code, the body of laws of an ancient tribe among the Franks. In consequence of this opinion, and precedents founded on it, Philip V., surnamed the Long, brother to Lewis X., was proclaimed king; and as the duke of Burgundy made some opposition, and asserted the right of his niece, the states of the kingdom, by a solemn and deliberate decree, excluded her, and declared all females for ever incapable of succeeding to the crown of France.(2) The wisdom of this decree is too evident to need being pointed out. It not only prevents those evils which necessarily proceed from female caprices and tender partialities, so apt to make a minister from love, and degrade him from whim, but is attended with this peculiar advantage, that a foreigner can never become sovereign of France by marriage; a circumstance always dangerous, and often productive of the most fatal revolutions.

The reign of Philip the Long, and also of his brother Charles IV., surnamed the Fair, were both short; nor was either distinguished by any memorable event. Charles left only one daughter, and consequently no heir to the crown; but, as his queen was pregnant, Philip of Valois, the next male heir, was appointed regent, with a declared right of succession, if the issue should prove female. The queen of France was delivered of a daughter: the regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimously placed on the throne of France.

This prince was cousin-german to the deceased king, and incontestably the nearest heir-male descended from a male: but Edward III., as we shall soon have occasion to see, took up the dispute upon other grounds. In the mean time I must make you acquainted with the more early part of the reign of that illustrious monarch.

LETTER XL.

England, Scotland, France, and Spain, during the Reign of Edward III.

THE reign of Edward III., my dear Philip, opens a wide field of observation, and involves whatever is great or interesting in the history of Europe during that period. But before we enter on the foreign transactions of this prince, I must inform you of the domestic; and, for this purpose, it will be necessary to recapitulate a little.

You have already been witness to the miserable death of the second Edward, by the inhuman emissaries of Roger Mortimer the queen's gallant, who was become the object of public odium. The hatred of the nation daily increased both against him and queen Isabella. Conscious of this, they subjected to their vengeance whomsoever they feared, in order to secure their usurped power. The earl of Kent, the young king's uncle, was iniquitously condemned and executed; the earl of Lancaster, Kent's brother, was thrown into prison; and many of the prelates and nobility were prosecuted under different pretences.(3)

(1) Le Gendre. Dupleix.

(3) W. Hemming. T. Walsingham.

(2) Mezeray. Du Tillet. P. Henault. P. Daniel.

These abuses could not long escape the observation of a prince of so much discernment as young Edward, nor fail to rouse his active spirit against the murderer of his father, and the dishonourer of his mother. But he was besieged in such a manner by the creatures of Mortimer, that it became necessary to conduct the project of bringing that felon to justice with as much secrecy and caution as if he had been forming a conspiracy against his sovereign. He communicated his intentions, however, to some of the nobility, who readily entered into his views; and they surprised the usurper in the castle of Nottingham, and dragged him from an apartment adjoining to the queen's, while she, in the most pathetic manner, implored her son to spare the *gentle* Mortimer!—A parliament was immediately summoned for his condemnation; and he was sentenced to die, from the supposed notoriety of his crimes, without any form of trial. He perished by the hands of the hangman, at the Elmes, near London: and the queen was confined, during life, to her house at Risings; where she languished out twenty-five years of sorrow rather than of penitence.(1)

Edward having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himself, with industry and judgment, to redress all those grievances which had either proceeded from want of authority in the crown, or the late abuses of it. He issued writs to the judges, enjoining them to administer justice, without paying any regard to the arbitrary orders of the great: and as thieves, robbers, murderers, and criminals of all kinds, had multiplied to an enormous degree during the public convulsions, and were openly protected by the powerful barons, who made use of them against their enemies, the king set himself seriously to remedy the evil, after exacting from the peers a solemn promise in parliament, that they would break off all connexion with such malefactors.(2) The ministers of justice, animated by his example, employed the utmost diligence in discovering, pursuing, and punishing criminals: and the disorder was by degrees corrected.

In proportion as the government acquired authority at home, it became formidable to the neighbouring nations; and the ambitious spirit of Edward sought and soon found an occasion of exerting itself. The wise and valiant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who had recovered by arms the independency of his country, and fixed it by treaty, was now dead, and had left David his son a minor, under the guardianship of Randolph earl of Murray, the companion of his victories. About this time Edward Baliol son of John, formerly crowned king of Scotland, was discovered in a French prison by lord Beaumont, an English baron, who, in the right of his wife, claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and deeming Baliol a proper instrument for his purpose, procured him his liberty, and induced him to revive his claim to the Scottish crown.

Many other English noblemen, who had obtained estates during the subjection of Scotland, were in the same situation with Beaumont. They also saw the utility of Baliol, and began to think of recovering their possessions by arms: and they applied to Edward for his concurrence and assistance. Edward was ashamed to avow their enterprise. He was afraid that violence and injustice would every where be imputed to him, if he attacked with superior force a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whose independent title had been so lately acknowledged by solemn treaty; but he secretly encouraged Baliol in his claim, connived at his assembling forces in the North, and gave countenance to the nobles who were disposed to join him. A force of near three thousand men was assembled, with which Baliol and his adherents landed on the coast of Fife.

Scotland was now in a very different situation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Besides the loss of that great monarch, whose genius and authority preserved entire the whole political fabric, and maintained union among the unruly barons, lord Douglas, impatient of rest, had gone over to Spain in a crusade against the Moors, and there perished in

(1) Knyghton. Walsingham.

(2) Cotton's Abridgment

battle. The earl of Murray, long declining through years and infirmities, had lately died, and been succeeded in the regency by Donald earl of Mar, a man much inferior in talents: so that the military spirit of the Scots, though still unbroken, was left without a guide. Baliol had valour and activity, and his followers, being firmly united by their common object, drove back the Scots who opposed his landing. He marched into the heart of the country and with his small party defeated an army of forty thousand men, under the earl of Mar, of whom twelve thousand are said to have been slain.

Baliol, soon after this victory, made himself master of Perth, and was crowned at Scone; while young Bruce, his competitor, was sent over to France with his betrothed wife Jane, sister to king Edward. Scotland was subdued by a handful of men; but Baliol lost the kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it. His imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss part of his English followers, he was unexpectedly attacked near Annan by sir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of Bruce's party. He was routed: his brother John Baliol was slain; and he himself was chased into England in a miserable plight.(1)

In this extremity, Baliol had again recourse to the English monarch, without whose assistance he was now become sensible he could neither recover nor keep possession of his throne. He offered to acknowledge Edward's superiority; to renew the homage for Scotland; and to espouse the princess Jane, if the pope's consent could be obtained for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Ambitious of retrieving that important superiority relinquished by Mortimer during his minority, Edward willingly accepted the offer, and put himself at the head of a powerful army, in order to reinstate Baliol in his throne. The Scots met him with an army more numerous, but less united, and worse supplied with arms and provisions. A battle was fought at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwick; where about thirty thousand of the Scots fell, and all the chief nobility were either killed or taken prisoners.(2)

After this fatal blow, the Scottish nobles had no resource but in submission. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament assembled at Edinburgh; the superiority of England was again recognised; many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to Edward; who, leaving a considerable body of troops with Baliol to complete the conquest of the kingdom, returned to England with the remainder of his army. But the English forces were no sooner withdrawn than the Scots revolted against Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Edward was again obliged to assemble an army, and to march into Scotland. The Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and fastnesses. He destroyed the houses, and ravaged the estates, of those whom he called rebels. But this severity only confirmed them more in their obstinate antipathy to England and to Baliol; and being now rendered desperate, they soon reconquered their country from the English. Edward made anew his appearance in Scotland, and with like success. He found every thing hostile in the kingdom, except the spot on which he was encamped; and although he marched uncontrolled over the low countries, the nation itself was farther than ever from being broken or subdued. Besides being supported by their pride or anger, passions difficult to tame, the Scots were encouraged amid all their calamities with daily promises of relief from France; and as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they had reason to expect a division of the force which had so long overwhelmed and oppressed them.(3)

These transactions naturally bring us back to Edward's claim to the crown of France; on which depended the most memorable events, not only of this long and active reign, but of the whole English and French history, during more than a century. A notion weaker or worse grounded than that claim cannot well be imagined. He admitted the general principle, that females

(1) Hemming. Knyghton. Walsingham. Buchanan. Fordun

(3) Rymer, vol. iv. Leland's Collect. vol. ii. W. Hemming. T. Walsingham.

(2) Ibid.

could not inherit the crown of France. But, in so doing, he only set aside his mother's right, to establish his own; for although he acknowledged females incapable of inheriting, he asserted that males descending from females were liable to no such objection, but might claim by right of propinquity. This plea, however, was not only more favourable to Charles king of Navarre, descended from a daughter of Lewis X., but contrary to the established rules of succession in every European country. Edward's claim was therefore disregarded, and the title of Philip of Valois universally recognised and acknowledged.(1)

But although the youthful and ambitious mind of Edward had rashly entertained this false idea, he did not carry his pretensions so far as to engage in hostilities with so powerful a monarch as Philip VI. On the contrary, he went over to Amiens, and did homage for Guienne.(2) By that compliance he indirectly acknowledged Philip's title to the crown of France. His own claim indeed was so unreasonable, and so thoroughly disavowed by the whole French nation, that to insist on it was no better than to pretend to the violent conquest of the kingdom; and it probably would never have been further thought of, had it not been for some incidents which afterward excited an animosity between the two monarchs.

Robert of Artois, a prince of great talents and credit, who had married Philip's sister, had fallen into disgrace at the court of France. His brother-in-law not only abandoned him, but prosecuted him with violence. He came over to England, and was favourably received by Edward. Now resigning himself to all the movements of rage and revenge, Robert endeavoured to revive in the mind of the English monarch his supposed title to the crown of France; and even flattered him that it was not impossible for a prince of his valour and abilities to render this claim effectual; "I made Philip de Valois king of France," added he: "and, with your assistance, I will depose him for his ingratitude."(3)

Edward was the more disposed to listen to such suggestions, as he had reason to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne, and because that monarch had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and encouraged the Scots in their struggles for independency. Resentment gradually filled the breasts of both monarchs, and made them incapable of hearkening to any terms of accommodation. Philip thought he should be wanting to the first principles of policy, if he abandoned Scotland: and Edward pretended that he must renounce all claim to generosity, if he withdrew his protection from Robert of Artois. Alliances were formed on both sides, and great preparations were made for war.

On the side of England was the count of Hainault, the king's father-in-law, the duke of Brabant, the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Guelder, the marquis of Juliers, and the count of Namur. These princes could supply either from their own states, or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops: and nothing was wanting to make Edward's alliance on that quarter truly formidable but the accession of Flanders, which he obtained by means somewhat extraordinary.

The Flemings, the first people in the north of Europe that successfully cultivated arts and manufactures, began now to emerge from that state of vassalage, or rather slavery, into which the common people had been universally thrown by the abuses of the feudal polity; and the lower class of men among them had risen to a degree of riches unknown elsewhere to those of their station in that comparatively barbarous age. It was impossible for such men not to resent any act of tyranny; and acts of tyranny were likely to be practised by a sovereign and nobility accustomed to domineer. They had risen in tumults: they had insulted the nobles, and driven their earl into France.(4)

In every such revolution there is always some leader or demagogue, to whose guidance the people blindly deliver themselves: and on his character

(1) Froissard, tom. i. D. Specieles, tom. iii.
(3) Froissard, liv. i. *Mém. de Robert d'Artois*

(2) Rymer, vol. iv.
(4) Froissard, liv. i.

entirely depends the happiness or misery of those who have put themselves under his care; for every such man has it in his power to be a despot: so narrow are the boundaries between liberty and slavery. The present leader of the Flemings was James d'Arteville, a brewer of Ghent, who governed them with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by any of their lawful sovereigns. He placed and displaced the magistrates at pleasure. He was constantly attended by a guard, who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man that happened to fall under his displeasure. All the cities of Flanders were full of his spies; and it was immediate death to give him the smallest umbrage. This was the man to whom Edward addressed himself for bringing over the Flemings to his interests.(1)

Proud of advances from so great a prince, and sensible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to maintain connexions with the English, on account of the advantages of trade, their demagogue embraced the cause of Edward, and invited him over to the Low Countries. Edward repaired to Flanders, attended by several of his nobility, and a body of English forces: but before the Flemings, who were vassals of France, would take up arms against their liege lord, Edward was obliged to assume the title of king of France, and to challenge their assistance for dethroning Philip de Valois, the usurper of his kingdom.(2) This step, which was taken by the advice of d'Arteville, as he knew it would produce an irreconcilable breach between the two monarchs (a further motive for joining the cause of Edward), gave rise to that animosity which the English and French nations, but more especially the former, have ever since borne against each other—an animosity which had, for some centuries, so visible an influence on all their transactions, and which still continues to inflame the heart of many an honest Englishman.

Let philosophers blame this prejudice as inconsistent with the liberality of the human mind; let moralists mourn its severity, and weak politicians lament its destructive rage—you, my dear Philip, as a lover of your country, will ever, I hope, revere a passion that has so often given victory to the arms of England, and humbled her haughty rival; which has preserved, and continues to preserve, the independency of Great Britain!

The French monarch made great preparations against the attack from the English; and his foreign alliances were both more natural and powerful than those which were formed by his antagonist. The king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, the count of Bar, were entirely in the interests of Philip; and on the side of Germany, the king of Bohemia, the palatine of the Rhine, the dukes of Lorraine and Austria, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Deuxponts, Vaudemont, and Geneva. A mighty army was brought into the field on both sides. Conferences and mutual defiances, however, were all that the first campaign produced; and Edward, distressed for want of money, was obliged to disband his army, and return to England.(3)

But this illustrious prince had too much spirit to be discouraged by the first difficulties of an undertaking. He was anxious to retrieve his honour by more successful and more gallant enterprises; and next season proved somewhat more fortunate. The English, under the command of Edward, gained an important advantage over the French by sea. Two hundred and thirty French ships were taken, thirty thousand Frenchmen were killed, with two of their admirals. The lustre of this victory increased the king's reputation among his allies, who assembled their forces with expedition, and joined the English army; and Edward marched to the frontiers of France at the head of above one hundred thousand men. The French monarch had collected an army still more numerous: yet he continued to adhere to the prudent resolution he had formed of putting nothing to hazard, hoping by that means to weary out the enemy. This conduct had in some measure the desired effect. Edward, fatigued with fruitless sieges, and irritated at the disagreeable prospect that lay before him, challenged Philip to decide their claims to the crown of France by single combat; by an action of one hundred

(1) Froissard, liv. i.

(2) W. Hemming. T. Walsingham Rymer, vol. v

(3) Froissard, ubi sup. W. Hemming. T. Walsingham.

against one hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip replied with his usual coolness, that it did not become a vassal to challenge his liege lord; and Edward found it necessary to conclude a truce for one year.⁽¹⁾

This truce would in all likelihood have been converted into a solid peace, and Edward would have dropped his claim, had not an unexpected circumstance opened to him more promising views, and given his enterprising genius full opportunity to display itself. The count de Mountfort, the heir male of Brittany, had seized that dutchy in opposition to Charles of Blois, the French king's nephew, who had married the daughter of the late duke. Sensible that he could expect no favour from Philip, Mountfort made a voyage to England, under pretence of soliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and then offering to do homage to Edward, as king of France, for the dutchy of Brittany, he proposed a strict alliance for the support of each other's pretensions.

Little negotiation was necessary to conclude a treaty between two princes connected by their immediate interests. But the captivity of the count de Mountfort, which happened soon after, seemed to put an end to all the advantages naturally to be expected from such an alliance. The affairs of Brittany, however, were unexpectedly retrieved by Jane of Flanders, countess of Mountfort, the most extraordinary woman of her time. Roused by the captivity of her husband from those domestic cares to which she had hitherto confined herself, she boldly undertook to support the fallen fortunes of her family. She went from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, providing them with every thing necessary for subsistence, and concerting the proper plans of defence; and after having put the whole province in a good posture, she shut herself up in Hennebone, where she waited with impatience the arrival of those succours which Edward had promised her.

Charles of Blois, anxious to make himself master of this important fortress, and still more to get possession of the person of the countess, sat down before the place with a great army, and conducted the attack with indefatigable industry. The defence was no less vigorous. The besiegers were repulsed in every assault. Frequent sallies were made by the garrison; and the countess herself being the most forward on all occasions, every one was ashamed not to exert himself to the utmost. The reiterated attacks of the besiegers, however, had at length made several breaches in the walls; and it was apprehended that a general assault, which was dreaded every hour, might bear down the garrison. It became necessary to treat of a capitulation: and the bishop of Laon was already engaged in a conference on that subject with Charles of Blois, when the countess, who had mounted a high tower, and was anxiously looking towards the sea for relief, descried some sails at a distance. "Behold the succours!" exclaimed she;—"the English succours!—No capitulation." They consisted of six thousand archers, and some cavalry, under the command of sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England; and having entered the harbour, and inspired fresh courage into the garrison, immediately sallied forth, beat the besiegers from their posts, and obliged them to decamp.⁽²⁾

Notwithstanding this success, the troops under sir Walter Manny were found insufficient for the support of the countess of Mountfort, who was still ready to be overpowered by numbers. Edward therefore sent over a reinforcement under Robert of Artois, and afterward went to her assistance in person. Robert was killed in the defence of Vannes; and Edward concluded a truce of three years, on honourable terms, for himself and the countess.

This truce, however, was of much shorter duration than the terms specified in the articles, and each monarch endeavoured to throw on the other the blame of its infraction. The English parliament entered warmly into the quarrel, advised the king not to be amused by a fraudulent truce, and granted him supplies for the renewal of hostilities. The earl of Derby was sent over for the protection of Guienne, where he behaved with great gallantry; and

(1) Froissard, ubi sup. W. Hemming. T. Walsingham.

(2) Froissard, liv i

Edward invaded Normandy with an army of thirty thousand men. He took several towns, and ravaged the whole province, carrying his incursions even to the gates of Paris. At length Philip advanced against him at the head of a hundred thousand men: and Edward, afraid of being surrounded in the country, retreated towards Flanders.(1)

In this retreat happened the famous passage of the Somme, which was followed by the still more celebrated battle of Cressy. When Edward approached the Somme, he found all the bridges either broken down or strongly guarded. An army of twenty thousand men, under the command of Godamar de Faye, was stationed on the opposite bank; and Philip was advancing on him, at the same time, from behind. In this extremity he was informed of a place that was fordable: he hastened thither, but saw de Faye ready to obstruct his passage. A man of less resolution, or more coolness, would have hesitated: Edward deliberated not a moment, but threw himself into the river sword in hand, at the head of his troops; drove the enemy from their station, and pursued them to a distance on the plain. Philip and his forces arrived at the ford when the rear-guard of the English army was passing; and the rising of the tide only prevented that incensed monarch from following them. On the lapse of so few moments depended the fate of Edward!—and these, by his celerity, were turned from ruin into victory! Yet if he had been unfortunate in his passage, or if the French army had arrived somewhat sooner, how many pretended philosophers would have told us that he was an inconsiderate prince, and the attempt would have been branded as absurd!—So much, my dear Philip, does the reputation of events depend on success, and the characters of men on the situations in which they are engaged.

Edward by his fortunate passage gained some ground of the enemy, as Philip was obliged to take his route by the bridge of Abbeville; but he still saw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of exposing his rear to the insults of the numerous cavalry, in which the French camp abounded. He therefore embraced the prudent resolution of waiting the arrival of the enemy, and chose his ground advantageously near the village of Cressy, where he drew up his army in excellent order, and divided into three lines. The first line was commanded by the prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour; the second by the earls of Arundel and Northampton: and the king himself took the direction of the third, which was intended as an auxiliary force. The French army, which now consisted of above a hundred and twenty thousand men, was also formed into three lines; but as Philip had made a hasty and confused march from Abbeville, the troops were fatigued and disordered. The first line, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi: the second was led by the count d'Alençon; and the king in person was at the head of the third. The battle began about three o'clock, and continued till towards evening; when the whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword with great slaughter, till the darkness of night put an end to the pursuit. Almost forty thousand of the French were slain, among whom were many of the principal nobility, twelve hundred knights, and fourteen hundred gentlemen. On his return to the camp, Edward flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, who had distinguished himself in a remarkable manner. "My brave son!" cried he, "persevere in your honourable course. You are my son; for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day. You have shown yourself worthy of empire."(2)

This victory is partly ascribed to some pieces of artillery, which Edward is said to have planted in his front, and which gave great alarm to the enemy;(3) but we cannot suppose they did much execution. The invention was yet in its infancy; and cannon were at first so clumsy, and of such difficult management, that they were rather incumbrances than those terrible instruments of desolation which we now behold them. They had never before

(1) R. de Averburg. Froissard, ubi sup.

(2) Froissard, lib. l. Walsingham. Knyghton. Averburg.

(3) Villani, lib. xii.

been made use of on any memorable occasion in Europe. This may, therefore, be regarded as the era of one of the most important discoveries that has been made among men: a discovery which changed by degrees the whole military science, and of course many circumstances in the political government of Europe; which has brought nations more on a level; has made success in war a matter of calculation; and though seemingly contrived for the destruction of mankind, and the overthrow of empires, has in the issue rendered battles less bloody, and conquest less frequent, by giving greater security to states, and interesting the passions of men less in the struggle for victory.

A weak mind is elated with the smallest success; a great spirit is little affected by any turn of fortune. Edward, instead of expecting that the victory of Cressy would be immediately followed by the total subjection of the disputed kingdom, seemed rather to moderate his views. He prudently limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais; by which he hoped to secure such an easy entrance into France, as might afterward open the way to more considerable advantages. He therefore marched thither with his victorious army, and presented himself before the place.

In the mean time, David Bruce king of Scotland, whom his countrymen had recalled, was strongly solicited by his ally, Philip, to invade the northern counties of England. He accordingly assembled a great army, and carried his ravages as far as Durham. He was there met by queen Philippa, at the head of a body of twelve thousand men, which she committed to the command of lord Percy. A fierce engagement ensued; and the Scots were broken and chased off the field with great slaughter. Fifteen thousand of them were slain, among whom was the chancellor and earl marshal. The king himself was taken prisoner, together with many of the principal nobility.(1)

As soon as Philippa had secured her royal prisoner, she crossed the sea at Dover, and was received in the English camp before Calais with all the éclat due to her rank, her merit, and her success. This was the age of chivalry and gallantry. Edward's courtiers excelled in these accomplishments no less than in policy and war; and the extraordinary qualities of the women of those times, the necessary consequence of respectful admiration, form the best apology for the superstitious devotion which was then paid to the softer sex. Calais was taken, after an obstinate siege of almost twelve months. The inhabitants were expelled: and it was peopled anew with English subjects, and made the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief commodities of England, and the only ones for which there was yet any demand in foreign markets. A truce was soon afterward concluded with France, through the mediation of the pope's legate, and Edward returned in triumph to England.(2)

Here a few observations seem necessary. The great success of Edward in his foreign wars had excited a strong emulation among the English nobility; and their animosity against France, and respect to their prince, had given a new and more useful direction to that ambition, which had so often been turned by those turbulent barons against the crown, or which discharged its fury on their fellow-subjects. This prevailing spirit was further promoted by the institution of the military Order of the Garter, in emulation of some orders of knighthood, of a like nature, which had been established in different parts of Europe.—A story prevails, though not supported by ancient authority, that Edward's mistress, commonly supposed to be the countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter at a court ball: that the king stooped, and took it up; when, observing some of his courtiers to smile as if they had suspected another intention, he held up the trophy, and called out, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*: "Evil to him that evil thinks."—And as every incident of gallantry in those times was magnified into a matter of importance, he instituted the Order of the Garter in commemoration of this event, though not without political views, and gave these words as the motto of the order. Frivolous

(1) Averburg. Knyghton. Froissard, ubi sup

(2) Id. ibid

as such an origin may seem, it is perfectly suitable to the manners of that age; and, as a profound historian remarks, it is difficult by any other means to account either for the seemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or the peculiar badge of the garter, which appears to have no reference to any purpose either of military use or ornament.(1)

A damp, however, was suddenly thrown over the triumphant festivity of the English court, by a destructive pestilence, which about this time invaded Britain, after having desolated the greatest part of the earth. It made its appearance first in the north of Asia; encircled all that vast continent; visited Africa; made its progress from one end of Europe to the other; and is computed to have swept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country through which it passed. Above fifty thousand persons are said to have perished by it in London alone. This grievous calamity, more than the pacific disposition of the princes, served to prolong the truce between England and France.

During this truce Philip de Valois died, without being able to re-establish the affairs of France, which his unsuccessful war with England had thrown into much disorder. This monarch had, during the first years of his reign, obtained the appellation of Fortunate, and acquired the character of Prudent; but he ill maintained either the one or the other; less indeed from his own fault, than because he was overmatched by the superior fortune and superior genius of Edward. But the incidents in the reign of his son John gave the French cause to lament even the calamitous times of Philip. John was distinguished by many virtues, but particularly by a scrupulous honour and fidelity. He was not deficient in personal courage; but as he wanted that masterly prudence and foresight which his difficult situation required, his kingdom was at the same time disturbed by intestine commotions, and oppressed by foreign wars.

The principal author of these calamities was Charles king of Navarre, surnamed the Bad, and whose conduct fully entitled him to that appellation. He was descended from males of the blood royal of France. His mother was daughter of Lewis X., and he had himself married a daughter of the reigning king; but all these ties, which ought to have connected him with the throne, gave him only greater power to shake and overthrow it. He secretly entered into a correspondence with the king of England; and he seduced, by his address, Charles, afterward surnamed the Wise, the king of France's eldest son, and the first who bore the title of Dauphin, by the reunion of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. This young prince, however, made sensible of the danger and folly of such connexions, promised to make atonement for the offence by the sacrifice of his associates. In concert with his father, he accordingly invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to a feast at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the most obnoxious were immediately led to execution, and the king of Navarre was thrown into prison. But this stroke of severity in the French monarch, and of treachery in the Dauphin, was far from proving decisive in restoring the royal authority. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles the Bad, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, put all the towns and castles belonging to that prince in a posture of defence; and they had immediate recourse to England in this desperate extremity.(2)

The truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill observed on both sides, was now expired; so that Edward was at liberty to support the French malecontents. The war was again renewed; and after a variety of fortunes, but chiefly in favour of the English, an event happened which nearly proved fatal to the French monarchy.

The prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of the first campaign, took the field with an army of only twelve thousand men; and with that small body he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. King John provoked at the insult offered him by this incursion, collected an army of

(1) Hume, *Hist. England*, chap. xv.

(2) Froissard, liv. i.

sixty thousand combatants, and advanced by hasty marches to intercept his enemy. The prince, not aware of John's near approach, lost some days, on his march, before the castle of Remorantin, and thereby gave the French monarch an opportunity of overtaking him. The pursuers came within sight at Maupertuis, near Poitiers; and young Edward, sensible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a hero, and all the prudence of an experienced general. No degree of prudence or courage, however, could have saved him, had the king of France known how to make use of his present advantages. John's superiority in numbers enabled him to surround the English camp, and, by intercepting all provisions, to reduce the prince to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. But the impatient ardour of the French nobility prevented this idea from striking any of the commanders; so that they immediately took measures for the assault, with full assurance of victory. But they found themselves miserably mistaken. The English adventurers received them with desperate valour, put their army to flight, and took their king prisoner.

The Black Prince, who had been carried away in pursuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear on his return, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was reposing himself after the toils of battle, when informed of the fate of the French monarch. John had long refused to surrender himself to any one but his "cousin the prince of Wales."⁽¹⁾ Here commences the real and unexampled heroism of young Edward—the triumph of humanity and moderation over insolence and pride, in the heart of a young warrior, elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected success as had ever crowned the arms of any commander. He came forth to meet the captive king with all the marks of regard and sympathy; administered comfort to him amid his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a superior Providence, which controls all the efforts of human force and prudence. He ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the royal prisoner; and he himself served at the captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue. All his father's pretensions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion. John in captivity received the honours of a king, which were refused him when seated on the throne of Clovis. His misfortunes, not his right, were respected; and the French prisoners, conquered by this elevation of mind, more than by the English arms, burst into tears of admiration; which were only checked by the reflection, that such exalted heroism in an enemy must make him doubly dangerous to the independency of their native country.⁽²⁾

The prince of Wales conducted his royal prisoner to Bourdeaux; and, after concluding a truce for two years, brought him over to England. Here the king of France, besides the generous treatment which he met with, had the melancholy consolation of meeting a brother in affliction. The king of Scotland had been for eleven years a captive in the hands of Edward, whose superior genius and fortune had reduced at once the two neighbouring potentates, with whom he was engaged in war, to the condition of prisoners in his capital. Finding, however, that the conquest of Scotland was nowise advanced by the captivity of its sovereign, Edward consented to restore David Bruce to his liberty, for the ransom of one hundred thousand marks sterling; and that prince delivered the sons of all his principal nobility as hostages for the payment.⁽³⁾

Meanwhile the captivity of the French monarch, joined to the preceding disorders of the kingdom, had produced an almost total dissolution of civil authority, and occasioned the most horrible and destructive violences ever experienced in any age or country. The Dauphin, now above nineteen years of age, naturally assumed the reins of government during his father's captivity; but although endowed with an excellent judgment, even in such early years, he possessed neither experience nor ability sufficient to remedy the prevailing evils. In order to obtain supplies, he assembled the states of the

(1) Rymer, vol. vi. Froissard, liv. i.

(2) Ibid. ubi sup.

(3) Rymer, vol i

kingdom. But that national assembly, instead of supporting his administration, were themselves seized with the spirit of licentiousness; and laid hold of the present opportunity to demand limitations of the regal power, the punishment of past malversations, and the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, and first magistrate of that city, put himself at the head of the unruly populace; and, from the violence and temerity of his character, pushed them to commit the most criminal outrages against the royal authority. They detained the Dauphin in a kind of captivity: they murdered in his presence Robert de Clermont, and John de Confans, marshals of France; they threatened all the other ministers with the like fate; and when Charles, who had been obliged to temporize and dissemble, made his escape from their hands, they levied war against him, and openly erected the standard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, shook off the Dauphin's authority; took the government into their own hands, and spread the contagion into every province. The wild state of nature seemed to be renewed in the bosom of society; every man was thrown loose and independent of his fellow-citizens.

The nobles, whose inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and were naturally disposed to check these tumults, had lost all their influence. The troops, who could no longer be retained in discipline, by reason of the want of pay, throwing off all regard to their officers, sought the means of subsistence by pillage and robbery, and associating with them all the disorderly people, with whom that age abounded, infested every quarter of the kingdom in numerous bodies. They desolated the open country, burned and plundered the villages; and, by cutting off all means of communication or subsistence, reduced to necessity even the inhabitants of the fortified towns.

The peasants, formerly oppressed and now left unprotected by their masters, became desperate from their present misery; and, rising everywhere in arms, carried to the last extremity those disorders which were derived from the sedition of the citizens and disbanded soldiers. The gentry, hated for their tyranny, were everywhere exposed to the violence of popular rage; and, instead of meeting with the respect due to their rank, became only, on that account, the object of more wanton insult to the mutinous rustics. They were hunted like wild beasts, and put to the sword without mercy. Their castles were consumed with fire, and levelled with the ground; while their wives and daughters were subject to violation, and then murdered.

A body of nine thousand of these savage boors broke into Meaux, where the wife of the Dauphin, the dutchess of Orleans, and above three hundred other ladies, had taken shelter. The most brutal treatment and fatal consequences were apprehended by this fair and helpless company; when the count de Foix and the captal de Buche, with the assistance of only sixty knights, animated with the true spirit of chivalry, flew to the rescue of the ladies, and beat off the brutal and rapacious peasants with great slaughter.⁽¹⁾

Amid these disorders, the king of Navarre made his escape from prison and presented a dangerous leader to the furious malecontents. He revived his pretensions to the crown of France; but in all his operations he acted more like a captain of banditti, than one who aspired to be the head of a regular government, and who was engaged by his station to endeavour the re-establishment of order in the community. All the French, therefore, who wished to restore peace to their desolated country, turned their eyes towards the Dauphin; who, though not remarkable for his military talents, daily gained, by his prudence and vigilance, the ascendant over his enemies. Marcel, the seditious provost of Paris, was slain in attempting to deliver that city to the king of Navarre. The capital immediately returned to its duty; the most considerable bodies of the mutinous peasants were dispersed, or put to the sword; some bands of military robbers underwent the same fate, and France began once more to assume the appearance of civil government.⁽²⁾

Edward appeared to have a favourable opportunity of pushing his con-

(1) Froissard, liv. i. St. Pelaye sur l'Ancient Chivalrie.

(2) Froissard, ubi sup

quests, during the confusion in the Dauphin's affairs; but his hands were tied by the truce, and the state of the English finances made a cessation of arms necessary. The truce, however, no sooner expired, than he invaded France anew with the whole military force of England. He ravaged the country without opposition, pillaged many towns, and levied contributions upon others; but finding that he could not subsist his army in a kingdom wasted by foreign and domestic enemies, he prudently concluded the peace of Bretigni, which seemed to secure essential advantages to his crown. By this peace, it was stipulated, that John should pay three millions of crowns of gold for his ransom; that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; in exchange for which, he should receive the provinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, l'Angenois, Perigord, the Limousin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France; that the full sovereignty of these provinces, as well as of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England; and that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them.(1)

In consequence of this treaty, the king of France was restored to his liberty; but many difficulties arising with respect to the execution of some of the articles, he took the honourable resolution of coming over to England in person, in order to adjust them. His council endeavoured to dissuade him from this design, which they represented as rash and impolitic; and insinuated, that he ought to elude, as far as possible, the execution of so disadvantageous a treaty. "Though justice and good faith," replied John, "were banished from the rest of the earth, they ought still to retain their habitation in the breasts of princes!" And he accordingly came over to his former lodgings in the Savoy; where he soon after sickened and died.(2)

John was succeeded in the throne of France by his son Charles V., a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified, by his prudence and experience, to repair the losses which the kingdom had sustained from the errors of his predecessors. Contrary to the practice of all the great princes of those times, who held nothing in estimation but military courage, he seems to have laid it down as a maxim, never to appear at the head of his armies. He was the first European monarch that showed the advantage of policy and foresight over a rash and precipitate valour.

Before Charles could think of counterbalancing so great a power as England, it was necessary for him to remedy the many disorders to which his own kingdom was exposed. He accordingly turned his arms against the king of Navarre, the great disturber of France during that age; and he defeated that prince, and reduced him to terms, by the valour and conduct of Bertrand du Guesclin, one of the most accomplished captains of those times, whom Charles had the discernment to choose as the instrument of his victories. He also settled the affairs of Brittany, by acknowledging the title of Mountfort, and receiving homage for his dominions. But much was yet to do.

On the conclusion of the peace of Bretigni, a multitude of military adventurers, who had followed the prosperous fortunes of Edward, being dispersed into the several provinces of France, and possessed of strong holds, refused to lay down their arms, or relinquish a course of life to which they were now accustomed, and by which alone they could earn a subsistence. They therefore associated themselves with the banditti, who were already inured to the habits of rapine and violence, and, under the name of *Companies* and *Companies*, became a terror to the peaceable inhabitants. Some English and Gascon gentlemen of character were not ashamed to take the command of these ruffians, whose number amounted to near forty thousand, and who bore the appearance of regular armies, rather than bands of robbers.(3) As Charles

• (1) Rymer, vol. vi.

(2) Froissard, ubi sup.

(3) Id. ibid.

was not able by force to redress so enormous a grievance, he was led by necessity, and by the turn of his character, to correct it by policy; to discover some method of discharging into foreign countries this dangerous and intestine evil. And an occasion now offered.

Alphonso XI. king of Castile, who took the city of Algezira from the Moors, after a famous siege of two years, had been succeeded, in 1350, by his son Peter I. surnamed the Cruel; a prince equally perfidious, debauched, and bloody. He began his reign with the murder of his father's mistress, Leonora de Gusman: his nobles fell every day the victims of his severity: he put to death his cousin, and one of his natural brothers, from groundless jealousy; and he caused his queen, Blanche de Bourbon, of the blood royal of France, to be thrown into prison, and afterward poisoned, that he might enjoy in quiet the embraces of Mary de Padella, with whom he was violently enamoured.

Henry, count of Trastamara, the king of Spain's natural brother, alarmed at the fate of his family, and dreading his own, took arms against the tyrant; but having failed in the attempt, he fled into France, where he found the minds of men inflamed against Peter, on account of the murder of the French princess. He asked permission of Charles to enlist the *Companies* in his service, and to lead them into Castile against his brother. The French monarch, charmed with the project, employed du Guesclin in negotiating with the leaders of these banditti. The treaty was soon concluded; and du Guesclin, having completed his levies, led the army first to Avignon, where the pope then resided, and demanded, sword in hand, absolution for his ruffian soldiers, who had been excommunicated, and the sum of two hundred thousand livres for their subsistence. The first was readily promised him; but some difficulty being made with respect to the second, du Guesclin replied, "My fellows, I believe, may make a shift to do without your absolution: but the money is absolutely necessary." His holiness now extorted from the inhabitants of the city and its neighbourhood, the sum of one hundred thousand livres, and offered it to Guesclin. "It is not my purpose," said that generous warrior, "to oppress the innocent people. The pope and his cardinals can spare me double the sum from their own pockets. I therefore insist that this money be restored to the owners: and if I hear they are defrauded of it, I will myself return from the other side of the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make them restitution." The pope found the necessity of submitting, and paid from his own treasury the sum demanded.⁽¹⁾ Thus hal- lowed by the blessings and enriched by the spoils of the church, du Guesclin and his army proceeded on their expedition.

A body of experienced and hardy soldiers, conducted by so able a general, easily prevailed over the king of Castile, whose subjects were ready to join the enemy against their oppressor. Peter fled from his dominions, took shelter in Guienne, and craved the protection of the Black Prince, whom the king of England had invested with the sovereignty of the ceded provinces, under the title of the principality of Aquitaine. The prince promised his assistance to the dethroned monarch; and having obtained his father's consent, he levied an army, and set out on his enterprise.

The first loss which Henry of Trastamara suffered from the interposition of the prince of Wales, was the recalling of the *Companies* from his service: and so much reverence did they pay to the name of Edward, that great numbers of them immediately withdrew from Spain, and enlisted under his standard. Henry, however, beloved by his new subjects, and supported by the king of Arragon, was able to meet the enemy with an army of one hundred thousand men, three times the number of those commanded by the Black Prince; yet du Guesclin, and all his experienced officers, advised him to delay a decisive action; so high was their opinion of the valour and conduct of the English hero!—But Henry, trusting to his numbers, ventured to give Edward battle on the banks of the Ebro, between Najara and Navaretté;

(1) *Hist. de Guesclin.*

where the French and Spaniards were defeated, with the loss of above twenty thousand men, and du Guesclin and other officers of distinction taken prisoners. All Castile submitted to the victor: Peter was restored to the throne; and Edward returned to Guienne with his usual glory; having not only overcome the greatest general of his age, but restrained the most blood-thirsty tyrant from executing vengeance on his prisoners.(1)

But this gallant warrior had soon reason to repent his connexions with a prince like Peter, lost to all sense of virtue and honour. That ungrateful monster refused the stipulated pay to the English forces. Edward abandoned him. He treated his subjects with the utmost barbarity: their animosity was roused against him; and du Guesclin, having obtained his ransom, returned to Castile with the count of Trastamara, and some forces levied anew in France. They were joined by the Spanish malecontents; and having no longer the superior genius, and the superior fortune, of the Black Prince to encounter, they gained a complete victory over Peter, in the neighbourhood of Toledo. The tyrant now took refuge in a castle where he was soon after besieged by the victors, and taken prisoner in endeavouring to make his escape. He was conducted to his brother Henry; against whom he is said to have rushed, in a transport of rage, disarmed as he was. Henry slew him with his own hand, in resentment of his cruelties; and, though a bastard, was honoured with the crown of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity.(2)

In the mean time the affairs of the Black Prince were fallen into some disorder. He had involved himself so much in debt by his Spanish expedition, that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose on his foreign principality a new tax, which some of the nobility paid with extreme reluctance, and to which others absolutely refused to submit. They carried their complaints to the king of France, as their lord paramount; and, as the renunciations agreed to in the treaty of Bretigni had never been made, Charles seized this opportunity to renew his claim of superiority over the English provinces.(3) In this resolution he was encouraged by the declining years of Edward III., and the languishing state of the prince of Wales's health: he therefore sent the prince a summons to appear in his court at Paris, and justify his conduct towards his vassals. The prince replied, that he would come to Paris, but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. War was renewed between France and England, and with singular reverse of fortune. The low state of the prince of Wales's health, not permitting him to exert his usual activity, the French were victorious in almost every action; and when he was obliged, by his increasing infirmities, to throw up the command, and return to his native country, the affairs of the English went to total ruin on the continent. They were stripped in a few years of all their ancient possessions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and of all their conquests, except Calais.(4)

These misfortunes abroad were followed by the decay of the king's authority at home. This was chiefly occasioned by his extravagant attachment to Alice Pierce, a young lady of wit and beauty, whose influence over him had given such general disgust, as to become the object of parliamentary remonstrance. The indolence naturally attendant on years and infirmities, had also made Edward resign the administration into the hands of his son, the duke of Lancaster, whose unpopular manners and proceedings weakened extremely the affections of the English to their sovereign. Meanwhile the prince of Wales died; leaving behind him a character adorned with every eminent virtue, and which would throw lustre on the most shining period of ancient or modern history. The king survived that melancholy incident only about twelve months. He expired in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign; one of the longest and most glorious in the English annals. His latter days were, indeed, somewhat obscured by the infirmities

(1) Froissard, liv. I.

(2) T. Walsingham. Froissard, ubi sup.

(3) *Id. ibid.*(4) *Id. ibid.*

and the follies of old age; but he was no sooner dead, than the people of England were sensible of their irreparable loss, and posterity considers him as the greatest and most accomplished prince of his time.

The domestic government of Edward was even more worthy of admiration than his foreign victories. By the prudence and vigour of his administration, England enjoyed a longer time of interior peace and tranquillity, than it had been blessed with in any former period, or than it experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness. His affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generosity, made them submit with pleasure to his dominion: his valour and conduct made them successful in most military enterprises; and their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to bleed those private feuds to which they were naturally so much disposed. This internal tranquillity was the chief benefit that England derived from Edward's continental expeditions: and the miseries of the reign of his successor made the nation fully sensible of the value of the blessing.

But before I speak of the administration of Richard II., the unhappy son of the Black Prince, I must carry forward the affairs of the German empire. At present, however, it will be proper to observe, that the French monarch, Charles V., whose prudent conduct had acquired him the surname of *Wise*, died soon after Edward III., while he was attempting to expel the English from the few places which they still retained in France, and left his kingdom to a minor son of the same name, Charles VI.; so that England and France were now both under the government of minors. And both experienced the misfortunes of a turbulent and divided regency.

LETTER XLI.

The German Empire and its Dependencies, Rome and the Italian States, from the Election of Lewis of Bavaria, to the Death of Charles IV.

WE now, my dear Philip, approach to that era in the history of the German empire, when the famous constitution, called the Golden Bull, was established, which, among other things, settled the number and the rights of the electors, as yet uncertain, and productive of many disorders.

Henry VII., as you have already seen, struggled hard to recover the sovereignty of Italy; but he died before he was able to accomplish his purpose. His death was followed by an interregnum of fourteen months, which were employed in the intrigues of Lewis of Bavaria, and of Frederic the Handsome, duke of Austria. Lewis was elected by the greater number of the princes, but Frederic being chosen and supported by a faction, disputed the empire with him. A furious civil war, which long desolated both Italy and Germany was the consequence of this opposition. At last the two competitors met near Muldorf, and agreed to decide their important dispute by thirty champions, fifteen against fifteen. The champions accordingly engaged in presence of both armies, and fought with such fury, that in a short time not one of them was left alive. A general action followed, in which the Austrians were worsted. But this victory was not decisive. Frederic soon repaired his loss, and even ravaged Bavaria. The Bavarian assembled a powerful army, in order to oppose his rival; and the battle of Vechivis, in which the duke of Austria was taken prisoner, fixed the imperial crown on the head of Lewis V. (1)

During the course of these struggles, was fought, between the Swiss and Austrians, the memorable battle of Morgart; which established the liberty of Switzerland, as the victory of Marathon had formerly done that of Greece and Attic eloquence only was wanting to render it equally famous. Sixteen

(1) *Avent. Annal. Boior. lib. vii*

hundred Swiss, from the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, defeated an army of twenty thousand Austrians, in passing the mountains near Morgart, in 1315, and drove them out of the country with terrible slaughter. The alliance which these three cantons had entered into for the term of ten years, was now converted into a perpetual league; and the other cantons occasionally joined in it.(1)

Lewis V. had no sooner humbled the duke of Austria, than a new antagonist started up:—he had the pope to encounter. The reigning pontiff at that time was John XXII., who had been elected at Lyons in 1315, by the influence of Philip the Long, king of France. John was the son of a cobbler, and one of those men who, raised to power by chance or merit, are haughty in proportion to the meanness of their birth. He had not hitherto, however, interfered in the affairs of the empire; but now, all at once, he set himself up as its judge and master. He declared the election of Lewis void: he maintained that it was the right of the sovereign pontiff to examine and confirm the election of emperors; that the government, during a vacancy, belonged to him: and he commanded the emperor, by virtue of his apostolic power, to lay aside the imperial ensigns, until he should receive permission from the Holy See to reassume them.(2)

Several attempts were made by Lewis towards a reconciliation with his holiness, but in vain: the proud pontiff was inflexible, and would listen to no reasonable conditions. The emperor therefore, jealous of the independency of his crown, endeavoured to strengthen his interest both in Italy and Germany. He continued the government of Milan in the family of the Visconti, who were rather masters than magistrates of that city; and he conferred the government of Lucca on Castruccio Castruccani, a celebrated captain, whose life is pompously written by Machiavel. The German princes were mostly in his interest, and no less jealous than he of the dignity of the empire.

Enraged at such firmness, pope John excommunicated and deposed the emperor Lewis, and endeavoured to get Charles the Fair, king of France, elected in his room. But this attempt miscarried. None of the German princes, except Leopold of Austria, came to the place appointed for an interview with the French monarch; and the imprudent and ambitious Charles returned chagrined and disappointed into his own dominions.(3)

Thus freed from a dangerous rival, the emperor marched into Italy, in order to establish his authority in that country. He was crowned at Milan, and afterward at Rome; where he ordered the following proclamation to be made three times by an Augustine friar: “Is there any one who will defend the cause of the priest of Cahors, who calls himself pope John?”—And no person appearing, sentence was immediately pronounced against his holiness. Lewis declared him convicted of heresy, deprived him of all his dignities and benefices, and delivered him over to the secular power, in order to suffer the punishment of fire; and Peter Rainauci, a Neapolitan Cordelier, was created pope under the name of Nicholas V.(4)

But Lewis, notwithstanding this mighty parade, was soon obliged, like his predecessors, to quit Italy, in order to quell the troubles of Germany; and pope John, though a refugee on the banks of the Rhone, recovered his authority in Rome. The imperialists were expelled the city; and Nicholas V. the emperor's pope, was carried to Avignon, where, with a rope about his neck, he publicly implored forgiveness of his rival, and ended his days in a prison.(5)

The emperor, in the mean time, remained in peace at Munich, having settled the affairs of Germany. But he still lay under the censures of the church, and the pope continued to solicit the princes of the empire to revolt against him. Lewis was preparing to assemble a general council, in order to depose his holiness a second time, when the death of John made such a measure unnecessary, and relieved the emperor from all dread of the spiritua,

(1) *Simler, de Repub. Helvetic.*

(3) Villani, lib. ix.

(2) Steph. Baluzil. *Vit. Pontif. Avinion.* vol. i.

(4) Baluzil, ubi sup.

(5) *Ibid.*

thunder. This turbulent pope, who first invented the taxes for dispensations and mortal sins, died immensely rich. He was succeeded in the papacy by James Fournier, surnamed the White Cardinal, who assumed the name of Benedict XII.(1)

The new pope, who seemed desirous to tread in the steps of his predecessor, confirmed all the bulls which had been issued by John against the emperor. But Lewis had now affairs of more importance to engage his attention, than those important fulminations. John of Luxemburg, second son of the king of Bohemia, had married Margaret, surnamed Great Mouth, heiress of Carinthia; and that princess, accusing her husband of impotency, a bishop of Frisingen dissolved the marriage, and she espoused the margrave of Brandenburg, son of the emperor Lewis, who readily consented to a match that added Tyrol and Carinthia to the possessions of his family. This marriage produced a war between the houses of Bavaria and Bohemia, which lasted only one year, but occasioned abundance of bloodshed; and the parties came to a very singular accommodation. John of Luxemburg confessed that his wife had reason to forsake him, renounced all claim to her, and ratified her marriage with the margrave of Brandenburg.(2)

This affair being settled, Lewis exerted all his endeavours to appease the domestic troubles of the empire, which were still kept alive by the intrigues of the pope; and, notwithstanding all the injuries and insults he had sustained, he made several attempts towards an accommodation with the Holy See. But these negotiations being rendered ineffectual by the influence of France, the princes of the empire, ecclesiastical as well as secular, assembled at Frankfort, and established that famous constitution, by which it was irrecoverably fixed, "That the plurality of the suffrages of the electoral college confers the empire, without the consent of the Holy See: that the pope has no superiority over the emperor of Germany, nor any right to approve or reject his election; and that to maintain the contrary is high-treason." They also refuted the absurd claim of the popes to the government of the empire during a vacancy; and declared, that this right appertains, by ancient custom, to the count Palatine of the Rhine.(3)

Germany now enjoyed for some years what it had seldom known, the blessings of peace, which was again interrupted by the court of Avignon. Benedict XII. was succeeded in the papacy by Clement VI., a native of France, and so haughty and enterprising as to affirm, that his "predecessors did not know what it was to be popes." He began his pontificate with renewing all the bulls issued against Lewis; with naming a vicar-general of the empire in Lombardy, and endeavouring to make all Italy shake off the emperor's authority.

Lewis, still desirous of an accommodation with the Holy See, amidst all these acts of enmity, sent ambassadors to the court of Avignon. But the conditions prescribed by his holiness were so unreasonable, that they were rejected with disdain by a diet of the empire, as an insult upon the imperial dignity. Clement, more incensed than ever at this instance of disregard, fulminated new excommunications against the emperor. "May the wrath of God," says the enraged pontiff in one of his bulls, "and of St. Peter and St. Paul, crush him in this world, and that which is to come! May the earth open and swallow him alive; may his memory perish, and all the elements be his enemies; and may his children fall into the hands of his adversaries, even in the sight of their father!"(4)

Clement issued another bull for the election of a new emperor; and Charles of Luxemburg, margrave of Moravia, afterward known by the name of Charles IV. son and heir of John, king of Bohemia, having made the necessary concessions to his holiness, was elected king of the Romans by a faction. Lewis, however, maintained his authority till his death, which happened soon after the election of his rival; when Charles, rather by his money than his valour, got possession of the imperial throne.

(1) Baluzii. *Vit. Pontif. Avinion.*

(2) *Hist. de Luxembourg.*

(3) Heiss, liv. ii. chap. 96.

(4) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

While these things were transacting in Germany, a singular scene was exhibited in Italy. Nicholas Rienzi, a private citizen of Rome, but an eloquent, bold, enterprising man, and a patriot, seeing that city abandoned by the emperors and the popes, set himself up as the restorer of the Roman liberty and the Roman power. Proclaimed tribune by the people, and put in possession of the Capitol, he declared all the inhabitants of Italy free, and denizens of Rome. But these convulsive struggles of long-expiring freedom, like many others, proved ineffectual. Rienzi, who styled himself "the severe though merciful Deliverer of Rome, the zealous Asserter of the Liberties of Italy, and the Lover of all Mankind," as he attempted to imitate the Gracchi, met the same fate, being murdered by the patrician faction. (1)

A scene no less extraordinary was about this time exhibited at Naples. The kingdom of Naples and Sicily still continued to be ruled by foreigners. Naples was governed by the house of France, and Sicily by that of Arragon. Robert of Anjou, son of Charles the Lame, though he had failed in his attempt to recover possession of Sicily, had made Naples a flourishing kingdom. He died 1343, and left his crown to Joan his granddaughter, who had married her relation Andrew, brother to Lewis of Anjou, elected king of Hungary; a match which seemed to cement the happiness and prosperity of that house, but proved the source of all its misfortunes. Andrew pretended to reign in his own right; and Joan, though but eighteen years of age, insisted that he should only be considered as the queen's husband. A Franciscan friar, called Brother Robert, by whose advice Andrew was wholly governed, lighted up the flames of hatred and discord between the royal pair; and the Hungarians, of whom Andrew's court was chiefly composed, excited the jealousy of the Neapolitans, who considered them as Barbarians. It was therefore resolved, in a council of the queen's favourites, to put Andrew to death. He was accordingly strangled in his wife's antichamber: and Joan married the prince of Tarentum, who had been publicly accused of the murder of her husband, and was well known to have been concerned in that bloody deed. How strong a presumption of her own guilt!

In the mean time Lewis king of Hungary, brother to the murdered Andrew, wrote to Joan, that he would revenge the death of that unfortunate prince on her and her accomplices. He accordingly set out for Naples by the way of Venice and Rome. At Rome he publicly accused Joan, before the tribune Rienzi; who, during the existence of his transitory power, beheld several kings appealing to his tribunal, as was customary in the times of the ancient republic. Rienzi, however, declined giving his decision; a moderation by which he at least gave one example of his prudence: and Lewis advanced towards Naples, carrying along with him a black standard, on which were painted the most striking circumstances of Andrew's murder. He ordered a prince of the blood, and one of the accomplices in the regicide to be beheaded. Joan and her husband fled into Provence; where, finding herself utterly abandoned by her subjects, she waited on pope Clement VI. at Avignon, a city of which she was sovereign, as countess of Provence, and which she sold to that pontiff, together with its territories, for eighty thousand florins of gold, which a celebrated historian tells us were never paid. Here she pleaded her cause in person before the pope, and was acquitted. But perhaps the desire of possessing Avignon had some influence upon the judgment of his holiness.

Clement's kindness did not stop here. In order to engage the king of Hungary to quit Naples, he proposed that Joan should pay him a sum of money; but as ambition or avarice had no share in Lewis's enterprise, he generously replied, "I am not come hither to sell my brother's blood, but to revenge it!" and as he had partly effected his purpose he went away satisfied, though the kingdom of Naples was in his power. (2) Joan recovered her dominions, but only to become more wretched. Of her unhappy fate I shall afterward have occasion to speak.

We must now return to the affairs of the emperor Charles IV. This prince, who was equally distinguished by his weakness and pride, had no sooner settled the affairs of Germany than he went to receive the imperial crown at Rome, where he behaved in a manner more pusillanimous than any of his predecessors. The coronation ceremony was no sooner performed than he retired without the walls, in consequence of an agreement which he had made with the pope; though the Romans came to offer him the government of their city, as his hereditary right, and entreated him to re-establish their ancient liberty. He told the deputies he would deliberate on the proposal. But, being apprehensive of some treachery, he sneaked off in the evening, under pretence of going to take the diversion of hunting. And he afterward ratified and confirmed many promises extorted from him by Clement VI., very much to the prejudice of the empire in Italy. (1)

The poet Petrarch, so highly celebrated for his love-verses, wrote a letter to Charles upon this occasion, in which are found these spirited words: "You have then promised upon oath never to return to Rome!—What shameful conduct in an emperor, to be compelled by a priest to content himself with the bare title of Cesar, and to exile himself for ever from the habitation of the Cesars! to be crowned emperor, and then prohibited reigning, or acting as head of the empire!—What an insult upon him who ought to command the universe, to be no longer master of himself, but reduced to obey his own vassal!" (2)

This emperor seemed to have renounced entirely the politics of his predecessors; for he not only discouraged and rejected the proffers of the Ghibellines, but affected to treat them as enemies to religion, and actually supported the Guelphs. By these means he procured the favour of the pope and his dependants, who flattered him with the most fulsome adulation; but the Italians in general viewed him with contempt, and the greatest part of the towns attached to the empire shut their gates against him. At Cremona he was obliged to wait two hours without the walls before he received the answer of the magistrates; who, at last, only permitted him to enter as a simple stranger, without arms or retinue. (3)

Charles IV. made a more respectable figure after his return to Germany. The number of electorates had been fixed since the time of Henry VII., more by custom than by laws, but not the number of electors. The duke of Bavaria presumed he had a right to elect as well as the count Palatine, the elder branch of their family; and the younger brothers of the house of Saxony believed themselves entitled to vote as well as the elder. The emperor therefore resolved to settle these points, that due subordination might take place, and future elections be conducted without confusion or disorder. For this purpose he ordered a diet to be assembled at Nuremburg, where the famous constitution called the *Golden Bull* was established in the presence and with the consent of all the princes, bishops, abbots, and the deputies of the imperial cities.

The style of that celebrated charter partakes strongly of the spirit of the times. It begins with an apostrophe to Satan, anger, pride, luxury; and it says, that it is necessary the number of electors should be Seven, in order to oppose the Seven mortal sins. It speaks of the fall of all the angels, of a heavenly paradise, of Pompey, and of Cæsar; and it asserts, that the government of Germany is founded on the three theological virtues, as on the Trinity. The seven electors were, as formerly premised, the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, the king of Bohemia, the count Palatine, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg.

The imperial dignity, which of itself then conferred little real power, never showed more of that lustre which dazzles the eyes of the people than on the publication of this famous edict. The three ecclesiastical electors, all three arch-chancellors, appeared in the procession with the seals of the empire;

(1) Fleury tom. xx. liv. 96.

(3) Barre, tom. ii. Spond. Contin. Baron. tom. i.

(2) *De Vit. Solit.* lib. ii

the archbishop of Mentz carried that of Germany, the archbishop of Cologne that of Italy, and the archbishop of Triers that of Gaul; though the empire now possessed nothing in Gaul, except a claim to empty homage for the remains of the kingdoms of Arles, Provence, and Dauphiné. How little power Charles had in Italy, we have already seen. Besides granting to the pope all the lands claimed by the Holy See, he left the family of Visconti in the quiet possession of Milan and Lombardy, which they had usurped from him, and the Venetians in that of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona. (1) I must now return to the ceremonial.

The duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, who represented the king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, presented the emperor with his drink, poured from a golden flagon into a cup of the same metal; the duke of Saxony, as grand marshal, appeared with a silver measure filled with oats; the elector of Brandenburg presented the emperor and empress with water to wash, in a golden ewer, placed in a golden basin; and the count Palatine served up the victuals in golden dishes, in presence of all the great officers of the empire. (2)

The latter part of the reign of Charles IV. was distinguished by no remarkable transaction except the sale of the imperial jurisdictions in Italy; which were again resumed and again sold. Charles, who was reputed a good prince, but a weak emperor, was succeeded in all his possessions and dignities by his son Wenceslaus, whom I shall afterward have occasion to mention.—We must now proceed to the affairs of England; remarking by the way, that Charles IV. was an encourager of letters, and founded the university of Prague.

LETTER XLII.

England, from the Death of Edward III. to the Accession of Henry V., with some Account of the Affairs of Scotland during that Period.

AFTER seeing England victorious over France and Spain, you have seen her, my dear Philip, stripped almost of all her possessions on the continent, and Edward III. expiring with much less glory than had distinguished the more early periods of his reign. His successor, Richard II., son of the Black Prince, was little able to recover what had been lost through the indisposition of his father, and the dotage of his grandfather. Happy had it been for him, and for his people, could he have ruled his own kingdom with judgment.

Richard was certainly a weak prince, but his weakness was not immediately perceived or felt by the nation. He was only at his accession a boy of eleven years of age, from whom consequently little could be expected. The habits of order and obedience, which the nobility had been taught by the third Edward, still influenced them; and the authority of Richard's three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, sufficed to repress for a time that turbulent spirit to which the great barons were so often subject during a weak reign. The different characters of those three princes rendered them also a counterpoise to each other; so that there appeared no new circumstance in the domestic situation of England which could endanger the public peace, or give any immediate apprehensions to the lovers of their country.

But this flattering prospect proved delusive. Discontents and dissensions soon took place among all orders of men. The first tumult was of the popular kind. War had been carried on between France and England; after the death of Edward III., but in so languid a manner as served only to exhaust the finances of both kingdoms. In order to repair the expenses of these fruitless armaments, the English parliament found it necessary to impose a poll-tax, of three groats a head, on every person, male and female, above

(1) Barre, tom. ii. Spoud. Contin. Baron. tom. i.

(2) Heiss, liv. ii. chap. 27.

fifteen years of age. The inequality and injustice of this tax was obvious to the meanest capacity, and the rigorous manner in which it was levied made it yet more grievous. The great body of the people, many of whom were still in a state of slavery, became severely sensible of the unequal lot which fortune had assigned them in the distribution of her favours. They looked up to the first origin of mankind from one common stock, their equal right to liberty, and to all the benefits of nature. Nor did they fail to reflect on the tyranny of artificial distinctions, the abuses which had arisen from the degradation of the more considerable part of the species, and the aggrandizement of a few individuals.(1)

“When Adam delv’d, and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?”

was their favourite distich: and although these verses, when misapplied, strike at the foundation of all society, they contain a sentiment so flattering to that sense of primitive equality, engraved in the hearts of all men, as never to be repeated without some degree of approbation.

When the discontents of the populace were thus prepared, the insolence of a tax-gatherer, and the spirit of a blacksmith, blew them into a flame. While the blacksmith was at work, in a village of Essex, the tax-gatherer came into his shop, and demanded payment for his daughter. The father replied, that she was below the age prescribed by the statute: the tax-gatherer affirmed she was a full-grown woman, and in proof of his assertion attempted an indecency, which incensed the blacksmith to such a degree that he knocked the ruffian dead with his forge-hammer. The by-standers applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and assert their native rights. They flew to arms: the flame of sedition spread from county to county; and before the government had the least intimation of the danger, the disorder had grown beyond all control or opposition.

These mutinous peasants, to the number of one hundred thousand, assembled on Blackheath under their leader, Wat Tyler; and sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the Tower, that they desired a conference with him. Richard sailed down the river in a barge for that purpose: but, on approaching the shore, he discovered such symptoms of tumult and insolence that he judged it prudent to return. Finding, however, that the Tower would be no security against the lawless multitude, and afflicted at the ravages and cruelties of the rioters, who had broken into the city of London, plundered the merchants, and cut off the heads of all the gentlemen they could seize; the young king found it necessary to go out and ask their demands. They required a general pardon; the abolition of slavery; freedom of commerce in market-towns, without toll or impost; and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the services due by villanage. These requests were highly reasonable; but the behaviour of Wat Tyler, their leader, who, in making his demands, frequently brandished his sword in a menacing manner, so incensed William Walworth, lord mayor of London, that he lifted up his mace, or, as others say, his spear, and struck Tyler a violent blow which brought him to the ground, where he was instantly run through the body by another of the king’s train. The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge; and the king and his whole company must have perished on the spot, had not Richard discovered an extraordinary presence of mind in that extremity. He ordered his attendants to stop advanced alone towards the enraged multitude, and, accosting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, “What, my good people,” said he, “is the meaning of this commotion?—Be not concerned for the loss of your leader. I am your king: I will become your leader: follow me into the field, and you shall have whatever you desire.” Overawed by the royal presence, they

implicitly followed him: and he peaceably dismissed them, after granting them their demands.(1)

Richard's conduct on this occasion, considering that he was only sixteen years of age, raised great expectations in the nation; but in proportion as he advanced in years they gradually vanished, and his want of capacity, or at least of solid judgment, appeared in every measure which he adopted. His first expedition was against Scotland, into which he marched at the head of an army of sixty thousand men. The Scots did not pretend to make resistance against so great a force: they abandoned, without scruple, their rugged territory to be pillaged and laid waste by the enemy, and made an incursion into the more fertile provinces of England, where they collected a rich booty, and returned in tranquillity to their own country. The English monarch, however, wandered over great part of the comparatively barren kingdom of Scotland, and led his army back into England, without taking vengeance on the enemy for their devastations.(2) His impatience to return and enjoy his usual pleasures and amusements overbalanced every higher consideration, and made even revenge a motive too feeble to detain him.

Richard, like most weak princes, now resigned himself wholly to the direction of a favourite, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of dissolute manners, whom he loaded with riches, with titles, and with dignities. He first created him marquis of Dublin, and afterward duke of Ireland, with a parliamentary grant of the sovereignty of that kingdom for life. The usual and but too often just complaints against the insolence of favourites were soon loudly echoed and greedily received in all parts of England. A civil war was the consequence: the royal party was defeated; and Richard was obliged to resign the government into the hands of a council of fourteen, appointed by the parliament. The duke of Gloucester, who had been at the head of this insurrection, next entered an accusation against five of the king's ministers, who were declared guilty of high treason; and as many of them as could be seized were executed. The duke of Ireland made his escape beyond sea, as did Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who had discharged the office of lord high chancellor. Both died abroad.

It might naturally be expected that Richard, thus reduced to a state of slavery by his subjects, and unable to defend his servants from the resentment of his uncles, would remain long in subjection, and never recover the royal power without the most violent struggles; but the event proved otherwise. In less than twelve months he was entirely reconciled to his uncles, and exercised the regal authority in its full extent.

After these domestic disturbances were composed, and the government restored to its natural state, there passed an interval of eight years, distinguished by no remarkable event; but during which the king brought himself into the lowest degree of personal contempt, even while his government appeared in a great measure unexceptionable. Addicted to vulgar pleasures he spent his whole time in feasting and jollity; and dissipated in idle show or lavished upon favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to see him employ in undertakings for the public honour and advantage.

The duke of Gloucester soon perceived the opportunities which this dissolute conduct of his nephew afforded him of insinuating himself into the affections of the nation; and he determined to aspire at popularity as the ladder to the throne. He seldom appeared at court or in the council: he never declared his opinion but in order to disapprove of the measures embraced by the king and his favourites; and he courted the friendship of every man whom disappointment or private resentment had rendered an enemy to the administration. Richard, however, got intelligence of his designs, and ordered him unexpectedly to be arrested, and carried over to Calais; the only place where he could safely be detained in custody, by reason of his numerous partisans, and where he was soon after murdered. The royal vengeance

(1) Froissard, liv. II. Walsingham. Knyghton.

(2) T. Walsingham. Froissard, ubi sup.

fell also, though with different degrees of severity, on the earls of Arundel and Warwick, the supposed accomplices of Gloucester, and on the archbishop of Canterbury, Arundel's brother, who was banished the kingdom. Arundel himself was beheaded, and Warwick was doomed to perpetual confinement in the Isle of Man.(1)

The destruction of the duke of Gloucester and the supporters of his party was followed by a misunderstanding among those noblemen who had joined in the prosecution; and the duke of Hereford, in particular, went so far as to accuse the duke of Norfolk in parliament of having spoken "many slanderous words of the king." Norfolk denied the charge; gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted; the time and place of the combat were appointed, and the whole nation was held in suspense with regard to the event. But when the two champions appeared in the field, accoutred for the fight, the king interposed, to prevent both the present effusion of blood and the future consequences of the quarrel. He stopped the duel, by the advice and authority of the parliamentary commissioners appointed to regulate the combat; and, by the same authority, he ordered both the combatants to leave the kingdom.(2) Hereford was banished for ten years, and Norfolk for life.

The sentence pronounced upon these two noblemen appears to have been impartial, but it surely was not equitable. The one was condemned without being charged with any offence; the other without being convicted of any crime. It was also unpopular. Richard's conduct in this affair was considered as a mark of the pusillanimity of his temper: and the weakness and fluctuation of his councils, at least, appear on no occasion more evident. Henry duke of Hereford, being a man of great prudence and self-command, behaved himself with so much humility after his condemnation, that the king promised to shorten the term of his exile four years; and also granted him letters patent, empowering him, in case any inheritance should accrue to him during the interval, to enter into immediate possession. But Hereford, who was son to the duke of Lancaster, had no sooner left the kingdom than Richard's jealousy of the power and riches of that family revived; and he grew sensible, that by Gloucester's death he had only removed a counterpoise to the Lancastrian interest, which was now become formidable to the throne. He therefore took every method to sully abroad the reputation of Henry duke of Hereford, and to obstruct his alliances, by representing him as guilty of treasonable practices; and when the duke of Lancaster died, he revoked his letters patent to Henry, and retained possession of the family estate.(3)

These instances of rapacity and severity, and the circumstances with which they were accompanied, threw upon Richard the universal odium of the people. Hereford, now duke of Lancaster, had formerly acquired the esteem of the public by his valour and abilities. He was connected with most of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendship; his misfortunes added double lustre to his merit; all men made his case their own: they entered into his resentment; and they turned their eyes towards him as the only person who could retrieve the lost honour of the nation, or reform the abuses of government.

While the minds of men were thus disposed, Richard went over to quell an insurrection in Ireland, and thereby imprudently afforded his exiled cousin an opportunity of gratifying the wishes of the nation. Henry landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, accompanied only by sixty persons; but he was suddenly joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most potent barons in England, and the malecontents in all quarters flew to arms. He solemnly declared that he had no other purpose in this invasion than to recover the dutchy of Lancaster, unjustly detained from him: and he entreated his uncle, the duke of York, who had been left guardian of the kingdom, not to oppose a loyal and humble supplicant in the recovery of his

(1) T. Walsingham. *Froissard*, liv. iv. Rymer, vol. vii.

(3) Tyrrel, vol. iii. from the *Records*.

(2) T. Walsingham. *Parl. Hist.* vol. i

legal patrimony. His entreaties had the desired effect. The guardian embraced his cause, and he immediately found himself master of England.

Richard no sooner received intelligence of this invasion than he hastened over from Ireland, and landed at Milford-Haven with a body of twenty thousand men. But even that small army was seized with the spirit of disaffection, and the king found himself almost entirely deserted. In this extremity he fled to the Isle of Anglesea, where he proposed to embark for France, and there wait the return of his subjects to a sense of their duty. But before he had an opportunity of carrying his design into execution, the earl of Northumberland waited upon him from the duke of Lancaster, with the strongest professions of loyalty and submission; and Richard was so credulous as to put himself in the power of his enemy. He was carried about in an abject manner, exposed to the insults of the populace; deposed, confined in prison, and afterward murdered.⁽¹⁾ And the duke of Lancaster was proclaimed king, under the name of Henry IV.

The beginning of the reign of Henry IV. as may naturally be expected from the manner in which he obtained the throne, was stained by many acts of blood and violence. All who opposed his title fell a sacrifice to his rigid policy, and superstition was called in to swell by new crimes the horrid catalogue. While a subject, Henry was believed to have strongly imbibed the principles of Wickliffe, a secular priest educated at Oxford, who, during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., preached the doctrine of reformation; but finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, this politic prince thought superstition a necessary engine of public authority. There had hitherto been no penal laws enacted against heresy in England: Henry, therefore, who made nothing of sacrificing his principles to his interest, understanding that the clergy called loudly for the punishment of the disciples of Wickliffe, whose learning and genius had in some measure broken the fetters of prejudice, resolved to procure the favour of the church by the most effectual of all methods, by gratifying her vengeance on those who presumed to dispute her infallibility. A law was accordingly enacted, that when any heretic, who relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate, before the whole people.⁽²⁾ This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of the clergy. William Sautré, a clergyman in London, had been condemned by the convocation at Canterbury: his sentence was ratified by the house of peers; and the unhappy sectary suffered the punishment of fire, because he could not think as the church directed.—What a fatal prelude to future horrors, proceeding from the same source!

But all the prudence and precaution of Henry could not shield him from numerous alarms. He was threatened from France with an invasion, which was only prevented by the disorders in that country; and the revolution in England was speedily followed by an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, descended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; and Reginald, lord Grey of Ruthyn, who was closely connected with the new king, and who enjoyed a great fortune in the Marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppressing his neighbour, and taking possession of his estate. Glendour, provoked at the injustice, and still more at the indignity, recovered possession by the sword. Henry sent assistance to Grey, the Welch took part with Glendour: a tedious and troublesome war was kindled, which Glendour long sustained by his valour and activity, aided by the natural strength of the country and the untamed spirit of the inhabitants.

The Scots also were tempted by these disorders to make incursions into England; and Henry, desirous of taking revenge upon them, conducted an army as far north as Edinburgh. But finding that the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned without effecting any thing of con-

(1) T. Walsingham Froissard, ubi sup

(2) 2 Hen. IV. c. 7

sequence. Next season, however, Archibald earl of Douglas, who, at the head of twelve thousand men, attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, had made an irruption into the northern counties, was overtaken by the Percies of Northumberland on his return, at Homeldon, on the borders of England, where a fierce battle ensued, and the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner; as were the earls of Angus, Murray, Orkney, and many others of the Scottish nobility and gentry.(1)

When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners: a privilege which that nobleman regarded as his right by the then received laws of war. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland. But by this selfish policy he gave fresh disgust to the powerful family of Northumberland. The impatient spirit of Harry Percy, commonly known by the name of Hotspur, and factious disposition of the earl of Worcester, younger brother of the earl of Northumberland, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted Northumberland to seek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at first established. He entered into a correspondence with Glendour: he set the earl of Douglas at liberty, and made an alliance with that martial chieftain. But when war was ready to break out, the earl of Northumberland was unfortunately seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendour.

The king had happily a small army on foot with which he intended to act against the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he instantly hurried down, in order to give battle to the rebels. He approached Percy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other, made them hasten to a general engagement. The armies were nearly equal in number, consisting of about twelve thousand men each; and we scarcely find any battle in those ages where the shock was more terrible or more constant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight; and the prince of Wales, his gallant son, whose military achievements became afterward so famous, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, signalized himself in a remarkable manner. Percy supported that renown which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival amid the horror and confusion of the fight. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almost incredible. He seemed determined the king of England should fall that day by his arm. He sought him all over the field; and as Henry had accoutred several captains in the royal garb, in order to encourage his troops, the sword of Douglas rendered that honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Hotspur, accomplished by an unknown hand, decided the victory; the royalists prevailed. There are said to have fallen on both sides near two thousand three hundred gentlemen.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his sickness, had levied a fresh army, and was on his march to join his son; but being opposed by the earl of Westmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his sole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties. Henry thought proper to admit the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence. All the other rebels were treated with equal lenity: and, except the earl of Worcester and sir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the insurrection, no person engaged in that dangerous conspiracy seems to have perished by the hands of the executioner.(2)

This rebellion was no sooner quelled than another was ready to break out, supported by the earl of Nottingham and the archbishop of York. But it

(1) Walsingham, Hall, Otterbourne.

(2) Walsingham, Hall, Otterbourne, Rymer, vol viii

was discovered before it was ripe for execution, and the earl and the archbishop were both beheaded. Northumberland also was concerned in this second rebellion, but made his escape into Scotland; whence returning to commit new disorders, he was slain at Bramham, along with lord Bardolf. (1) The defeat of Glendour, and the submission of the Welch, which happened soon after, freed Henry from all his domestic enemies; and a fortunate event which had thrown the heir to the crown of Scotland into his hands made him also secure on that quarter.

Robert III. king of Scotland, though a prince of slender capacity, was extremely innocent and inoffensive in his conduct. But Scotland, at that time, was still less fitted than England for cherishing a sovereign of such a character. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of a boisterous and violent disposition, had assumed the government of the state; and not satisfied with present authority, he entertained the criminal purpose of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw into prison David, his eldest nephew, who there perished by hunger; so that James, the younger brother of David, alone stood between the tyrant and the throne. Robert, therefore, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board a ship, with a view of sending him into France, and of trusting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, however, the vessel was taken by the English: and although there subsisted at that time a truce between the two kingdoms, Henry refused to restore the young prince to his liberty. (2) But he made ample amends for this want of generosity by bestowing on James an excellent education, which afterward qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in some measure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

The remaining part of the reign of Henry IV. was chiefly spent in regulating the affairs of his kingdom; which he at length brought into much order, by his valour, prudence, and address. In his latter years, however, he began to turn his eyes towards those bright projects which his more fortunate son conducted so successfully against the French monarchy; but his declining health prevented him from attempting to put any of them in execution. Afflicted for some years with violent fits, which frequently deprived him of all sensation, and threatened his existence, he was carried off by one of them at Westminster, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. (3) He left behind him the reputation of a wise prince, a prudent king, but a bad man; and yet, if we consider the circumstances in which he was involved, we can hardly conceive any person to carry his ambition to the same height, and transmit a throne to his posterity, with less violence to humanity.

We should now examine the affairs of France under Charles VI. as an introduction to the reign of Henry V. of England, who became sovereign of both kingdoms; but we must first carry forward the history of the empire and the church.

LETTER XLIII.

The German Empire and its Dependencies, Rome and the Italian States, from the Accession of Wenceslaus to the Death of Sigismund.

THE history of the German empire, my dear Philip, becomes always more important to us, in proportion as we advance in the narration, though the empire itself grew daily less consequential. We now approach two principal events in the history of the church: the Great Schism in the West and the Council of Constance.

(1) T. Walsingham.

(3) Walsingham. Otterbourne.

(2) Buchanan, lib. 10. *Scotichronicon* lib. xv.

Wincleslaus, at the age of seventeen, succeeded his father, Charles IV., in the government of the empire, and on the throne of Bohemia, when the church was divided by one of those violent contests so disgraceful to Christianity. The Italians had raised to the pontificate Urban VI., who confirmed the election of the new emperor, and the French had chosen Clement VII. During these troubles Wincleslaus appointed Jadoc, marquis of Moravia, his vicar-general in Italy; laid injunctions on him to inquire which of the two persons chosen was the true pope; to acknowledge and protect him whom he should find to be canonically elected, and to expel by force the other, who had intruded himself into the chair. He likewise held a diet at Nuremburg, and afterward one at Frankfort; where the affair of the popes being examined, Urban VI. was acknowledged by the German bishops and archbishops, and Wincleslaus and the princes of the empire engaged to protect him in the papacy.(1)

After the diet of Frankfort, the emperor repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he resided some time, because the plague raged in Bohemia; and here he gave himself up to all manner of debauchery, neglecting the affairs of the empire to such a degree, that the princes and towns of Germany were obliged to enter into associations for their mutual defence. At the same time Italy was torn in pieces by the schism in the church. Clement, who had taken Rome from his rival, was expelled in his turn by the citizens, and afterward settled at Avignon, the former residence of the French pontiffs. Urban used his victory like a tyrant. But all priests in power, it has been said, are tyrants. The famous Joan, queen of Naples, of whom I have already had occasion to speak, first experienced the effects of Urban's vengeance.

This princess, who had imprudently espoused the cause of Clement, had been several times married, but had no children by any of her husbands; she therefore adopted Charles de Durazzo, the natural heir to her kingdom, and the only remaining descendant of the house of Anjou in Naples. But Durazzo, unwilling to wait for the crown till the natural death of his adoptive mother, associated himself with pope Urban, who crowned him king of Naples at Rome, on condition that he should bestow the principality of Capua on Francis Prignano, nephew to his holiness. Urban also deposed queen Joan, and declared her guilty of heresy and high treason.

These steps being taken, the pope and Durazzo marched towards Naples. The church plate and church lands were sold, in order to facilitate the conquest. Joan, meanwhile, was destitute of both money and troops. In this extremity, she invited to her assistance Lewis of Anjou, brother to Charles V. of France. But Lewis, whom she had adopted in the room of the ungrateful Durazzo, arrived too late to defend his benefactress, or dispute the kingdom with his competitor. The pope and Durazzo entered Naples, after having defeated and taken prisoner Otho of Brunswick, the queen's husband. All resistance now appeared to be in vain, and flight alone seemed practicable. But even in this the unfortunate Joan failed: she fell into the hands of the usurper; who, in order to give some colour to his barbarity, declared himself the avenger of the murder of her first husband. Lewis king of Hungary was consulted in regard to the fate of the unhappy queen. He replied that she must suffer the same death which she had inflicted on his brother and her husband, Andrew: and Durazzo ordered her to be smothered between two mattresses.(2) Thus perished the famous Joan I queen of Naples, who was celebrated by Petrarch and Boccace; and whose life, character, and catastrophe, have a singular resemblance to those of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, whom I shall afterward have occasion to mention.

While one gallant woman thus sunk beneath the arm of power, another rose superior to all resistance. On the death of Olaus, king of Denmark, his mother Margaret ascended the throne, with the unanimous consent of the

(1) Du Puy, *Hist. Gen. du Schisme*, &c. Malmbourg, *Hist. du grand Schisme d'Occident*

(2) Giannone, *Hist. di Nap.*

people; and even recommended herself so strongly to the Swedes, who were oppressed by their own king Albert, that they renounced their allegiance to that prince, and made her a solemn tender of their crown. She accepted the offer; marched to their assistance, and defeated Albert, who was deposed, and obliged to retire into the dominions of his brother the Duke of Mecklenburg. On this revolution in Sweden, Margaret assumed the reins of government, and was distinguished by the appellation of the Semiramis of the North.(1)

Meantime Wincelauus continued immersed in debauchery, and seemed industrious in acquiring the implacable hatred of his subjects by the extraordinary taxes he imposed, and the cruelties which he exercised upon people of all ranks. In order to familiarize himself to blood and carnage, he descended so low as to contract an intimacy with the public executioner, whom he distinguished by the appellation of his gossip; and in one of his fits of intoxication, he is said to have ordered his cook to be roasted alive.(2)

On account of these irregularities, and of selling the rights of the empire, both in Italy and Germany, the electors assembled at the castle of Laenstein on the Rhine, deposed Wincelauus, and raised to the imperial dignity Frederic duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg; but he being basely murdered by count Waldeck before his coronation, they elected in his stead Rupert or Robert count Palatine of the Rhine.

Wincelauus was so little mortified at the news of his deposition, that he is reported to have said, when he received the intelligence, "We are overjoyed to be delivered from the burden of the empire; because we shall have more leisure to apply ourselves to the government of our own kingdom;" and it must be owned that, during the nineteen years which he afterward reigned in Bohemia, his conduct was much less exceptionable. But although the indolent Wincelauus was so little concerned at the loss of the empire, he appears to have been sensibly affected by some of its probable consequences, though seemingly of less moment; for he is said to have desired as a last mark of the fidelity of the imperial cities, that they would send him "some butts of their best wine."(3)

The first expedition of the new emperor was against Galeazo Visconti, whom Wincelauus had created duke of Milan, and who, not contented with this promotion, proposed by force of arms to make himself master of Florence, Mantua, Bologna, and other towns and countries, to be incorporated with his dutchy. In order to preserve these territories, and recover the imperial authority in Italy, Robert marched into the dutchy of Milan, and encamped before the city of Brixen. But Galeazo was so well provided with troops and military stores, that the emperor was obliged to return to Germany without being able to effect any thing of importance.(4)

The retreat of Robert left the field open to Galeazo, who now projected nothing less than the conquest of the whole kingdom of Italy: and fortune at first seemed to second his views. He made himself master of the city of Bologna, and had almost reduced Florence, when he was attacked by a malignant fever, which at once put an end to his life and his projects. As he left only one daughter, who was not of age, a favourable opportunity was offered Robert of retrieving the affairs of the empire in Italy. But the German princes were so little pleased with his first expedition, that they would not grant him supplies for a second. He therefore employed himself in appeasing the troubles of Germany, and aggrandizing his own electorate; to which he added the fiefs of Gegenbach, Ortemberg, Offenbourg, Zell, Hermanbach, and several other lordships of Alsace, purchased of the bishop of Strasburg.(5)

In the mean time Bohemia was involved in new disorders by the preaching of John Huss, professor of divinity in the university of Prague, who had embraced the opinions of Wickliffe, and was excommunicated by the pope.

(1) Nuitsfel. *Hist. Dan.* tom. iv.

(3) Barre, tom. vii.

(2) Dubrav. lib. xxiii. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii

(4) Heiss, lib. ii. cap. xxviii.

(5) Barre, tom. vii

The publication of this sentence was followed by troubles and seditions. Wincellaus shut himself up in the fortress of Visigrađe, and John Huss retired to Hussinet, the place of his nativity; where he appealed from the judgment of the pope to the Holy Trinity, and wrote to the cardinals, offering to give an account of his faith, even at the hazard of fire, before the university of Prague, and in the presence of those who had attended his lectures and sermons.(1)

The Roman church not only suffered from these innovations, but also continued in a state of distraction from the schism which still remained, and which the emperor attempted in vain to cement. Gregory XII., who was acknowledged pope in Italy, convened a council at Aquileia, to which he invited Robert, and other Christian princes, in order to consider this matter. Benedict XIII., who was owned in France, held another council at Catalonia: the cardinals convoked a third at Pisa, and the emperor appointed a diet for the same purpose at Frankfort; where, after long debates, the opinions of the assembly were divided between the two popes. The greater part of the archbishops, prelates, and princes, espoused the cause of the cardinals; but the emperor, the archbishop of Triers, the duke of Bavaria, and some others, declared for Gregory, who proposed that a council should be held at Udina, in Friuli, under the direction of Robert, by whose decision he promised to abide. The emperor therefore sent an archbishop, two bishops, two doctors, and his chancellor, as ambassadors to Pisa, to prove by learned arguments that the cardinals ought not to depose Gregory. But these ambassadors, finding they could make no converts to their opinion, and that the cardinals, attached to Wincellaus, would not even acknowledge their master as emperor, appealed from the council of Pisa to an œcumenical council, and retired without taking leave. The cardinals, however, proceeded to the deposition of the two popes, and raised to the apostolic chair Alexander V. By this measure the schism was increased, there being now three popes instead of two.(2)

Robert died soon after this pious negotiation, and before he was able to settle the affairs of the Holy See. He was succeeded in the empire, after a disputed election, by Sigismund, brother to the deposed Wincellaus, and king of Hungary; a prince of experience and abilities, and whose first care was to heal the wounds of the church. For that purpose, he convoked a general council at Constance, with the concurrence of pope John XXIII., successor to Alexander V.

At this council, where Sigismund appeared in all his glory, were present a prodigious number of cardinals, prelates, doctors; more than a hundred sovereign princes; one hundred and eight counts; two hundred barons; and twenty-seven ambassadors from the several European courts: who all vied with each other in luxury and magnificence. There were also five hundred players on instruments, called in those times minstrels; and seven hundred and eighteen courtizans, who were protected by the magistracy.(3)

In the first session, the fathers of the council concluded that nothing could so effectually contribute to re-establish the union of the church as the resignation of the competitors for the papacy. John XXIII., who presided in the council, assented to this opinion, and promised to renounce his title, provided Angelo Corrario, who had assumed the name of Gregory XII., and Peter de Luna, distinguished by that of Benedict XIII., would imitate him in that act of self-denial. This declaration was no sooner made than the emperor rose from his chair, and ran and embraced the feet of his holiness, applauding his Christian resignation. He was also solemnly thanked by the patriarch of Antioch, in the name of the whole council. But John afterward repented of this condescension; and, by the assistance of Frederic duke of Austria, fled from Constance in the night, disguised in the habit of a postillion.(4)

This unexpected retreat at first disconcerted the council, which John

(1) Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii. et. Auct. cit. in loc.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

(4) Thod. de Niem. in *Vit. Jo. XXIII*

declared to be dissolved in consequence of his secession. But the fathers at length agreed, after many learned arguments, that a council is superior to the pope; confirmed the sentence of John's deposition; decreed that no other pope should be chosen without the consent of the council; and that John, together with his competitors, Angelo Corrario and Peter de Luna, should be for ever excluded from the papacy. Finding them thus determined, John thought proper to yield to the torrent rather than run the risk of worse fortune in attempting to oppose it. He quietly acquiesced in the sentence of the council, and freely renounced the pontificate, the ensigns of which he immediately laid aside.⁽¹⁾ Soon after this resignation, Gregory XII. sent a legate to the emperor and council to renounce his title in the same manner; but the proud Spaniard, Peter de Luna, would not yield: he remained obstinate to the last.

The affair of John Huss came next upon the carpet. John, as has been already observed, had imbibed the opinions of Wickliffe, and converted to his own way of thinking an infinite number of people of all ranks. Among others, his doctrine was embraced by Jerome of Prague, a man of learning, whom he engaged as his colleague, and who propagated the new religion with great warmth. They had been summoned to appear before the court of Rome, but refused to obey the citation. They condescended, however, to attend the council of Constance, in order to justify the doctrine they professed; and Huss, being provided with a safe-conduct from the emperor, boldly attempted to defend the articles of his faith before the fathers of the council. That venerable body, however, seemed inclined to condemn him unheard, when the emperor desired them to listen to what Huss had to say in his own defence. He was accordingly questioned in presence of Sigismund, and accused of heresy in thirty-nine articles. Part of these he denied, and part he offered to defend. But his voice was drowned by the noise purposely made by the cardinals; and on his refusing to abjure all the thirty-nine articles, he was immediately declared a sower of sedition, a hardened heretic, a disciple and defender of Wickliffe. As such he was degraded by four bishops, stripped of his sacerdotal habit, and clothed in a lay dress. His hair was cut in the form of a cross: upon his head was put a paper mitre, painted with the representation of three devils; and he was delivered over to the secular judge, who condemned him and his writings to the flames, and fixed the day of his execution.⁽²⁾ He died with great constancy.

After the execution of John Huss, the council resumed the affair of Peter de Luna, who still obstinately refused to quit his pretensions to the papacy. On this occasion Sigismund offered to go into Spain in person, and engage the mediation of Ferdinand king of Arragon, with whom Peter had taken refuge. By such a journey the emperor hoped to obtain a voluntary renunciation, like that of the other two, before the council should proceed to extremity. He set out accordingly for Spain, accompanied by twelve deputies from the council; and on his arrival at Perpignan, he entered into a negotiation with Benedict, otherwise Peter de Luna, the result of which was sent to the council, though by no means answerable to his expectations. The obstinacy of Benedict was insurmountable, and incensed the emperor to such a degree, that he threatened to obtain by force that assent which the pope refused to grant by fair means; and Benedict, in consequence of these menaces, retired to the fortress of Paniscola, where he resolved to preserve his pontifical dignity to his latest breath. This unexpected flight deprived him of all his partisans. The king of Arragon, with all the princes and bishops of his party, sent deputies to the emperor at Narbonne; where it was agreed, that the council should invite all the former adherents of Benedict to come to Constance, and join their endeavours for re-establishing the peace of the church; and that, on their arrival, a new pope should be chosen.⁽³⁾

During the absence of Sigismund, the trial of Jerome of Prague engaged

(1) Thod. de Niem. in *Vit. Jo. XXIII.*

(2) Laur. Byzin. *Diar. Hussitic. Chron. Magdeb. Biblioth. Aug.*

(3) Thod. de Niem. ubi sup. Heiss, lib. II. cap. 30.

the attention of the council. This man had repaired to Constance, with a design to assist John Huss in making his defence; but perceiving he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the fathers, he resolved to retire with all expedition into Bohemia. Being apprehended, however, upon the road, he was loaded with chains, and brought back to Constance; where, in order to avoid the punishment of fire, he solemnly abjured the opinions of Wickliffe and Huss. But ashamed to survive his master, who had encountered death with so much firmness, or not deriving the advantages he expected from his submission, he professed anew the same doctrines; was condemned to the flames as a wicked apostate, and suffered with great fortitude.(1)

Poggio the Florentine, secretary to pope John, and one of the first restorers of letters, who was present on this occasion, says he never heard any thing that approached so nearly to the eloquence of the ancient Greeks and Romans, as the speech which Jerome made to the judges. "He spoke," exclaims Poggio, "like Socrates; and walked to the stake with as much cheerfulness as that great philosopher drank the cup of hemlock!"

After the return of Sigismund, the council proceeded against Benedict for contumacy, when the definitive sentence of his deposition was pronounced. Their next care was the election of a new pope: and Otho Colonna, who possessed the accomplishments of a prince and the virtues of a prelate, was unanimously chosen on St. Martin's day, whence he took the name of Martin V. Never was the inauguration of any pontiff attended with greater pomp. He rode in procession to the cathedral, mounted on a white horse; the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg on foot, leading it by the reins. A numerous crowd of princes, the ambassadors of all the kings, and the fathers of the council, closed the train. When he entered the cathedral, the triple crown was placed upon his head, and he returned in the same august manner.(2)

The important affair of the schism being thus concluded, every thing else was regulated by the council, which broke up in its forty-fifth session. The disputes about religion, however, still raged with greater violence than ever. The Hussites in Prague were so much offended at being prohibited the cup in the sacrament of the eucharist (contrary, as they affirmed, to the express words of our Saviour, who says, "Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you!") that they raised a furious tumult, forced the town-house, and murdered the magistrates who were concerned in publishing the order.(3)

The news of this massacre filled the court of Wincleslaus with the utmost consternation, and made so strong an impression on that pusillanimous prince, that he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days. He was succeeded in the kingdom of Bohemia by his brother Sigismund, already emperor, and king of Hungary; yet this powerful prince was several times defeated by Ziska, then general of the Hussites, who revenged the death of their apostle by the most terrible outrages.

A particular account of the war between the emperor and the Hussites would interfere with more important matters, without answering any valuable purpose: I shall therefore only observe, that Ziska continued master of Bohemia till his death, when he ordered a drum to be made of his skin, which was long the symbol of victory. He was succeeded in the command by Procopius surnamed the Shaven, because he had been a priest, and who supported his party with no less valour than his predecessor. He boldly defended their cause in the council of Basil, where many things were disputed which it is of little consequence to know: and although he was unsuccessful in that negotiation, and also in a battle with the Catholics, in which he was mortally wounded, yet the Hussites, even in this extremity, obtained a general amnesty, the confirmation of their privileges, and the right of using the cup in the communion; a concession which, to them, was a kind of triumph.(4)

(1) Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii. *Spond. Contin.* tom. ii.

(2) Barre, tom. vii. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

(3) *Byzantin Diarium Hussiticum.* Mosheim ubi supra.

(4) Mosheim, ubi supes

After this pacification, Sigismund enlisted the Hussites in his army, and led them against the Turks, who had made an irruption into Hungary, and were defeated with great slaughter by these hardy veterans. But although Sigismund had been so fortunate as to regain the affections of the Bohemians, he lost it anew by attempting to tyrannize over their consciences; and death only saved him from a second revolt. He nominated as his successor, in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, Albert, duke of Austria, his son-in-law, who was recognised by these states, and also raised to the empire. The house of Austria has ever since held the imperial throne.

Sigismund, with many respectable qualities, was a narrow-minded bigot; and, contrary to the dictates of sound policy as well as of humanity, was guilty of the most detestable of all tyranny, that of violence on the will. His wife Barbara, is said to have been a person of a more enlarged way of thinking, though not more to her honour. She denied a future state, and held the supreme good to consist in sensual delight. Conformably to this opinion, she set no bounds to her licentious amours after the death of the emperor. And when a certain lady of reputation mentioned to her the example of the turtle, which, after having lost its mate never chooses another, "Why," cried she, "instance a bird that lives in perpetual solitude, far from the habitations of men, and of which we know little? Is the example more forcible, or more fit for imitation, than that of the pigeon and the sparrow, birds always in our view, and whose loves and joys are in continual succession?"(1)

The affairs of France now claim our attention.

LETTER XLIV.

France, from the Death of Charles V. in 1380, to the Invasion of that Kingdom by Henry V. of England, in 1415.

THE death of Charles V. of France, my dear Philip, which happened, as I have already observed, soon after that of Edward III. of England, and the youth of his son Charles VI., put the two kingdoms in a similar situation. Both were under the government of minors: and the jealousies between the three uncles of Charles VI., the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, distracted the affairs of France even more than the rivalry between the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, the three uncles of Richard II., disordered those of England. But a particular account of these distractions would be inconsistent with my present purpose, which is only to delineate the great line of history, and make you acquainted with the more remarkable events, or such as have had a particular influence upon government and manners. In the reign of Charles VI. no enterprise of consequence was undertaken, and government and manners, properly speaking, were equally unknown. I shall, therefore, consider the history of France, during this distracted period, as only an introduction to the invasion of that kingdom by Henry V. of England.

In proportion as the king advanced in years, the factions were composed. His uncle, the duke of Anjou, died; and Charles himself, assuming the reins of government, discovered symptoms of genius and spirit which revived the drooping hopes of his countrymen. But this promising state of things was of short duration. The unhappy Charles fell suddenly into a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority; and although he partly recovered from that disorder, he was subject to such frequent relapses, that his judgment was gradually impaired, and he became incapable of pursuing any steady plan of government.(2)

The king's first relapse is said to have been occasioned by the following

(1) *Æt. P. iv. cap. xxxiii* Dubrav. lib. xxviii

(2) *Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI*

accident. The queen having married one of her maids of honour to a person of distinction, the nuptials were intended to be celebrated with great pomp at the palace of the queen-dowager, relict of Philip of Valois. Among other amusements, there was to be a masquerade—a circumstance which furnished five young noblemen with the extravagant idea of appearing as naked savages; and such was the indelicacy of the times, that the king made one of the party. Their dress, contrived to sit close to their bodies, was of linen, covered with rosin; which, while hot, had been powdered with fur. And the secret was so well kept, that, when they appeared, they were not known; but their whim was highly applauded. The dutchess of Berri laid hold of the king, seeing him robust and well made, and told him she would not let him go till she knew who he was. In the mean time, the rest began to dance; when the duke of Orleans, out of levity, making a feint of running a lighted torch against one of the savages, set his combustible habit on fire. The flame was quickly communicated to the rest, and this scene of wanton mirth was instantly changed into sorrow and distress. But in the midst of their torments the masks cried out continually, "Save the king! save the king!" And the dutchess of Berri, suddenly recollecting that he must be the mask that stood next her, immediately threw her robes over him, and, wrapping them close about him, put out the fire. One of the masks, by jumping into a cistern of water, saved his life; the other four were so terribly burned that they died in two days; and the king was so much affected with the fright, that it occasioned a return of his disorder, which afterward generally attacked him four or five times a year to the end of his life.(1)

History scarce affords any parallel of a court or country more corrupt, and at the same time more miserable, than that of this unfortunate monarch and his subjects, in consequence of his infirmity. The administration fell again into the hands of the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who excluded the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, under pretence of his youth, from any share in the government, and even from the shadow of authority. The case, however, was very different in regard to the dutchess of Orleans. Young, beautiful, and insinuating, she acquired such an ascendant over the king that she governed him at her pleasure. Nay, what is yet more extraordinary, it was she only that could govern him; for in the time of his malady he knew nobody else, not even the queen. Hence it was rumoured by the dutchess of Burgundy, who envied the influence of the dutchess of Orleans, that she had bewitched the king; and, in order to heighten the odium, it was insinuated that the duke of Orleans had also bewitched the queen.(2) That both were under the influence of enchantment is not to be doubted: but it was only that of youth, wit, and beauty, whose assiduities so often fascinate the susceptible heart; and, when unrestrained by principle or sentiment, lead it in the chains of loose desire.(3)

While things were in this situation, the duke of Burgundy died. He was succeeded in the duchy by his son John, count of Nevers, who disputed the administration with the duke of Orleans, and hoped to govern France as his father had done. Propinquity to the crown pleaded in favour of the latter; the former derived consequence from his superior power, the death of his mother having added the county of Flanders to his father's extensive dominions. The people were divided between these contending princes, and the king, now resuming and now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular settlement of the state by the final prevalence of either party.

But at length the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, seemingly moved by the cries of the nation, and swayed by the interposition of common friends, agreed to bury all past quarrels in oblivion, and entered into a league of mutual amity. They swore before the altar to the sincerity of this friendship; the priest administered the sacrament to both of them; and they gave to

(1) Juv. des Urs. *Hist. Anonym. &c.*

(2) Juv. des Ursins. Du Tillot. Le Gendre.

(3) Isabella of Bavaria, queen of France, and Valentina of Milan, dutchess of Orleans, were both remarkably handsome and accomplished; and the duke was alike amorous and ambitious.

each other every pledge that could be deemed sacred among men. All this solemn preparation, however, appears to have been only a cover for the basest treachery, deliberately premeditated by the duke of Burgundy. He had hired ruffians, who assassinated his rival in the streets of Paris.⁽¹⁾ The author of the crime was for some days unknown, as the assassins escaped, and the duke endeavoured to conceal the part which he had taken in it; but being detected, he embraced a resolution still more criminal, and more dangerous to society. He openly avowed and justified the action.

This cause was brought before the parliament of Paris; and that august tribunal of justice heard the harangues of the duke of Burgundy's advocate in defence of assassination, which he denominated tyrannicide, without pronouncing any sentence or condemnation against the detestable doctrine. The same question was afterward agitated before the council of Constance; and it was with difficulty that a feeble decision in favour of the contrary opinion was obtained from those fathers of the church, the ministers of the Prince of Peace.⁽²⁾

But the mischievous effects of that tenet, had they been before anywise doubtful, appeared sufficiently from the subsequent incidents. The commission of this crime, which destroyed all trust and security, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and cut off every means of peace and accommodation. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, sometimes by another, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were laid waste by mutual depredations: assassinations were every where committed, from the animosity of the several leaders; or, what was equally terrible, executions were ordered, without any legal trial, by pretended courts of judicature.

The whole kingdom was distinguished into two parties, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs; for so the adherents of the young duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince. The city of Paris, distracted between them, but inclining more to the Burgundians, was a perpetual scene of blood and violence. The king and royal family were often detained captives in the hands of the populace: their ministers were butchered or imprisoned before their eyes; and it was dangerous for any man, amid these enraged factions, to be distinguished by a strict adherence to the principles of probity and honour.

During this scene of general violence, there arose into some consideration a body of men, which usually makes no figure in public transactions, even during the most peaceful times; namely, the heads of the university of Paris, whose opinion was sometimes demanded, and more frequently offered, in the multiplied disputes between the parties. This schism, by which the church was at that time divided, and which occasioned frequent controversies in the university, had raised the professors to an unusual degree of importance; and this connexion between literature and religion, had bestowed on the former a consequence which reason and knowledge have seldom been able to obtain among men. But there was another society, whose sentiments were still more decisive at Paris, the fraternity of butchers; who, under the direction of their ringleaders, had declared for the duke of Burgundy, and committed the most violent outrages against the opposite party. In order to counterbalance this power, the Armagnacs made interest with the fraternity of carpenters: the populace ranged themselves on the one side or the other; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either party.⁽³⁾

(1) *Le Laboureur*, liv. xxvii. *Monstrelet*, chap. xxxix. The murder of the duke of Orleans is said, by some authors, to have been occasioned chiefly by his own insolence and licentiousness. (*Duhaillan. Brantome*.) Having succeeded in an amour with the dutchess of Burgundy, he had the effrontery to introduce her husband into a cabinet hung with the portraits of the women he had enjoyed, among which hers occupied a distinguished place. Burgundy concealed his emotion, but thirsted for revenge. *Ibid*.

(2) *Monstrelet*, ubi sup. *Bulay, Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. v. Mild as this censure was, pope Martin V. refused to ratify it, being afraid of displeasing the duke of Burgundy. (*Id. ibid.*) The university of Paris, more just and less timid, boldly condemned the atrocious doctrine and its author. *Bulay*, ubi sup.

(3) *Bulay. Juv. des Ursins. P. Emil. P. Henault.*

The advantage which might be taken of these confusions was easily perceived in England; and according to the maxims which usually prevail among nations, it was determined to lay hold of the favourable opportunity. Henry IV., who was courted by both the French parties, fomented the quarrel, by alternately sending assistance to each; and his son, Henry V., impelled by the vigour of youth, and the ardour of ambition, determined to push his advantages to a greater length, and to carry war into the heart of France. In consequence of this resolution, he assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, and invited all the military men in the kingdom to attend him. But before I speak of the success of that enterprise, I must say a few words of the reign of Henry V. prior to this period.

LETTER XLV.

England and France, from the Invasion of the latter Kingdom by Henry V., to the Death of Charles VI.

THE precarious situation of Henry IV., with whose character, my dear Philip, you are already well acquainted, had so much infected his temper with jealousy, that he entertained unreasonable suspicions with regard to the loyalty of his eldest son: and, during the latter years of his life, he excluded that prince from all share in public business. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out in extravagancies of every kind. The riot of pleasure, the frolic of debauchery, and the outrage of intoxication, filled the vacancies of a mind better adapted to the pursuits of ambition and the cares of government. Such a course of life naturally threw him among companions very unbecoming his rank, but whose irregularities, if accompanied with gallantry and humour, he seconded and indulged. And he was detected in many sallies, which, to severer eyes, appeared totally unworthy of his station.(1)

But the nation, in general, considered the young prince with more indulgence. They observed so many gleams of generosity, spirit, and magnanimity, breaking continually through the cloud, which a wild conduct threw over his character, that they never ceased hoping for his amendment. And the first steps taken by young Henry, after the death of his father, confirmed all those prepossessions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions; acquainted them with his intended reformation; exhorted them to imitate his example; but strictly prohibited them, until they had given proofs of their amendment, from appearing any more in his presence: while the wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. They found that they had unknowingly been paying the highest court to him.(2) The satisfactions of those who feared an opposite conduct, was augmented by their surprise; so that the character of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been shaded by any errors.

Henry's first care was to banish, as much as possible, all party distinctions. The instruments of the violences of the preceding reign, who had been advanced from their blind zeal for the Lancastrian interest, more than from their integrity or abilities, gave place every where to men of more honourable characters; and virtue and talents seemed now to have a spacious field, in which they might display themselves to advantage. One party distinction, however, remained, which the popularity of Henry was not able to overcome. The Lollards, or disciples of Wickliffe, fast increasing in the kingdom, were become a formidable body, which appeared dangerous to the church, and even to the civil power.

The head of this sect was sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, a nobleman

(1) Walsingham. Hall. Holingshed.

(2) Hall. Holingshed. Hume, chap. xix. Godwin, *Life of Hen. V.*

who had distinguished himself by his military talents, and who had, on many occasions, acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. His high character, and zeal for the new sect, pointed him out to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclesiastical severity. The primate accordingly applied to the king for permission to indict lord Cobham. The generous nature of Henry was averse from such sanguinary methods of conversion; but after trying all gentle means in vain, and finding that nobleman obstinate in his opinions, he gave full reins to priestly vengeance against the inflexible sectary. Cobham was condemned to the flames, but made his escape from the Tower before the day appointed for his execution. Provoked by persecution, and stimulated by zeal, he was now incited to attempt those criminal measures formerly imputed to him. The king was informed of his designs: his followers were every where persecuted; and he himself, after a variety of distresses, was seized and hanged as a traitor, and his body was burned on the gibbet, in consequence of the sentence pronounced against him as a heretic.(1)

The Lollards being thus suppressed, Henry had leisure to consider the dying injunction of his father, not to let the English remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions, but to employ them in foreign expeditions; by which the prince might acquire honour, the nobility, in sharing his dangers, attach themselves to his person, and all the restless spirits find occupation for their inquietude. The natural disposition of Henry sufficiently inclined him to follow this advice, and the civil disorders of France, as you have already seen, opened a full career for his ambition. He accordingly set sail from Southampton, the place of general rendezvous, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand foot, mostly archers.

The king of England, on landing, immediately invested Harfleur; which was taken by assault, after a siege of six weeks, and the garrison put to the sword. The fatigue of this siege, however, and the unusual heat of the season, had so much wasted the English army, that Henry could enter on no further enterprise, and was obliged to think of returning to England. He had dismissed his transports, which could not safely anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coast; so that he lay under the necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety. Nor was this all. A French army of fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand foot, was already assembled in Normandy under the constable d'Albert; a force, rightly managed, sufficient either to trample down the English in the open field, or to harass and reduce to nothing their small body, before they could finish so long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, prudently offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur, for a safe passage to Calais; but his proposal being rejected by the French court, he determined to make his way by valour and policy through all the opposition of the enemy. And that he might not discourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expose them to those hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journeys.(2)

But notwithstanding these precautions, the English monarch was continually harassed on his march, by flying parties of the enemy; and when he approached the Somme, he saw bodies of troops on the opposite bank ready to obstruct his passage. His provisions were cut off; his soldiers languished under sickness and fatigue; and his situation seemed altogether desperate. In this extremity, he was so fortunate as to seize an unguarded ford, over which he safely carried his army, and bent his march towards Calais. But he was still exposed to great and imminent danger from the enemy who had also passed the Somme, and threw themselves full in his way, with a design of intercepting his retreat. The whole French army was drawn up in the plains of Azincourt, or Agincourt, and posted in such a manner, that it was impossible for the king of England to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement.

1 Walsingham Otterburne. Holingshed.

(2) Le Laboureux. T. Livii. T. Walsingham.

Nothing in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which the safety and fortune of Henry now depended. The English army consisted of little more than half the number which had disembarked at Harfleur: and the troops laboured under every discouragement and necessity. The enemy was four times more numerous, headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood, and plentifully supplied with provisions. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward III. at the battle of Cressy, and of the Black Prince at that of Poitiers; and the memory of these great events inspired the English with courage and made them hope for a like deliverance from their present difficulties. The king also observed the same prudent conduct which had been followed by those great commanders. He drew up his army on a narrow ground, between two woods which guarded each flank; and in that posture he patiently waited the attack of the enemy.

Had the French commander been able to reason justly on the circumstances of the two armies, or to profit by past experience, he would have declined a combat, and have waited till necessity had obliged the English to advance, and relinquish the advantages of their situation; but the impetuous valour of the French nobility, and a vain confidence in superior numbers, made him hazard an action, which proved the source of infinite calamities to his country. The French archers on horseback, and their men at arms, advanced precipitantly on the English archers, who had fixed palisades in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who safely plied them, from behind that defence, with a shower of arrows which nothing could resist. The clayey soil, moistened by rain, proved another obstruction to the force of the French cavalry. The wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks; the narrow compass in which they were pent prevented them from recovering any order; the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay; when Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the English archers, who were light and unencumbered, to advance upon the enemy, and seize the moment of victory. They accordingly fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who were now incapable of either flying or defending themselves, and hewed them in pieces without obstruction. Seconded by the men at arms, who also pushed on against the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. Every appearance of opposition being now over, the English had leisure to make prisoners; but having advanced to the open plain, they there saw the remains of the French rear-guard, which still maintained the form of a line of battle. At the same time they heard an alarm from behind. Some gentlemen of Picardy having collected about six hundred peasants, had fallen upon the English baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. On this alarm, Henry began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners, and he thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death; but on discovering the truth, he stopped the slaughter, and great numbers of those unhappy men were saved.(1)

No victory was ever more honourable or more complete than this of Azincour. The loss of the French was incredibly great. The constable d'Albert and seven princes of the blood were slain: five princes were taken prisoners, together with fourteen thousand persons of different ranks; and above ten thousand Frenchmen were left dead on the field of battle.(2) Yet this victory, so fatal to France, was more ostentatious than useful to the conquerors, though their loss was very inconsiderable. Henry was obliged to return to England, in order to raise a fresh supply of men and money; and it was not till after an interval of two years, that any body of English troops appeared again in France.

In the mean time, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war; and the several parties became every day more enraged against each other. The duke of Burgundy, who had been worsted by his antagonists, attempted to reinstate himself in possession of the government, as well as of the person

(1) T. Elmham. T. Livii. T. Walsingham.

(2) Ibid

of the king; and some quarrels in the royal family enabled him to carry his scheme into execution. Louis Bois Bourdon, favourite to queen Isabella, after the death of the elder duke of Orleans, having been accused by the count d'Armagnac of a commerce of gallantry with that princess, had been put to the torture, and afterward thrown into the Seine, in consequence of his forced but indiscreet confession. The queen herself was sent to Tours, and confined under a guard. After suffering these multiplied insults, she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspondence with the duke of Burgundy, though hitherto an enemy to that prince; and as her son Charles, the dauphin, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, she extended her animosity even to him, and sought his destruction with the most unrelenting hatred. (1) She had soon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural purpose in some measure effectual.

The duke of Burgundy entered France at the head of a great army of Flemings; overran most part of the kingdom, and relieved the queen from her confinement. At the same time the duke's partisans raised a commotion in Paris, which always inclined to the Burgundian faction; the person of the king was seized; the dauphin made his escape with difficulty; great numbers of the Armagnac faction were instantly butchered; the count himself, and many persons of note were thrown into prison; and the populace, deeming the course of public justice too dilatory, broke open the prisons, and put to death that nobleman and all the other noblemen who were there confined. (2)

While France was thus rent in pieces by civil dissensions, Henry V., having recruited his forces and finance, landed in Normandy at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and carried every thing before him. When the pope's legate attempted to incline him towards peace, he replied, "Do you not see, that God has led me hither as by the hand? France has no sovereign: I have just pretensions to that kingdom: every thing here is in the utmost confusion: no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof, that the Being who disposes of empires, has determined to put the crown of France upon my head?" (3) Such has ever been the language of force; to which weakness, crawling in the dust, has too often listened with an ear of credulity. Hence conquerors, while alive, have been considered as the sons of gods, and the delegates of heaven; and, after being consigned to that earth which they had desolated, have themselves been exalted into divinities.

But although Henry seemed so fully assured of the conquest of France, he was induced, by prudential motives, to negotiate with his enemies. He made at the same time offers of peace to both the French parties; to the queen and the duke of Burgundy, on the one hand, who, having possession of the king's person, carried the appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin on the other, who, being the rightful heir of the monarchy, was adhered to by all men who paid any regard to the true interests of their country. These two parties also carried on a continual negotiation with each other; and all things seemed settled to their mutual satisfaction, when the duke of Burgundy was slain by the dauphin's party, during an interview at Monterau.

In consequence of this act of barbarity, and the progress of Henry's arms, the queen and the new duke of Burgundy, breathing vengeance for the murder of his father, concluded the famous treaty of Troye, by which the crown of France was transferred to the house of Lancaster. The principal articles were, that the king of England should espouse the princess Catherine; that her father, Charles VI., should enjoy, during his lifetime, the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry V. should be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be intrusted with the present administration of the government; that all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France, should swear, that they would both adhere to the

(1) St. Remi. Monstrelet.

(2) Id. *ibid.*

(3) Juv. des Ursins

future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as regent; and that this prince should unite his arms to those of the French king and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of Charles the *pretended* dauphin.(1)

A few days after the signing of this treaty, Henry espoused the princess Catharine. He carried his father-in-law to Paris; he put himself in possession of that capital, and he obtained from the parliament and the three estates, a ratification of the treaty of Troye. He supported the duke of Burgundy in procuring a sentence against the murderers of his father; and he turned his arms with success against the adherents of the dauphin; who, as soon as he heard of the treaty of Troye, took on him the style and authority of regent, and appealed to God and his sword for the maintenance of his title. But, notwithstanding the bravery and fidelity of his officers, Charles saw himself unequal to his enemies in the field; and found it necessary to temporize, and avoid all hazardous actions, with a rival who had acquired so manifest a superiority.

To crown all the other prosperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by rejoicings no less pompous, or less sincere, at Paris than at London. The infant prince seemed to be universally regarded as the heir of both monarchies. But the glory of Henry, when near its height, was suddenly restrained by the hand of nature, and all his towering projects vanished into air. He was seized with a malady which the surgeons of that age wanted skill to treat with judgment, namely, a fistula, which proved mortal. When he found his end approaching, he sent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few more noblemen, whom he had honoured with his confidence. To them he delivered, in great composure, his last will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He left the regency of France to his eldest brother, the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger brother, the duke of Gloucester; and the care of his son's person to the earl of Warwick.(2)

Henry V. possessed many eminent virtues, and his abilities were equally conspicuous in the cabinet and the field. The boldness of his plans was no less remarkable than his personal valour in carrying them into execution. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. His exterior figure, as well as his deportment, was engaging; his stature somewhat above the middle size; his countenance beautiful, his proportions elegant; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exercises.(3)

In less than two months after Henry's death, his father-in-law, Charles VI. of France, terminated his unhappy life. He had for many years possessed only the shadow of royalty; yet was this mere appearance of considerable advantage to the English: it divided the duty and affections of the French between the king and the dauphin, who was now crowned at Poitiers, under the name of Charles VII. Rheims, the usual place of such ceremony, being then in the hands of his enemies.

Catharine of France, widow of Henry V. married soon after his death sir Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country. She bore him two sons; the eldest of whom was created earl of Richmond, the second earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, first raised to distinction by this alliance, afterward mounted, as we shall have occasion to see, the throne of England.

(1) Rymer, vol. ix. St. Remi. Monstrelet

(2) Id. *ibid.*

(3) T. Livil.

LETTER XLVI.

The Affairs of France and England continued, from the Accession of Charles VII to the Expulsion of the English from their Continental Territories, in 1453.

IN considering, with a superficial eye, the state of affairs between France and England, at the accession of Charles VII., every advantage seems to lie on the side of the latter kingdom; and the total expulsion of Charles appears an event which might naturally be expected from the superior power of his competitor. Though Henry VI. was yet in his infancy, the duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his age, was intrusted with the administration. And the experience, prudence, valour, and generosity, of the regent qualified him for his high office, and enabled him both to maintain union among his friends, and to gain the confidence of his enemies. But Charles VII., notwithstanding the present inferiority of his power, possessed some advantages which promised him success. As he was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy, all Frenchmen, who knew the interests or desired the independency of their native country, turned their eyes towards him as its sole resource: and Charles himself was of a character well calculated to become the object of these benevolent sentiments. He was a prince of the most friendly and benign disposition; of easy and familiar manners; and of a just and sound, though not a very vigorous, understanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged from affection the services of his followers, even while his low fortune might have made it their interest to desert him; and the lenity of his temper could pardon those sallies of discontent to which princes in his situation are naturally exposed. The love of pleasure often seduced him into indolence; but, amid all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still shone forth: and by exerting, at intervals, his courage and activity, he proved that his general remissness proceeded neither from the want of ambition, nor of personal valour.(1)

Sensible of these advantages on the side of Charles, the duke of Bedford took care to strengthen the English interest by fresh alliances with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; and observing the ardour of the Scots to serve in France, where Charles treated them with great honour and distinction, he persuaded the English council to form an alliance with James I., their prisoner; to free that prince from his long captivity, and to connect him with England, by marrying him to a daughter of the earl of Somerset, and cousin to the young king. The alliance was accordingly formed: James was restored to the throne of his ancestors; and proved, during his short reign, one of the most illustrious princes that had ever swayed the Scottish sceptre. His affections inclined to the party of France; but the English had never reason, while he lived, to complain of any breach of the neutrality by Scotland. He was murdered by his traitorous kinsman, the earl of Athol, in 1437.

Bedford, however, was not so much employed in negotiations as to neglect the operations of war. He reduced almost every fortress on this side of the Loire; and the battle of Verneuil, in which the Scots and French were defeated, threatened Charles with the total loss of his kingdom, when a train of singular circumstances saved him on the brink of ruin, and lost the English such an opportunity of completing their conquests, as they were never afterward able to recall.

Instead of taking any possible advantage of the victory gained at Verneuil, or those which he wished, and could not fail to see, the duke of Bedford was obliged to go over to England, in order to compose some dissensions among the ministry, and to endeavour to moderate the measures of his brother, the duke of Gloucester, who had inconsiderately kindled a war in the Low Coun-

(1) P. Émil. Du Tillot. Le Gendre.

tries, and carried thither the troops destined for the reinforcement of the English army in France. The affections of the duke of Burgundy were alienated, and his forces diverted by the same war. The duke of Brittany returned to his allegiance under Charles VII. The French had leisure to re-collect themselves, and gained some inconsiderable advantages. But the regent, soon after his return, retrieved the reputation of the English arms, by humbling the duke of Brittany, and resolved on an undertaking which he hoped would prepare the way for the final conquest of France.

The city of Orleans was so situated between the provinces commanded by Henry and those possessed by Charles, that it opened an easy entrance to either; and as the duke of Bedford intended to make a great effort for penetrating into the south of France, it was necessary to begin with the siege of this place, now become the most important in the kingdom. The French king used every expedient to supply the city with a garrison and provisions, and the English left no method unemployed for reducing it. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards this scene of action, where it was reasonably supposed the French were to make their last stand for maintaining the independency of their monarchy, and the rights of their sovereign. After numberless feats of valour, performed by the besiegers and the besieged, the attack was so vigorously pushed by the English, although the duke of Burgundy had withdrawn his troops in disgust, that Charles gave over the city for lost; and even entertained thoughts of retiring into Languedoc and Dauphiny with the remains of his forces, which were insufficient to attempt the enemy's intrenchments, and of defending himself as long as possible in these remote provinces.(1)

But it was fortunate for that gay prince, who lay entirely under the dominion of the softer sex, that the women whom he consulted on this occasion, had the spirit to support his sinking resolution. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princess of great merit and prudence, vehemently opposed such a measure, which she foresaw would discourage all his partisans, and serve as a general signal for deserting a prince who seemed himself to despair of success. His mistress, too, the fair Agnes Soreille, who lived in perfect amity with the queen, seconded all her remonstrances, and threatened if he thus pusillanimously threw away the sceptre of France, that she would seek in the court of England a fortune more correspondent to her wishes. Love was able to rouse, in the breast of Charles, that courage which ambition had failed to excite. He resolved to dispute every inch of ground with an imperious enemy: to perish with honour, in the midst of his friends, rather than yield ingloriously to his bad fortune.(2) And this resolution was no sooner formed, than relief was unexpectedly brought him by another female of a very different character.

In the village of Domremi near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorrain, lived a country girl, whose name was Joan d'Arc: and who, in the humble station of servant at an inn, had been accustomed to tend the horses of the guests; to ride them without a saddle to the watering-place, and to perform other offices which commonly fall to the share of men-servants. This girl, inflamed by the frequent accounts of the rencounters at the siege of Orleans, and affected with the distresses of her country, but more especially with those of the youthful monarch, whose gallantry made him the idol of the whole sex, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign in his present unhappy circumstances. Her inexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspirations; and she fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and expel the foreign invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of spirit made her overlook all the dangers which might attend her in such a path; and the apprehension of her divine mission, dispelled all that bashfulness so natural to her sex, her years, and her low condition. She went to Vaucouleurs, procured admission to Baudri-

(1) Monstrelet. Polyd. Virg. Stow. Hall. Holingshed.

(2) Id 'bia.

court the governor, and informed him of her inspirations and intentions. Baudricourt observed something extraordinary in the maid, or saw the use that might be made of such an engine, and sent her to the French court, which then resided at Chinon.(1)

Joan was no sooner introduced to the king, than she offered, in the name of the Supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed: and she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword which was kept in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois. The more the king and his ministers were determined to give into the illusion, the more scruples they pretended. An assembly of grave and learned divines was appointed to examine Joan's mission, and pronounced it undoubted and supernatural; the parliament also attested her inspiration; and a jury of matrons declared her an unspotted virgin. Her requests were now granted. She was armed *cap-à-pie*, mounted on horseback, and shown in that martial habiliment to the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her steed, though acquired in her former station, was regarded as a fresh proof of her mission; her former occupation was even denied; she was converted into a shepherdess, an employment more agreeable to the imagination than that of an ostler-wench. Some years were subtracted from her age, in order to excite still more admiration; and she was received with the loudest acclamations, by persons of all ranks.(2) A ray of hope began to break through that cloud of despair in which the minds of men were involved. Heaven had now declared itself in favour of France, and laid bare its outstretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders.

The English at first affected to speak with derision of the Maid and her heavenly commission; but their imagination was secretly struck with the strong persuasion which prevailed in all around them. They found their courage daunted by degrees, and thence began to infer a Divine vengeance hanging over them. A silent astonishment reigned among those troops, formerly so elated with victory, and so fierce for the combat. The Maid entered the city of Orleans at the head of a convoy, arrayed in her military garb, and displaying her consecrated standard. She was received as a celestial deliverer by the garrison and inhabitants; and by the instructions of count Dunois, commonly called the Bastard of Orleans, who commanded in the place, she actually obliged the English to raise the siege of that city, after driving them from their intrenchments, and defeating them in several desperate attacks.(3)

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the Maid's promise to Charles; the crowning him at Rheims was the other: and she now vehemently insisted, that he should set out immediately on that journey. A few weeks before, such a proposal would have appeared altogether extravagant. Rheims lay in a distant quarter of the kingdom; was then in the hands of a victorious enemy; the whole road that led to it was occupied by their garrisons: and no imagination could have been so sanguine as to hope that such an attempt could possibly be carried into execution. But as things had now taken a turn, and it was extremely the interest of the king of France to maintain the belief of something extraordinary and divine in these events, he resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophetess, and avail himself of the present consternation of the English. He accordingly set out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thousand men, and scarcely perceived, as he passed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. Every place opened its gates to him: Rheims sent him its keys; and the ceremony of his inauguration was performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon is said to have brought from heaven to Clovis, on the first establishment of the French monarchy.(4)

Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more respectable in the eyes of all his subjects; and he seemed to derive, from a heavenly commission, a new title to their allegiance. Many places submitted to him immediately

(1) Hall. Monstrelet.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Monstrelet. Villar.

(4) *Id. ibid.*

after his coronation, and the whole nation was disposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of duty and affection.

The duke of Bedford, in this dangerous crisis, employed every resource which fortune had yet left him. He acted with so much prudence and address as to renew his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, who had been long wavering in his fidelity. He seemed present every where, by his vigilance and foresight; and although his supplies from England were very inconsiderable, he attempted to restore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing to face the enemy. But he chose his posts with so much caution as always to decline a combat, and to render it impossible for the French monarch to attack him. He still attended that prince in all his movements, covered his own towns and garrisons, and kept himself in a posture to reap advantage from every imprudent or false step of the enemy. He also endeavoured to revive the declining state of his affairs, by bringing over the young king of England, and having him crowned and anointed at Paris. All the vassals of the crown, who lived within the provinces possessed by the English, swore anew allegiance, and did homage to Henry VI.(1) But this ceremony was cold and insipid, in comparison with the coronation of Charles at Rheims, and the duke of Bedford expected more effect from an incident which put into his hands the author of all his misfortunes.

The *Maid of Orleans*, as she is called, declared, after the coronation of Charles, that her mission was now accomplished, and expressed her inclination to retire to the occupations and course of life which became her sex. But Dunois, sensible of the great advantages which might still be reaped from her presence in the army, exhorted her to persevere till the final expulsion of the English. In pursuance of this advice, she threw herself into the town of Compeigne, at that time besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. The garrison on her appearance believed themselves invincible. But their joy was of short duration. The Maid was taken prisoner in a sally; and the duke of Bedford, resolved upon her ruin, ordered her to be tried by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. She was found guilty, by her ignorant or iniquitous judges, of all these crimes, aggravated by heresy; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and this admirable heroine was cruelly delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated by the punishment of fire the signal services which she had rendered to her prince and her native country.(2)

The English affairs, however, instead of being advanced by this act of cruelty, went every day more and more to decay. The great abilities of the regent was unable to restrain the strong inclination which had seized the French of returning under the obedience of their rightful sovereign. The duke of Burgundy deserted the English interest, and formed an alliance with the French king; the duke of Bedford died soon after; and the violent factions which prevailed in the court of England, between the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester, prevented the nation from taking proper measures for repairing these signal losses.

In proportion as Henry advanced in years, his feeble character became more fully known in the court, and was no longer ambiguous to either faction. Of the most harmless, inoffensive, simple manners, but of the most slender capacity, he was fitted, both by the softness of his temper, and the weakness of his understanding, to be perpetually governed by those who surrounded him; and it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the age of manhood, it was natural to think of choosing him a queen: and each party was ambitious of making him receive one from their hand, as it was probable this circumstance would decide for ever the victory between them. The cardinal of Winchester proved successful; and Henry was contracted to Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, descended from a

(1) Rymer, vol. x.

(2) Polyd. Virg. Monstrelet

count of Anjou, who had left these magnificent titles to his posterity, without any real power or possessions. She was the most accomplished princess of that age both in body and mind, and seemed to possess those qualities which would enable her to acquire an ascendant over Henry, and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. The treaty of marriage was ratified in England: and Margaret, on her arrival, fell immediately into close connexions with the cardinal and his party; who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester.(1)

This generous prince, worsted in all court intrigues, for which his temper was not suited, but possessing in an eminent degree the favour of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which it was impossible a person of his spirit could ever forgive, although he had hitherto borne it without violating public peace. His dutchess, the daughter of Richard lord Cobham, had been accused of the crime of witchcraft; and it was pretended, that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Mary Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away by the like insensible degrees. The nature of this crime, as the philosophic Hume ingeniously observes, so opposite to all common sense, seems always to exempt the accusers from observing the rules of common sense in their evidence. The prisoners were pronounced guilty: the dutchess was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; and her supposed accomplices were executed. But the people, contrary to their usual practice on such marvellous trials, acquitted the unhappy sufferers, and ascribed these violent proceedings solely to the malice of the duke's enemies. The cardinal of Winchester and his party, therefore, became sensible that it was necessary to destroy a man whose popularity made him dangerous, and whose resentment they had so much cause to apprehend. He was accused of treason, and thrown into prison, where he was soon after found dead in bed; and although his body bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies.(2)

While England was thus a prey to faction, the king of France employed himself, with great industry and judgment, in removing those numberless ills to which France had been so long exposed from the continuance of wars both foreign and domestic. He restored the regular course of public justice; he introduced order into the finances; he established discipline among his troops; he repressed faction in his court; he revived the languid state of agriculture and the arts; and in the course of a few years rendered his kingdom flourishing within itself, and formidable to his neighbours. The English were expelled from all their possessions on the continent, except Calais; and although no peace or truce was yet concluded between the two nations, the war was in a manner at an end.(3) England, torn in pieces by civil dissensions, made but one more feeble effort for the recovery of Guienne. And Charles, occupied at home in regulating the government of his kingdom, and fencing against the intrigues of his son Lewis, scarcely ever attempted to avail himself of her intestine broils. The affairs of the two kingdoms therefore became for a while distinct. But before I carry farther the history of either, we must take a view of the state of the German empire, from the death of Sigismund to the accession of Maximilian.

(1) Grafton. Holingshed.

(2) Grafton. Stowe. Holingshed.

(3) Monstrelet. Hennault. Grafton. Holingshed.

LETTER XLVII.

The German Empire and its Dependencies, Rome, and the Italian States, from the Death of Sigismund to the Accession of Maximilian.

SIGISMUND, my dear Philip, was succeeded in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and also in the empire, as I have already observed, by his son-in-law, Albert II. duke of Austria. The only enterprise of moment, in which this prince was engaged during his short reign, was an expedition against the Turks in Bulgaria, where he was seized with a violent dysentery, before any action took place, and died at the village of Long, in his return to Vienna.(1)

Albert was succeeded in the imperial throne by his cousin Frederic of Austria, the third emperor of that name. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia were settled on Ladislaus, Albert's infant son, who was committed to the guardianship of Frederic.

The emperor's first care was to heal a schism, which had rent anew the church. With this view he set out for Basil, where a council was assembled for "the reformation of the church universal, both in its head and its members," conformable to a resolution of the council of Constance; and that council had raised to the papacy Amadeus duke of Savoy, under the name of Felix V., in opposition to Eugenius IV., who had attempted to defeat the purpose of their meeting. Frederic exhorted the fathers to concord, and an accommodation with Eugenius. He had also an interview with Felix, whom he refused to acknowledge for pope, though tempted by an offer of his daughter, a young princess of exquisite beauty, and two hundred thousand ducats as her portion. "This man," said Frederic to one of his courtiers, in a contemptuous tone, "would fain purchase holiness, if he could find a seller." The schism was at length, however, happily closed by the resignation of Felix, who was prevailed upon by the emperor to abdicate the apostolic chair on certain conditions, which were confirmed by Nicholas V., who had succeeded Eugenius.(2)

The peace of the church being thus restored, and the affairs of Germany in tolerable order, Frederic began to turn his eyes towards Italy, where the imperial authority was gone to utter decay. Alphonso of Arragon reigned at that time in Naples, and joined the emperor, because he feared the power of the Venetians, who were masters of Ravenna, Bergamo, Brescia, and Cremona. Milan was in the hands of Francis Sforza, a peasant's son, but one of the greatest warriors of his age, and now become the most powerful man in Italy. He had married Blanche Maria, natural daughter of Philip Maria Galeazo, duke of Milan, by whom he was adopted. Florence was in league with the pope against Sforza: the Holy See had recovered Bologna; and all the other principalities belonging to different sovereigns, who had mastered them.(3) In this situation were the affairs of Italy, when the emperor resolved upon a journey to Rome, in order to be crowned by the pope, together with Eleanora, sister of the king of Portugal, to whom he was contracted in marriage, and whom he promised to meet at Sienna.

As soon as Frederic had crossed the Alps, he was met by the Venetian ambassadors, who conducted him to their city, where he made his public entry with great magnificence. He thence repaired to Ferrara, where he found ambassadors from Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, inviting him to return by that city, where he should receive the iron crown; and here he also received deputies from Florence and Bologna, craving the honour of entertaining him at their respective cities, which he accordingly visited.(4) From Florence

(1) Heisa, liv. iii. chap. 1.

(2) Georgii, *Vit. Nichol. V.* Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii. *Æn. Sylv. Vit. Fred. III.*

(3) *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

(4) Machiavel. *Hist. Flor.* lib. vi.

the emperor took the route of Sienna, where he was joined by the princess Eleanora. And in that city he gave audience to the pope's legates, who represented to him, that, by ancient custom, the emperors always took an oath to the pope before they entered the territories of St. Peter's patrimony; and requested that he would conform to the same usage.

Frederic, in this particular, complied with the desire of his holiness. The oath which he took was conceived in these terms: "I, Frederic, king of the Romans, promise and swear, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the wood of the vivifying cross, and by these relics of saints, that if, by permission of the Lord, I shall come to Rome, I will exalt the holy Roman church, and his holiness, who presides over it, to the utmost of my power. Neither shall he lose life, limb, or honour, by my counsel, consent, or exhortation. Nor will I, in the city of Rome, make any law or decree touching those things which belong to his holiness or the Romans, without the advice of our most holy lord Nicholas. Whatever part of St. Peter's patrimony shall fall into our hands, we will restore it to his holiness; and he, to whom we shall commit the administration of our kingdom of Italy, shall swear to assist his holiness in defending St. Peter's patrimony to the utmost of his power. So help me God, and his holy Evangelists!"(1)

The emperor now proceeded to Viterbo, where he was in danger of his life from a tumult of the populace; so indifferently attended was this successor of Charlemagne!—From Viterbo he repaired to Rome, where he was met by the whole college of cardinals; and as it had been customary for the late emperor, who went thither to be crowned, to continue some time without the walls, Frederic ordered tents to be pitched, and there passed one night. He made his public entry next day, when he was crowned king of Lombardy, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the deputies of Milan; he not choosing to put himself in the power of Sforza, who was master of that city, and which properly belonged to the empire, the last duke having died without legitimate issue. Three days after this ceremony he was married to Eleanora, and together with her received the imperial crown. The emperor and the pope next ratified the Concordata of the German nation, touching the collation to prelates and other benefices, which had some years before been agreed to by cardinal Carvajal, Nicholas's legate at the imperial court.(2)

Having thus transacted matters at Rome, Frederic set out on his return to Germany; and in his passage through Ferrara was waited upon by Borsi, marquis of Este, a prince of extraordinary merit, whom he created duke of Modena and Reggio.(3) On his arrival in Austria, he found himself involved in a number of difficulties, out of which he was never able fully to extricate himself.

The Hungarians had often entreated Frederic to send home their king Ladislaus, whom he still detained at the imperial court, under pretext of being guardian to that young prince: and they had, by the most earnest and repeated instances, besought him to restore their crown and regalia, which were in his custody. But he found means, under various pretences, to postpone his compliance with these demands. The Austrians, joined by a number of Bohemians, and encouraged by several princes of the empire, also sent a deputation to expostulate with Frederic on the same subject; and as he lent a deaf ear to their request likewise, and amused them with fresh evasions, they had recourse to arms, and compelled him to sign an accommodation. It was agreed, that Ladislaus, being yet of too tender years to take upon himself the government of his kingdoms, should be put under the tuition of Ulric, count Celley, his uncle by the mother's side, and that the dispute touching the wardship of the emperor should be determined at Vienna.(4)

Count Celley's ambition was elated by the power which he derived from being tutor to Ladislaus. He attempted to make himself absolute master in Austria: he secured the principal fortresses, by giving the command of them

(1) Fugger. lib. v.
(2) Id. *ibid.*

(2) Barro, tom. vii. Neucier. sub. ann.
(4) *Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boem.*

to his creatures; and he gradually removed Elsinger, a Bohemian gentleman who had headed the insurrection, and the Austrian nobility, from all offices of importance. His friends and favourites only were trusted. The people were incensed at such proceedings; and Elsinger, profiting by their discontent, roused their resentment to such a degree, that the count was obliged to retire into Hungary, after having delivered up the person of Ladislaus, who consented to take the oath imposed upon him by the Bohemians, and was crowned with great solemnity at Prague.(1)

During these contests the city of Constantinople was taken by the Turks, after they had subdued the rest of Greece; and by this blow the Roman empire in the East was utterly annihilated, as shall be related more at length in its proper place. Here it is only necessary to observe, that the progress of the Mahometans alarmed all the princes of Christendom, and made them think of uniting, though too late, in order to oppose the common enemy. A diet was convoked at Ratisbon on this subject, and the members unanimously agreed, that there was a necessity for taking some speedy measures to stop the progress of the Infidels. But what these measures should be, was a consideration referred to another diet assembled at Frankfort: where, although there was a vast concourse of princes, and great appearance of zeal, very little was done for the common cause. Other diets were afterward held for the same purpose, but with no better success; a backwardness which was chiefly owing to the timid and slothful disposition of the emperor, who would never heartily embark in the undertaking.(2)

The German princes, however, at the solicitation of Carvajal, the pope's legate, sent a body of troops to the assistance of John Hunniades, a famous Hungarian general, who had long gallantly defended his country against the Turks, and gained several advantages over them. Hunniades, thus reinforced, marched to the relief of Belgrade, which was besieged by Mahomet II. the conqueror of Constantinople, and the terror of Christendom: and compelled the sultan, after an obstinate engagement, to raise the siege, and retreat with the loss of four thousand men, left dead on the spot.(3) But the death of Hunniades, which happened a few days after the battle, prevented the Christian army from making any progress against the Infidels. The fruits of their victory, and their future projects, perished with their illustrious leader.

In the mean time, Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, died, and various competitors arose for those crowns, as well as for the dominions of Upper Austria, which belonged to that prince. Among these was the emperor Frederic III., who reaped nothing but damage and disgrace from a civil war which desolated Germany for many years, but which was productive of no event that merits attention. His son Maximilian was more fortunate, and better deserved success.

This young prince, who was as active and enterprising as his father was indolent and timid, married, at twenty years of age, the only daughter of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. She brought him Flanders, Franche-Comté, and all the Low Countries. Lewis XI., who disputed some of these territories, and who, on the death of the duke, had seized Burgundy, Picardy, Ponthieu, and Artois, as fiefs of France, which could not be possessed by a woman, was defeated by Maximilian at Guinegaste; and Charles VIII., who renewed the same claims, was obliged to conclude a disadvantageous peace.(4)

About this time died Casimir IV. king of Poland, and father of Uladislaus, who now reigned over Hungary and Bohemia. The death of the Polish monarch had been preceded by that of pope Innocent VIII. who was succeeded in the papacy by Roderick Borgia, under the name of Alexander VI. Nor did the emperor Frederic III. long survive these alterations. He died in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and the fifty-fourth of his reign. No emperor had ever reigned longer, and none less gloriously.

(1) *Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boem.*(3) *Id. ibid.*(2) *Æn. Sylv. Europ.*(4) *Mezeray, Chronol. Abreg. tom. ii*

The reign of Maximilian, already elected king of the Romans, introduces a more interesting period than that over which we have now travelled, and opens a vista into some of the grandest scenes of history. But a variety of objects, my dear Philip, must occupy your attention before I carry further the affairs of the empire.

LETTER XLVIII.

England during the Contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and its final Extinction in the Accession of the House of Tudor.

I HAVE already had occasion to notice the weakness of Henry VI. His incapacity appeared every day in a stronger light. The more he was known, the more his authority was despised; and as the English had abandoned their dominions in France, and were now engaged in no foreign wars, men of restless and ambitious spirits took occasion to disturb his government, and tear with intestine commotions the bowels of their native country.

But the miseries of Henry and of England did not arise solely from these causes: a pretender to the crown appeared; and a title which had never been disputed during the prosperous reign of Henry V. was now called in question under his feeble successor. This competitor was Richard duke of York, descended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III., and consequently stood in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the duke of Lancaster, third son of that monarch.

Such a claim could not, in many respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands. The duke of York was a man of valour and abilities, which he had found frequent opportunities of displaying. In the right of his father, the earl of Cambridge, he bore the rank of first prince of the blood: he possessed an immense fortune; and was allied by marriage, and otherwise, to most of the principal families in the kingdom. He was generally beloved by the people; whose discontents, at this time, rendered every combination of the great more dangerous to the throne.

The administration of government was now in the hands of the queen and the earl of Suffolk, who had attracted universal odium. Margaret was still regarded as a Frenchwoman, and a latent enemy to the kingdom, who had betrayed the interests of England, in favour of her family and her country. Suffolk was considered as her accomplice; and the murder of the duke of Gloucester, in which both were known to have been concerned, rendered them yet more obnoxious to the nation.

The partisans of the duke of York took advantage of these causes of popular discontent to impeach the earl of Suffolk in parliament of various crimes and misdemeanours; and the king, in order to save his minister, banished him the kingdom for five years. But his enemies, sensible that he still possessed the queen's confidence, and would be recalled on the first favourable opportunity, employed a captain of a ship to intercept him in his passage to France. He was accordingly seized near Dover; his head was struck off on the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea.(1)

The duke of Somerset succeeded to Suffolk's power in the administration and credit with the queen: and as he was the person under whose government the French provinces had been lost, the people, who always judge by events, soon made him equally the object of their animosity. In consequence of these discontents, the house of commons presented a petition to the king, praying him to remove the duke of Somerset for ever from his person and counsels; and as Henry fell about this time into a distemper which increased his natural imbecility, the queen and the council, unable to resist the popular

(1) Hall. Stowe. Contin. Hist. Croyland.

party, were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent Somerset to the tower, and appointed the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to hold and open a session of parliament: and that assembly created him Protector during pleasure.(1)

In the mean time, Henry recovering from his distemper so far as to be able to maintain the appearance of royal authority, his friends urged him to resume the government; and to annul the regency of Richard, to release Somerset from the tower, and to commit the administration into the hands of that nobleman. The duke of York, sensible of his danger, levied an army, in order to support his parliamentary commission, but without advancing any pretensions to the crown, though his title was generally acknowledged. A battle was fought near St. Albans, where the Lancastrians were routed, and the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland slain. The king himself was made prisoner by the duke of York, who treated him with great tenderness: and Henry was obliged to resign (what he valued little) the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival.(2)

Richard, however, did not yet lay claim to the royalty; he was still content with the title of Protector; and an outward reconciliation took place between the parties. A solemn procession to St. Paul's was appointed, in order to make known this amity to the people. The duke of York led queen Margaret; and a chieftain of one party marched hand in hand with a chieftain of the opposite. But a contest for a crown could not be thus peaceably accommodated. Each party watched only for an opportunity of subverting the other; and the smallest incident, without any formed design, was sufficient to dissolve the seeming harmony. Two servants of the rival houses quarrelled; their companions took part in the fray; a fierce combat ensued; and both parties, in every county in England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by arms.(3)

A battle was fought at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordshire; where the Lancastrians were defeated, and chased off the field with considerable loss. But that victory was not sufficient to decide the fate of England; and fortune soon shifted sides. When the two armies approached each other near Ludlow, and a general action was every hour expected, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded a choice body of veterans, deserted to the king; and the Yorkists were so much dismayed at that instance of treachery, which made every man suspicious of his fellow, that they separated without striking a blow.(4)

In this extremity the duke of York fled to Ireland, where he had formerly acquired much popularity; and his partisans in England kept themselves every where in readiness to rise on the first summons from their leaders. That summons was given by the earl of Warwick, governor of Calais, the most extraordinary man of his time; and, from the subsequent events, commonly known by the appellation of the *King-maker*. He landed in Kent, where he was joined by several persons of distinction: and as the people bore him an unlimited affection, his army increased every day. He entered London amid the acclamations of the populace: he advanced to meet the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him; and a battle was fought at Northampton, where the Lancastrians were totally routed. Henry himself, that empty shadow of a king, was again made prisoner, and once more carried in triumph to his capital.(5)

A parliament was now summoned at Westminster, where the duke of York soon appeared from Ireland, and put in his claim to the crown. He advanced towards the throne; and, addressing himself to the house of peers, pleaded his cause before them as his natural and legal judges. He gave them a deduction of his title by descent; mentioned the cruelties by which the house of Lancaster had paved its way to sovereign power; insisted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry; and exhorted them to return

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. Rymer, vol. xi.

(3) *Fabian. Chron.* See also Grafton.

(5) *Id.* *ibid*

(2) Stowe. Hall. Hollingshed.

(4) Grafton. Hall. Hollingshed.

to the right path, by doing justice to the lineal heir; then respectfully left the house, as no one desired him to seat himself on the throne.

Such a degree of moderation is not perhaps to be paralleled in history; and was little to be expected in those violent and licentious times, from a prince who had a victorious army at his command. The peers, on their part, discovered an equal share of firmness and composure. They called in some of the most considerable members among the commons to assist in their deliberations: and, after having heard, for several successive days, the reasons alleged for the duke of York, they declared his title certain and indefeasible; but, in consideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown, without dispute or controversy, during a course of years, they determined that he should continue to possess the title and dignity of king during the remainder of his life: that the administration of government, in the mean while, should remain with Richard, and that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy. The duke acquiesced in this decision; and Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not well oppose it.(1)

The duke of York, however, enjoyed but a short while the honour of this new settlement, and never attained the envied title of king. After the unfortunate battle of Northampton, queen Margaret had fled with her infant son to Durham, and thence to Scotland; but soon returning, she applied to the northern barons, and employed every argument to procure their assistance. Her affability, insinuation, and address, talents in which she excelled, aided by caresses and promises, wrought a powerful effect on all who approached her. The admiration of her great qualities was succeeded by compassion towards her helpless condition. The nobility of that quarter entered warmly into her cause; and she soon found herself at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, collected with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends nor apprehended by her enemies.

In the mean time, the duke of York hastened northward with a body of five thousand men, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection. He met the queen near Wakefield; and though he found himself so much outnumbered by the enemy, his pride would not permit him to fly before a woman. He gave battle, was killed in the action; and his body being found among the slain, his head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in derision of his pretended title. His second son, the earl of Rutland, was taken prisoner, and barbarously murdered in cool blood by lord Clifford, in revenge of the death of his father, who had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's. The earl of Salisbury also was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded, with several other persons of distinction.(2) This inhuman practice, thus begun, was continued by both parties, from a vindictive spirit, which affected to conceal its enormity under the pretence of retaliation.

Immediately after this important victory queen Margaret marched towards London, where the earl of Warwick was left with the command of the Yorkists. On the approach of the Lancastrians, that nobleman led out his army reinforced by a strong body of Londoners, and gave battle to the queen at St. Alban's. Margaret was again victorious, by the treachery of one Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of the Yorkists, and withdrew from the combat. She had the pleasure of seeing the formidable Warwick fly before her, and of rescuing the king her husband from captivity.

But Margaret's triumph, though glorious, was of short duration, and not altogether complete. Warwick was still in possession of London, on which she made an unsuccessful attempt; and Edward earl of Marche, eldest son of the late duke of York, having gained an advantage over the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross, near Hertford, advanced upon her from the other side, and was soon in a condition to give her battle with superior forces. She was

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. Cotton. Grafton. Hollingshed. The account of this revolution as here given, and generally received, is contradicted in some particulars by J. Wethamstede, abbot of St. Alban's. But a single authority, how respectable soever, is not sufficient to overthrow universal testimony.

(2) *Polyd. Virg.* Hollingshed. Stowe. *Contin. Hist. Croyland.*

sensible of her danger, in such a situation, and retreated with her army to the north; while Edward entered the capital amid the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new scene to his party.

This young prince, who was remarkable for the beauty of his person, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himself so high in public favour, that he resolved no longer to confine himself within those narrow limits which had been found by experience so prejudicial to his father's cause. He determined to assume the name and dignity of king; to insist openly on his claim; and thenceforth to treat the opposite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. But a national consent, or the appearance of it at least, seemed necessary to precede so bold a measure and for this purpose, instead of convening a parliament, which might have been attended with dangerous consequences, the populace were assembled in St. John's Fields. An harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude by Warwick, setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the house of Lancaster; after which the people were asked, whether they would have Henry or Edward for their king? They universally exclaimed, "Edward of York!" This popular election was ratified by an assembly of lords and bishops, and the new king was proclaimed under the title of Edward IV.(1)

Young Edward, now in his twentieth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through such a scene of war, havoc, and devastation, as was presented before him. He was not only bold, active, and enterprising, but his hardness of heart, and severity of character, rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion which might relax his vigour in the prosecution of the most bloody designs upon his enemies. Hence the scaffold, as well as the field, during this reign, incessantly smoked with the noblest blood of England. The animosity between the two contending families was now become implacable; and the nation, divided in its affections, took different symbols of party. The adherents of the house of Lancaster chose, as their mark of distinction, the *Red Rose*; those of York assumed the *White*; and these civil wars were thus known over Europe by the name of the "*Quarrel between the Two Roses*."

Queen Margaret, as I have observed, had retired to the north. There great multitudes flocked to her standard; and she was able, in a few weeks, to assemble an army of sixty thousand men. The king and the earl of Warwick hastened with an army of forty thousand, to check her progress. The two armies met at Towton, and a fierce and bloody battle ensued. The bow, then commonly in use, was soon laid aside, and the sword decided the combat, which terminated in a total victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter, and the routed army was pursued as far as Tadcaster, with great bloodshed and confusion. Above thirty-six thousand men are said to have fallen in the battle and pursuit. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being sensible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland.(2)

I must here say a few words of the state of that country. The Scots, notwithstanding the animosity between the two nations, had never made any vigorous attempts to take advantage either of the wars which England carried on with France, or of the civil commotions which arose from the competition for the crown. James I., who had been long a prisoner in England, and had received his education there, as I have had occasion to notice, avoided all hostilities with foreign nations. He was more laudably employed in civilizing his subjects, and training them to the salutary restraints of law and justice. After the murder of this excellent prince, whose maxims and manners were too refined for the people whom he had to govern, the minority of his son and successor James II. and the distractions incident on it, prevented the Scots from molesting England. But when the quarrel between the rival

(1) Wethamstede. Hall. Stowe.

(2) Id. ibid.

houses of York and Lancaster was become incurable, unless by the total extinction of one of the parties, James II., who had now risen to man's estate, was tempted to make use of that opportunity, in hopes of recovering those places which the English had conquered from his ancestors. He invested the castle of Roxburgh, and had provided himself with some pieces of cannon in order to forward the siege; but one of them unhappily bursting, as he was firing it, put an end at once to his life and his undertaking. His son and successor James III. was yet a minor; and the disturbances common to minorities ensued in the government. The queen dowager, Anne of Guelders, aspired to the regency; the house of Douglas opposed her pretensions: (1) so that the queen of England, when she arrived in Scotland, found there a people little less divided by faction than those from whom she had fled.

The Scottish council, however, agreed to assist Margaret, on her offering to deliver up to them the important fortress of Berwick, and to contract her son in marriage with a sister of James their king. And Margaret with her northern auxiliaries, and some succours from France, ventured once more to take the field, and to make an inroad into England. But she was able to penetrate no further than Hexham. There she was attacked by Lord Montague, brother to the earl of Warwick, and warden of the Marches, who totally routed her motley army. (2) All who were spared in the field suffered on the scaffold.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this overthrow, was equally singular and affecting. Margaret fled with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, but was beset during the darkness of the night by robbers, who despoiled her of her jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. She made her escape, however, while they were quarrelling about the booty; and wandered some time with her son in the most unfrequented thickets, spent with hunger and fatigue, and ready to sink beneath the load of terror and affliction. In this wretched condition she was met by a robber with his sword naked in his hand; and seeing no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the bold resolution of trusting entirely to his faith and generosity. "Approach, my friend!"—cried she, presenting to him the young prince;—"to you I commit the safety of your king's son." Struck with the singularity of the event, and charmed with the confidence reposed in him, the robber became her protector. By his favour she dwelt concealed in the forest, till she found an opportunity to make her escape into Flanders; whence she passed to her father in France, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement. (3) Henry was less fortunate in finding the means of escape. He lay concealed during twelve months in Lancashire; but was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the tower. (4)

The youthful monarch, thus rid of all his enemies, resigned himself freely to those pleasures and amusements which his rank, his time of life, and his natural temper, no less turned for love than war, invited him to enjoy. The cruel and unrelenting Edward lived in the most familiar and social manner with his subjects. He was the peculiar favourite of the young and gay of both sexes; and the beauty of his person as well as the gallantry of his address, which even in the humblest condition would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, facilitated all his applications for their favour. But it is difficult to confine the ruling passion within the bounds of prudence. The ardent temperament of Edward led him into a snare, which proved fatal to his repose, and to the stability of his throne.

This young king, while in the height of dissipation, had resolved to marry, in order to secure his throne by issue, as well as by alliances; and he had cast his eyes on Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France. The negotiation was committed to the earl of Warwick, who went over to Paris, where the princess then resided: his proposals were accepted, and the treaty was fully concluded. Nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing of the princess over to England. Meanwhile the charms

(1) Hall. Cotton.

(2) Id. *ibid.*

(3) Monstrelet, tom. iii.

(4) Hall. Hoingshed

of lady Elizabeth Gray, one of the finest and most accomplished women of her time, had inflamed the amorous heart of Edward. Her husband, sir John Gray of Groby, had been slain in the second battle of St. Alban's, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and his estate confiscated; and when the king came accidentally, after a hunting party, to the house of her father, sir Richard Wideville, to whom she had retired, she threw herself at his feet, and entreated him to take pity on her impoverished and helpless children.

The sight of so much beauty in distress strongly affected the susceptible Edward. Love insensibly stole into his heart, under the disguise of compassion. He raised the fair supplicant from the ground with assurances of favour; and as his passion was increased by the winning conversation of Elizabeth, he soon found himself reduced to that posture and style of solicitation which had been so lately hers. But all his solicitations were in vain: she obstinately refused to gratify his passion; and the young and gallant monarch found for once a virtue which his fondest assiduities could not bend. Inflamed by opposition, and filled with veneration for such honourable sentiments, Edward lost sight of all but love. He offered to share his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman whose beauty of person, and dignity of character, seemed so well to entitle her to both; and the marriage was privately celebrated at her father's seat in Northamptonshire.(1)

Warwick, who was still at Paris, no sooner received intelligence of the king's marriage than he returned to England, flaming with rage and indignation, as being employed in a deceitful treaty, and kept a stranger to the intentions of the prince, who owed every thing to his friendship. The king was sensible that Warwick had been ill used; but his pride, or false shame, prevented him from making an apology: and that nobleman was permitted to depart the court in the same hot temper that he came. The advancement of the queen's relations into offices of power and trust, to the exclusion of those of Warwick, whom she regarded as her mortal enemy, heightened his discontent, and made him resolve to ruin the king he had made.

In order to effect his purpose, Warwick drew over to his interest the duke of Clarence, the king's second brother, by offering him in marriage his eldest daughter, and co-heiress of his immense fortune. Many of the ancient nobility envied the sudden growth of the Widevilles. They associated themselves with Warwick; who, finding his own name insufficient, and being chased to France, after some unsuccessful struggles, entered into a league with queen Margaret, his inveterate enemy. On his return to England, he was joined by the whole body of Lancastrians. Both parties now prepared for a general decision by arms; and a decisive action was every moment expected, when Edward, finding himself betrayed by the marquis of Montague, and suspicious of his other commanders, suddenly abandoned his army, and fled to Holland. Henry VI. was taken from his confinement in the tower, and placed once more upon the English throne; and a parliament, called under the influence of Warwick, declared Edward IV. a usurper.(2)

But this revolution was only the effect of the giddiness of faction. Warwick was no sooner at the helm of government than his popularity began to decline, though he appears to have been guilty of no unpopular act; so fugitive a thing is public favour!—The young king was emboldened to return. He landed at Ravenspur, as Henry IV. had formerly done, upon a like occasion; and although he brought with him only two thousand men, he soon found himself in a condition to face the earl of Warwick, who had taken post at Barnet. The city of London opened its gates to Edward; who thus became at once master of his capital, and of the person of his rival Henry, doomed to be the perpetual sport of fortune. The arrival of queen Margaret, whose presence would have been of infinite service to her party, was every day expected. In the mean time, the duke of Clarence, Warwick's son-in-law, deserted to the king, and carried along with him a body of twelve thousand men. But Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and as

(1) Hall. Grafton.

(2) Stowe. Hall.

he rejected with disdain all terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought with great obstinacy on both sides. The two armies, in imitation of their leaders, displayed uncommon acts of valour, and the contest for victory remained long undecided; but an accident threw at last the balance on the side of the Yorkists. Edward's cognizance was a sun, Warwick's a star with rays; and the mistiness of the morning rendering it difficult to distinguish them, a body of the Lancastrians were attacked by their friends, and driven off the field. Warwick did all that experience, conduct, or valour could suggest, to retrieve the mistake, but in vain. He had engaged on foot that day, contrary to his usual practice, in order to show his troops that he was resolved to share every danger with them; and now, sensible that all was lost, unless a reverse of fortune could be wrought by some extraordinary effort, he rushed into the thickest of the engagement, and fell, covered with a multitude of wounds. His brother, the marquis of Montague, underwent the same fate; and as Edward had issued orders to give no quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit.(1)

Queen Margaret and her son prince Edward, now about eighteen years of age, landed from France the same day on which that decisive battle was fought. She had hitherto sustained the shocks of fortune with surprising fortitude; but when she received intelligence of her husband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick, her courage failed her, and she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampshire.

Encouraged, however, by the appearance of Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and several other noblemen, who exhorted her still to hope for success, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to assert, to the last, her claim to the crown of England. She accordingly put herself once more at the head of the army, which increased in every day's march, and advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester. But the ardent and expeditious Edward overtook her at Tewksbury, on the banks of the Severn, where the Lancastrians were totally routed and dispersed. Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince, in an imperious tone, how he dared to invade his dominions? "I came hither," replied the undaunted youth, more mindful of his high birth than his present fortune, "to revenge my father's wrongs, and rescue my just inheritance out of your hands." Incensed at his freedom, instead of admiring the boldness of his spirit, the ungenerous Edward barbarously struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, lord Hastings, and sir Thomas Gray, taking this blow as a signal for further violence, hurried the prince aside, and instantly despatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the tower, where her husband Henry had just expired. Whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain; though it is generally believed that the duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hand.(2)

The hopes of the house of Lancaster being thus extinguished, by the death of every legitimate prince of that family, Edward, who had no longer any enemy that could give him anxiety or alarm, was encouraged once more to indulge himself in pleasure and amusement; and he recovered, by his gay humour, and his easy, familiar manners, that popularity which must have been in some degree impaired by the cruelties exercised upon his enemies. The example also of his jovial festivity served to abate the acrimony of faction among his subjects, and to restore the social disposition which had been so long interrupted between the opposite parties. But although Edward was fond of pleasure, he was not deaf to the calls of ambition; and a projected invasion of France, in order to recover the dominions lost under his predecessor, tended still further to increase his popularity.

The prospect of a French war has always proved a sure means of uniting the people of England, and of making the members of parliament open their

(1) Grafton. Hall Contin. Hist. Croyland. Phil. de Comines, liv. iii

(2) Stowe. Hall

purses. Edward received a considerable supply, and passed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers. He was attended by all his chief nobility, who, animated by former successes, were eager to appear once more on the theatre of honour. But their ardour was damped when they found, on entering the French territories, that their ally, the duke of Burgundy, did not bring them the smallest assistance. Transported by his fervid temper, that prince had carried his troops to the frontier of Germany, where they were employed in hostilities against the duke of Lorraine. Lewis XI., however, alarmed at the presence of so warlike and powerful a monarch as Edward, proposed an accommodation; and a truce was concluded on terms by no means honourable to France. Lewis stipulated to pay the king of England immediately seventy-five thousand crowns, in order to defray the expense of his armament, on condition that he should quietly withdraw his troops, and fifty thousand crowns a year during their joint lives.(1)

This treaty reflected little honour on either of the monarchs. It discovered the imprudence of the one, and the pusillanimity of the other. But as Lewis made interest the sole test of his honour, he thought he had overreached Edward, by sending him out of France on such easy terms. The most honourable article on the side of Lewis was the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, who was still detained in custody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom; and this princess, who, in active scenes of life, had experienced so remarkably the vicissitudes of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy. Margaret seems neither to have possessed the virtues, nor been subject to the weaknesses, of her sex: and she was as much tainted with the ferocity, as endowed with the courage, of the age in which she lived.

The dark and unrelenting disposition of Richard, duke of Gloucester, the future scourge of England, began more particularly to discover itself after Edward's return from France. The duke of Clarence, by all his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He had also the misfortune to offend his brother Gloucester, who secretly conspired his ruin. Several of his friends were accused and executed, under frivolous pretences, in hopes that his resentment would betray him into measures which might furnish matter for an impeachment. He fell into the snare. Instead of securing his own life against the present danger by silence and reserve, he was open and loud in asserting the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming against the iniquity of their prosecutors. The king ordered him to be committed to the tower; and he was sentenced to die by the house of peers, the supreme tribunal of the nation, for arraigning public justice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature. The only favour which the king granted him was the choice of his death; and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmsey;(2) a whimsical choice, which leads us to suppose that he was passionately fond of that liquor.

The remaining part of Edward's reign was distinguished by no remarkable event. He sunk again into indolence and pleasure, from which he was once more roused by the prospect of a French war. While making preparations with that view, he was seized with a violent distemper, of which he died, in the forty-second year of his age. He was a prince of more vigour than prudence; and consequently less fitted to prevent ills by wise precautions, than to remedy them after they took place. As a man, he possessed many accomplishments: his virtues were few, his vices a numerous catalogue.

Edward IV. left two sons; the prince of Wales, now Edward V., in his thirteenth year; and Richard duke of York, in his ninth. The duke of Gloucester, their uncle, whose sanguinary disposition I have had occasion to notice, was appointed regent by Edward's desire, and chosen protector by

(1) Rymer, vol. xii. Phil. de Comines, liv. iv.

(2) Fabian Stowe. Hall. Hollingshead

his own artifices. He had already got the two young princes into his possession, contrary to the inclination of their mother, who seemed struck with a kind of presage of their future fate; and his eye was fixed upon the throne, though not only the sons of Edward, but those of the duke of Clarence, stood between him and it.

An attempt to exclude or destroy so many persons possessed of a preferable right, may seem equally imprudent and impracticable. But a man like Gloucester, who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity, was soon carried, by his predominant passion, beyond the reach of fear or precaution: and having so far succeeded in his views, he no longer hesitated in removing the other obstructions in his way. He ordered earl Rivers, the queen's brother, sir Richard Gray, her son by her former husband, and sir Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable place in the young king's household, and was firmly attached to his person, to be thrown into prison, and executed without any form of trial. His next step was to draw into his views the duke of Buckingham and lord Hastings. With the first he succeeded; but the last remained firm in his allegiance to the children of Edward, who had ever honoured him with his friendship. His death was therefore resolved upon, and for that purpose a council was summoned in the tower, whither that nobleman, suspecting no harm, repaired without hesitation.

Gloucester, on taking his place at the council board, appeared in the easiest and most facetious humour imaginable; but making a pretence soon after to retire, as if called away by urgent business, he returned, knitting his brows, grinding his teeth, and exhibiting, by frequent change of countenance, symptoms of inward perturbation. A general silence ensued: every one dreading some terrible catastrophe, and all gazing with looks of doubt and anxiety upon each other. Richard at last relieved them from their awful suspense. "What punishment do they deserve," said he, "who have conspired against my life?"—"The death of traitors!" replied lord Hastings. "These traitors," cried Richard, "are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and that witch Shore, his mistress, with others their associates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their spells and incantations!" laying bare his arm, all shrivelled and decayed. The amazement of the council was increased, it being well known this infirmity had attended him from his childhood; and lord Hastings, who, since Edward's death, engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally alarmed at such an accusation. "Certainly, my lord," said he, with some hesitation, "if they are guilty of such a crime, they deserve punishment."—"And do you," exclaimed Richard, "reply to me with your *ifs*? You know their guilt: you are yourself a traitor, and the chief abettor of the witch Shore; and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine until your head is brought me!" He struck the table with his hand: armed men rushed in at the signal: Hastings was seized, hurried away, and instantly beheaded on a log of wood, which accidentally lay in the court-yard of the tower.(1)

Richard having thus got rid of the man he most feared, and of all who were most likely to oppose his views, ordered lord Stanley, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and other counsellors of whom he was suspicious, to be committed prisoners to the tower; and in order to carry on the farce of accusations, he commanded the goods of Jane Shore to be seized, and summoned her to answer before the council for sorcery and witchcraft. But as beauty was her only witchcraft, and conversation her most dangerous spell, no proofs were produced against her which could be received even in that ignorant age. Her persecution, however, did not end here. Though framed for virtue, she had proved unable to resist temptation, and had left her husband, a goldsmith in Lombard street, to live with Edward, who solicited her favours. But while seduced from her fidelity by this gay and amorous monarch, she still made herself respectable by her other virtues.

She never sold her influence. Her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, waited not the solicitation of presents, or the hopes of reciprocal benefit; to protect the oppressed, and relieve the indigent, were her highest pleasures. Yet all her amiable qualities could not save her from the bitterness of shame, cruelly imposed upon her by a barbarous tyrant. Richard ordered her to be tried in the spiritual court for adultery. The charge was too notorious to be denied. She pleaded guilty, and was condemned to do public penance in a white sheet at St. Paul's, after walking barefooted through the city. Her future life was long and wretched. She experienced, in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of those courtiers whom she had raised into favour. Not one of all the multitudes she had obliged, had the humanity to bring her consolation or relief. Her frailties, as a woman, amid a court inured to the most atrocious crimes, were thought sufficient to justify all violations of friendship towards her, and all neglect of former obligations; and she was permitted to languish out her days in solitude and want. (1)

So many acts of violence, exercised against all the nearest relations of the late king, prognosticated the severest fate to his defenceless children; and, after the murder of Hastings, Richard no longer made a secret of his intention to usurp the crown. As a colour to his pretensions, he not only maintained, that his two nephews were illegitimate, but also his two brothers, Edward IV., and the duke of Clarence; that his mother had admitted different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of these children; that their resemblance to those gallants was a sufficient proof of their spurious birth and that he alone of all her sons, as appeared by his features, was the true offspring of the duke of York. The place chosen for promulgating this foul and impudent assertion was the pulpit, before a large congregation, and in Richard's presence. Dr. Shaw, a sycophant entirely at his devotion, was appointed to preach in St. Paul's; and having chosen for his text, from Scripture, "Bastard slips shall not thrive!" he enlarged on every circumstance that could discredit the birth of Edward IV., the duke of Clarence, and of all their children. He then broke out into a panegyric on the duke of Gloucester, exclaiming, "It is he who carries in his face, in his soul, the image of virtue, and the marks of a true descent!" And it was expected, as soon as the doctor had pronounced these words, that the audience would cry out, "God save king Richard!"—a salutation which would immediately have been laid hold of as a popular consent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation. But the audience kept a profound silence, and disappointed both the protector and his preacher. (2)

Richard, however, had gone too far to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpose. Another place was chosen for a popular harangue: a place where a popular speaker never fails to persuade, and where a voice may be obtained for any measure, however atrocious or absurd. The citizens of London, with the rabble at their heels, were assembled in Guildhall, where the duke of Buckingham addressed them in an eloquent harangue, setting forth the title and virtues of the protector, and "God save king Richard!" was at last returned by the mob. The sentiments of the nation were now thought sufficiently declared. The voice of the people was the voice of God! Richard was prevailed upon, though with seeming reluctance, to accept of the crown; and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and lawful sovereign. (3)

This ridiculous farce was soon followed by a scene truly tragical—the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the tower, to put his nephews to death; but that gentleman refused to bear any part in the infamous office. The usurper then sent for sir James Tyrrell, who promised obedience, and the government of the tower was given him for one night. He chose three associates, whom he employed to execute his barbarous commission, and conducted them, about midnight, to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged. They were in bed, and fallen into a profound sleep. The ruffians suffocated them

1) *Contin. Hist. Croyland.* Sir T. More.

(2) Sir T. More.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

with bolsters and pillows, and afterward showed their naked bodies to Tyrrell, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stair-case, under a heap of stones.(1) These circumstances were confessed by the perpetrators, in the following reign.

Richard, having thus extirpated all whom he feared might disturb his government, endeavoured to gain by favours those whom he thought could give stability to his throne. Several noblemen received new honours; and lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household. But Richard's danger arose from a quarter where he least expected it. The duke of Buckingham did not think himself sufficiently rewarded for his services in promoting the usurpation: he observed the general detestation of Richard; and, by the advice of Morton, bishop of Ely, he turned his eye towards the young earl of Richmond, now an exile in Brittany, as the only person capable of freeing the nation from the tyranny under which it groaned.

Henry, earl of Richmond, was grandson of sir Owen Tudor and Catharine of France, relic of Henry V. By his mother he was descended from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III., and was the only remaining branch of that family, which had so long contended for the crown. In order to strengthen his interest, a match was concerted between him and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. Money was sent over to him, for the purpose of levying foreign troops; and the queen-dowager promised to join him, on his first appearance, with all the friends and partizans of her family.

But so extensive a conspiracy, though laid on the solid foundations of good sense and sound policy, could not escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard. He soon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the duke of Buckingham, were forming some designs against him. The duke, unable to resist the force of Richard, was obliged to seek safety in retreat; he was discovered, condemned, and executed; and the other conspirators, who had taken arms in different parts of the kingdom, when informed of this misfortune, despaired of success, and immediately separated themselves.(2) Meantime the earl of Richmond appeared on the coast of England, with a body of five thousand men; but hearing of the fate of Buckingham, and the dispersion of his friends, he returned to the coast of Brittany.

Richard, thus triumphant in every quarter, and fortified by an unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at last to summon a parliament; a measure which his multiplied crimes, and flagrant usurpation, had hitherto induced him to decline. The parliament had no choice left but to recognise his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His son Edward, a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales: and the king passed some popular laws in order to reconcile the nation to his government.

All Richard's other measures tended to the same object. His queen being now dead, he proposed, by means of a papal dispensation, to marry the princess Elizabeth, the true heiress of the crown, and intended for the earl of Richmond, if his enterprise had succeeded. And, strange as it may sound in civilized ears, the queen-dowager neither scrupled this alliance, which was very unusual in England, and regarded as incestuous, nor felt any horror at

(1) Sir T. More. An attempt has lately been made by an ingenious but whimsical writer, to invalidate the particulars of this relation, and even to bring into question the fact it tends to establish. But in answer to the *Historic Doubts* of Mr. Walpole, it will be sufficient to reply, in the words of the profound and sagacious Hume, that the singular magnanimity, probity, and judgment of sir Thomas More, make his narrative and evidence beyond all exception; that the testimony of no historian, either of ancient or modern times, can possibly have more weight; that he may justly be esteemed a contemporary with regard to the murder of the two princes: for, although he was but five years of age when that event happened, he lived and was educated among the persons concerned in the principal transactions during the administration of Richard III. And it is plain from his narrative itself, which is often extremely circumstantial, that he had the particulars from eye-witnesses themselves. This authority, therefore, is irresistible, and "sufficient to overbalance a hundred little doubts, and scruples, and objections." (*Hist. of England*, vol. iii. note M.) All contemporary writers, both English and foreign, charge Richard, directly or indirectly, with the murder of his nephews. Comines openly accuses him of it, (*Mém.* liv. vi. chap. ix.) and Fabian tells us, that as soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty, "King Edward V. and his brother, the duke of York, were put under *suave keeping* in the tower, in *such wise that they never after came abroad."* (*Chron.* 225.) Comines supports his accusation with very strong circumstances. The court of France, he tells us, was so much struck with horror at Richard's treason and usurpation, that the English ambassador was refused an audience. *Mém. ubi sup.*

(2) Sir T. More. *Contin. Hist. Oroyland.*

the thought of marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three sons, and of her brother. But the earl of Richmond, alarmed at an alliance which must prove fatal to all his hopes, and encouraged by the English exiles, resolved upon a new invasion. All men of probity and honour, he was assured, were desirous to prevent the sceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithless hand which held it.(1) In consequence of these representations, he set sail from Harfleur, in Normandy, with a retinue of about two thousand men, and landed at Milford Haven, in Wales. The Welch, who considered him as their countryman, flocked to his standard; and his cause immediately wore a favourable aspect.

Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and having given commissions to different persons in the several counties, whom he employed to oppose his enemy, he proposed in person to haste, on the first alarm, to the place most exposed to danger. The Welch governors had already deserted to Henry. But the danger to which Richard was chiefly exposed, proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarce any nobleman was sincerely attached to his cause except the duke of Norfolk; and some, who had feigned the greatest loyalty, were only watching for an opportunity to betray and abandon him. Among these was lord Stanley; who raised a numerous body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself, his son being in the tyrant's power. And although Henry had received secret assurances of Stanley's friendly intentions, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from this equivocal behaviour, when they met at Bosworth, near Leicester. Henry's army consisted of six thousand men, Richard's of double that number, and he hastened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor.

Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This measure had a proportional effect upon both armies: it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers; it threw Richard's into dismay and confusion. The intrepid tyrant, now sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye across the field; and, desecrating his rival at no great distance, attempted to decide the victory by a blow. He killed, with his own hand, sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl: he dismounted sir John Cheney; and he was within reach of Henry himself, who declined not the combat, when sir William Stanley broke in between them, and surrounded Richard with his troops. Though overwhelmed by numbers, he still maintained the combat; and at last sunk amid heaps of slain, who had fallen by his arm.(2) A life so infamous, it has been said by Voltaire, and by Hume after him, did not merit so glorious a death; but every man surely merits what his talents enable him to earn. Richard was a blood-thirsty tyrant; but he was brave, and he died as a brave man should, with his sword in his hand: he was brave to the last. It would indeed have been matter of regret had he died in his bed, after disturbing so cruelly the repose of mankind; but his death was sufficiently violent to prevent his life from becoming an object of imitation.

This battle was entirely decisive; the king not only being slain, but the whole royal army totally routed and dispersed. The victorious troops, in a transport of joy, bestowed on their general the appellation of king; and "Long live Henry the Seventh!" resounded from all quarters and was continued with repeated acclamations. In order to give some kind of form to this military election, the ornamental crown, which Richard wore in battle, was placed upon Henry's head: his title was confirmed by the parliament; and his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, which took place soon after, united the jarring claims of the houses of York and Lancaster.(3) Thus ended the race of the Plantagenets, who had sat upwards of three hundred years upon the throne of England; and thus the civil wars which had so long desolated the kingdom.

We must now return to the history of France.

(1) Sir T. More. *Contin. Hist. Croyland.*

(2) Kennet. Sir T. More.

(3) Id. *ibid.*

LETTER XLIX.

France, from the Expulsion of the English by Charles VII., to the Invasion of Italy, by Charles VIII. in 1494.

WHILE England, my dear Philip, was torn in pieces by civil wars, France was increasing both in power and dominion. Most of the great fiefs were reunited to the crown: the authority of the prince was raised to such a height, as enabled him to maintain law and order; a considerable military force was established, and the finances were able to support it. The means by which these changes were effected require your particular attention.

Charles VII. no sooner found himself in quiet possession of France, by the expulsion of the English, than he devoted himself to the cares of government: he endeavoured to repair the ravages of war by promoting the arts of peace, and to secure the tranquillity and good order of his kingdom by wise regulations. He established a regular army, instead of those troops required to be furnished by the crown vassals, and levied a tax for their support. Besides that army, which was kept in constant pay, each village maintained a free archer, who was exempted from the king's tax; and it was in consequence of this exemption, otherwise peculiar to the nobility, that such a number of persons soon claimed the title of gentlemen, both by name and arms.

These politic measures were followed by the most important consequences. A force, always at command, gave vigour to the royal authority; the possessors of fiefs being no longer called upon, had no longer any pretence for arming their followers, to disturb the peace of the state; so that the feudal polity went rapidly to decay in France, and Charles beheld himself at the head of the largest and best regulated kingdom in Europe.

But all the wisdom and generosity of this great monarch could not secure to him that happiness which he endeavoured to procure for his subjects. His son Lewis revolted, and embittered his latter days with sorrow; nay, brought him to an untimely grave: for, being informed that this prince intended to take him off by poison, he abstained from all food, till it was too late; and literally died of hunger, that his unnatural son might not be guilty of parricide.⁽¹⁾

Lewis XI., so much celebrated as a politician and despised as a man, now succeeded to that crown, which he had traitorously attempted to seize, in prejudice to the best of kings and of fathers. His leading object was the aggrandizement of the monarchy, by depressing the power of the nobles, and reuniting the great fiefs to the crown. And as he knew that men of honour and character would not be concerned in an attempt upon the rights and properties of others, he immediately dismissed the respectable ministers, who had ably and faithfully served his father, and selected from among the lowest of the people men of a disposition similar to his own—subtle, deceitful, unfeeling, and cruel. But craft may sometimes overshoot its aim, especially when accompanied with rapacity. The nobles were alarmed; they entered into an association, and took arms to humble their oppressor. The king also took arms and prepared to face them. A battle was fought, which decided nothing; and as Lewis was fonder of negotiating than fighting, a peace was concluded on terms advantageous to the rebels, but which the perfidious tyrant never meant to fulfil. He took into favour many of those whom he had formerly disgraced: he detached from the confederacy the dukes of Bourbon and Brittany; and he got an assembly of the states to declare those articles of the treaty void which were most detrimental to his interest.⁽²⁾

(1) Monstrelet. Du Tillot. Mezeray.

(2) *Mém. de Phil. de Comines.* Duplex. Mezeray. By exerting all his power and address in influencing the election of the representatives by bribing or overawing the members, and by various changes

But although Lewis thus artfully defeated a conspiracy that seemed to endanger his throne, his rapacity soon brought him into new troubles; he became the dupe of his own artifice, and had almost perished in his own snare. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, was succeeded in his extensive dominions by his son Charles the Bold. Charles had an antipathy against Lewis; and, what more alarmed that arch-politician, knew him better than any man in Europe. Both parties assembled forces, and the fate of one of them was expected to be decided; when Lewis, who hated coming to extremities, agreed to pay the duke thirty-six thousand crowns to defray his military expenses, and appointed a personal interview at Peronne, in Picardy, then in possession of Charles. The proposal was agreed to, and the king went to the place of meeting accompanied only by a few domestics. By such an act of confidence, he hoped to throw Charles off his guard, and take advantage, during their conferences, of that friendly temper which he had inspired. As a further means of forwarding his negotiation, he commanded some of his emissaries to enter Liege, and persuade the inhabitants to revolt against the duke.

Thus wrapped in perfidy and deceit, Lewis thought himself sure of concluding an advantageous treaty. He was mistaken, however, for once. The duke indeed received him with all possible marks of friendship and respect, and seemed highly pleased with so much confidence in an adversary; but the face of affairs was as soon changed. Intelligence arrived that the people of Liege had broken out into open rebellion at the instigation of the French emissaries, and had cut the garrison in pieces. Charles, in the first transports of his rage, ordered the king to be shut up in the castle of Peronne; posted double guards at the gates, and made him thoroughly sensible that he was a prisoner, and at the mercy of his vassal.

In that wretched condition Lewis had continued three days, when he again attempted to set his crooked policy at work, by distributing large sums among the duke's officers; and Charles's anger being now somewhat abated, he was prevailed upon to enter into a negotiation with his prisoner, or rather to prescribe such terms as he thought proper, to a prince whose life and liberty were in his power. The most mortifying of these conditions was, that Lewis should march with him against Liege, and be active in the reduction of that place, which had revolted at his own request. Liege was reduced; and Lewis having thus fulfilled, in every particular, the purpose of his vassal, was permitted to depart, before the duke set fire to the town, and massacred the inhabitants.(1)—This affair was treated with so much ridicule at Paris, that all the magpies and jays were taught to cry, "Peronne! Peronne!" a circumstance that proved fatal to many of them; for Lewis, after his return, issued an edict for destroying all those talkative birds, as unnecessary remembrancers of his disgrace.(2)

The subsequent part of Lewis's reign was one continued scene of executions, wars, and negotiations. He and his infamous ministers divided the possessions of those whom his tyrannies had caused to rebel; his ministers themselves conspired against him; and the bishop of Verdun, and cardinal Balue, men as wicked as himself, suffered those tortures which they had invented for others. His brother Charles, who had been always a thorn in his side, was taken off by poison; the constable de St. Paul, his brother-in-law, the count of Armagnac, the dukes of Alençon and Nemours, lost their heads on the scaffold; and the children of the last named nobleman, by an unheard-of piece of barbarity, were sprinkled with their father's blood, yet reeking from his veins, and sent in that condition to the Bastile.(3)

which he artfully made in the form of their deliberations, Lewis XI. acquired such entire direction of the national assemblies, that, from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely subservient, in protecting the most odious measures of his reign. (Phil. de Com. tom. i.) He first taught other modern princes the fatal art of becoming arbitrary, by corrupting the fountain of public liberty.

(1) Phil. de Com. liv. ii. chap. vii.—xiv.

(2) J. Troyes *Hist. Secrete de Lewis XI.*

(3) Du. Tillet. The king ordered, says Mezeray, that the two sons of the duke of Nemours, yet infants, should be placed beneath the scaffold on which he was executed ~~so~~ ^{that} their father's blood might fall on their heads. *Abregé Chronol. de Hist. de France.*

With the ignominious but politic treaty of Lewis with Edward IV., by which he purchased the retreat of that monarch, you are already acquainted. He was always engaged, either in war or negotiations, with his natural enemy the duke of Burgundy, till the death of that prince, who fell in an ambitious and unprovoked attempt upon the liberty of the Swiss. This was a fortunate event for Lewis, and he endeavoured to make the most of it. The duke left no male issue, and but one daughter, the sole heiress of his extensive dominions, which comprehended not only the dutchy of Burgundy, but Franche-Comté, Artois, Flanders, and almost all the Netherlands. Lewis proposed a marriage between this princess and his son Charles, the dauphin, a boy only seven years old. In the mean time, he seized Burgundy, as a male fief, and made himself master of Artois, Benzançon, and several other places, by the most atrocious acts of treachery and cruelty.⁽¹⁾ This was the way to make sure of something, but surely not to bring about a marriage treaty: the rapacity of this arch-politician, notwithstanding all his penetration, once more betrayed him. The princess Mary was filled with diffidence, and her Flemish subjects with detestation. By their advice she married the archduke Maximilian,⁽²⁾ son of the emperor Frederic III., and hence arose new wars, which long desolated the Low Countries, and bred an implacable hatred between the houses of France and Austria.

Lewis, however, put a stop to these wars (as he did, as soon as possible, to all in which he was engaged) by a truce; and though he could not boast of his success in arms, he retained Burgundy, and all the other places he had seized. Anjou, Maine, Provence, and Bar were soon after left him by Charles count du Maine, the last prince of the house of Anjou, who died without issue. He united to the crown Roussillon and Cerdagne, under pretence of mortgage, and the county of Boulogne by purchase. Thus Lewis, amid all his crimes, and after all his struggles, and all his blunders, saw his kingdom much enlarged, his subjects in obedience, and his government revered at home and abroad. But he had only a glimpse of that agreeable prospect; for he was suddenly seized with a fit of the apoplexy, which threw him into a lingering illness; and he expected death with all those horrors which a life of such complicated guilt deserved. It at last overtook him; but not before he had suffered more severe tortures than any criminal punished during his reign.⁽³⁾

(1) Phil. de Com. liv. v. chap. xv. Du Clos, *Hist. Lewis XI.*

(2) There is reason however to believe, that the heiress of Burgundy was influenced, in her choice, by other motives than those of policy; for we are told by Philip de Comines, that while her marriage with the dauphin was under deliberation, Madame Hallewin, first lady of the bed-chamber to that princess, gave it as her opinion, "That there was more need of a man than a boy!" (Mem. liv. vi. chap. iii.) Admitting this to be the case, and the marriage with the dauphin impracticable, Lewis might still have prevented the dominions of Burgundy from being conveyed to a rival power, by favouring the suit of the count of Angoulême, a prince of the blood-royal of France, and father of Francis I., towards a match with whom the princess Mary had indicated her good-will. (Comines, ubi sup.) But the rapacious disposition and intriguing spirit of the French monarch, which obscured his naturally clear and sound understanding, with his jealous dread of so highly exalting a subject, made him discourage that alliance, and pursue a line of insidious policy, disgraceful even to Lewis XI., and which contributed, eventually, to raise up in the house of Austria, a rival power that thwarted the measures, opposed the arms, and checked, during two centuries, the progress of the successors of a prince, who first united the interior force of France, and established it on such a footing as to render it formidable to the rest of Europe.

(3) Phil. de Com. liv. vi. chap. xxii. Du Clos, *Hist. Lewis XI.* The picture drawn by these two writers, of the last scene of this monarch's life, in contrast with his cruelties, is deeply shaded with horror. He put to death, we are told, more than four thousand persons, by different kinds of torture, and without any form of trial; that he was usually present himself at their execution, in beholding which, he seemed to enjoy a barbarous satisfaction or triumph; that many of the nobility were, by his order, confined in iron cages, invented by the ministers of his tyrannies, and carried about like wild beasts; while others were loaded with heavy and galling fetters, with a ring of a particular construction for the feet, called the *King's Net*! (Comines et Du Clos, ubi sup.) In consequence of these barbarities, and a dread of future punishment, he became greatly afraid of death; and during his illness, suspicious of every one around him, not excepting his own son, his daughter, and his son-in-law, the lord of Beaujeu, afterward duke of Bourbon, though in the last two he placed more confidence than in all the others. After often shifting his residence and his domestics, under pretence that nature delights in change, he took up his abode at the castle of Fleissiz-les-Tours, which he ordered to be encompassed with large bars of iron, in the form of a grate, with four watch-towers of iron at the four corners of the building. The grates were without the wall, on the further side of the ditch, and went to the bottom: spikes of iron, set as thick as possible, were fastened into the wall; and cross-bow men were placed in the ditches and in the watch-towers, to shoot at any man who dared approach the castle till the opening of the gate. The gate was never opened, nor the draw-bridge let down, before eight in the morning, when the courtiers were permitted to enter. Through the day the captains were ordered to guard their several posts, with a main guard in the middle of the court, as

The character of Lewis XI. is one of the most complicated in history. He obtained the end which he proposed by his policy, but at the expense of his peace and reputation. His life was a jumble of crimes and contradictions. Absolute, without dignity; popular (because he humbled the great), without generosity; unjust by system, yet zealous for the administration of justice; living in open violation of the first principles of morals, but resigning himself to the most ridiculous superstitions; the tyrant of his subjects, and the timid slave of his physicians; he debased the royalty at the same time that he strengthened it. Yet, this prince, who rendered religion contemptible, and royalty disgraceful, assumed the title of *Majesty* and *Most Christian*, since given to his successors, and formerly not claimed by the kings of France.

Lewis was succeeded by his son Charles VIII., a young prince ill educated, rash, and incapable of application. As he had entered the fourteenth year of his age, he was no longer a minor by the law; but he was still so by nature: and Lewis had wisely intrusted the government, during the youth of the king, to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeau, a woman of great spirit and capacity. The administration, however, was disputed by the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and afterward the celebrated Lewis XII., who, proving unsuccessful in his intrigues, betook himself to arms, and entered into a league with the duke of Brittany, and the archduke Maximilian. The Bretons were defeated in the battle of St. Aubin, and the duke of Orleans was taken prisoner. (1)

The death of the duke of Brittany, which happened soon after this defeat, threw the affairs of that dutchy into the utmost confusion, and seemed to threaten the state with final subjection. It was the only great fief which now remained disunited from the crown of France; and as the duke had died without male heir, some antiquated claims to its dominion were revived by Charles VIII. But force is the best claim between princes; of that Charles was possessed; and the conquest of Brittany seemed inevitable, unless prevented by some foreign power.

The prince to whom the distressed Bretons looked up for aid was Henry VII. of England, who was highly interested in preventing the reduction of their country, as well as bound by ties of gratitude to return that protection to the young dutchess which had been generously yielded him by her father. But the parsimonious temper of Henry, which rendered him averse to all warlike enterprises, or distant expeditions, prevented him from sending them any effectual support. They therefore applied to Maximilian of Austria, now king of the Romans, whose wife, Mary of Burgundy, was lately dead, and offered him their dutchess in marriage. The proposal was readily accepted; the nuptials were celebrated by proxy; and the dutchess of Brittany assumed the august title of queen of the Romans. But this honour was all she gained by her marriage; for Maximilian, destitute of money and troops, and embarrassed by the continual revolts of the Flemings, was able to send no succours to his consort. The French made progress every day: yet the conquest of Brittany seemed still so distant, and accompanied with so many difficulties, that the court of France changed its measures, and, by a masterstroke in policy, astonished all Europe.

Charles VIII. had been affianced to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian. Though too young for the nuptial union, she had been sent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of queen of France. Engagements

in a town closely besieged. (Phil. de Com. liv. vi. chap. xii.) Nor was this all. Every secret of medicine, every allurement of sensuality, and every sacrifice of superstition, was exhausted, in order to protract the tyrant's miserable existence, and set at a distance the ill he feared. The pope sent him the vest which St. Peter wore when he said mass; the sacred phial was brought from Rheims to reanoint him; and he invited a holy hermit from Calabria, at whose feet he knelt, and whose intercession with Heaven he attempted to buy, by building him two convents; the most beautiful country girls were procured to dance around him to the sound of music; he paid his physician, whom he feared, the enormous sum of ten thousand crowns a month; and the blood of infants is said to have been spilled in order to soften the acrimony of his scorbatic humours. Phil. de Com. et Du Clos, ubi sup.

(1) Mezeray, tom. vi. Henault, tom. i. Could the duke of Orleans have flattered the passion of Anne of Beaujeau, he might, if we believe Brantome not only have escaped this misfortune, but shared the administration.

so solemnly entered into could not easily be set aside; but the marriage of Charles with the dutchess of Brittany seemed necessary to reannex that important fief to the crown; and, as a yet stronger motive for such alliance, the marriage of Maximilian with this princess appeared destructive to the grandeur, and even to the security, of the French monarchy. The only means of obviating every inconvenience was therefore concluded to be the dissolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated but not consummated, and the espousal of the dutchess of Brittany to the king of France.

The measures by which the French ministry carried this delicate scheme into execution were wise and political. While they pressed Brittany with all the violence of war, they secretly negotiated with the men of most influence in the dutchy, representing to them, that the happiest event which in their present situation could befall the Bretons, would be a peace with France, though purchased by a final subjection to that monarchy. These arguments had some weight with the barons; but the grand difficulty was, how to obtain the consent of the dutchess, who had fixed her affections on Maximilian. In order to subdue her obstinacy, the duke of Orleans was set at liberty; and though formerly her suitor, and favoured with her smile, he now zealously employed all his interest in favour of the king. By his advice, Charles advanced with a powerful army to Rennes, at that time the residence of the dutchess. Finding herself without resource, she opened the gates of the city, and agreed to the proffered marriage; which was soon after solemnized, and justly considered as the most fortunate event that could have befallen the French monarchy.⁽¹⁾

The success of Charles, in this negotiation, was the most sensible mortification to the king of the Romans. He was deprived of a considerable territory which he thought he had acquired, and an accomplished princess, whom he had espoused: he was affronted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent back to him, after she had been treated, during seven years, as queen of France; and he had reason to reproach himself with his own supine security, in neglecting the consummation of his marriage, which was easily practicable for him, and would have rendered the tie indissoluble. The king of England had also reason to accuse himself of misconduct, in regard to this important transaction: for, although the affair had terminated in a manner which he could not precisely foresee, his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the invasion of a superior power, could not but appear, on reflection, the result of timid caution, and narrow politics; and, as Henry valued himself on his extensive foresight, and sound judgment, the ascendant acquired over him, by such a youth as Charles, roused his indignation, and prompted him to seek vengeance, after all remedy for his miscarriage was become impracticable. He accordingly entered into a league with the king of the Romans, and the king of Spain, who also interested himself in this matter: he obtained liberal supplies from his parliament; and he landed in France with one of the largest and best appointed armies that had ever been transported from England.⁽²⁾

But Charles and his ministers found means to divert the impending storm, by dissolving the confederacy. They drew the king of Spain into a separate treaty, by restoring to him the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne; and as they knew Henry's ruling passion to be money, he was bought off by the famous treaty of Estaples, the particulars of which I shall afterward have occasion to mention. Maximilian now alone remained of all those hostile powers; and he was content to conclude a peace, on obtaining restitution of Artois, Franche-Comté, and Carolois, which had been ceded as the dowry of his daughter, when she was affianced to the king of France.⁽³⁾

Charles's motives for purchasing peace at so high a price were neither those of indolence nor timidity, but of ambition and youthful ardour. He had determined to vindicate his title to the kingdom of Naples, supposed to descend to him from the second house of Anjou, which ended in Charles count

(1) Mezeray. Henault, ubi sup. Bacon. *Hist. Hen* 77

(2) Bacon ubi sup

(3) Phil. de Com. liv. vii. chap. iii.

of Maine, who had bequeathed all his rights and possessions to the crown of France. This project had long engaged the mind of Charles; but, in order to carry it effectually into execution, it was necessary to be at peace with his neighbours; and that being now secured, he set out for Italy with as little concern as if it had been a mere journey of pleasure.(1)

But before I speak of the success of that expedition, and the wars in which it involved Europe, several important matters merit your attention—the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the expulsion of the Moors out of Spain.

LETTER L.

The Progress of the Turks, and the Fall of the Greek Empire.

You have already seen, my dear Philip, the weakness of the empire of Constantinople at the time of the crusades: you have seen the imperial city sacked, and the government seized by the champions of the cross. The Greeks recovered their empire from the French in 1261, but in a mangled and impoverished condition. It continued in the same weak state. The monastic passion seemed to have obscured the rays of common sense. Andronicus, son of Michael Paleologus, who had restored the Greek empire, allowed himself to be persuaded, that God being his protector, all military force was unnecessary; and the superstitious Greeks, regardless of danger, employed themselves in disputing about the transfiguration of Jesus Christ, when they should have been studying the art of war, and training themselves to military discipline. One half of the empire pretended, that the light upon Mount Tabor had been from all eternity; and the other half affirmed, that it had been produced by God only for the purpose of the transfiguration.(2)

In the mean time, the Turks, whose force had been broken by the Mogul Tartars, were strengthening themselves in Asia Minor, and soon overran Thrace. Othman, from whom the present sultans are descended, and to whom the Ottoman empire owes its establishment, fixed the seat of his government at Prusa, in Bythinia, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. His son Orcan advanced as far as the borders of the Propontis; and John Cantacuzenus, colleague of the emperor Paleologus, was glad to purchase the friendship of an infidel and Barbarian, according to the haughty language of the Greeks, by giving him his daughter in marriage.(3)

Cantacuzenus, who had usurped the imperial dignity, ended his days in a monastery; and John Paleologus, after having in vain implored succours in Italy, and humbled himself at the feet of the pope, was obliged to return and conclude a shameful treaty with Amurath, the son of Orcan, whose tributary he consented to become. The Turkish army had crossed the straits of Calipolis, taken the city of Adrianople, and marched into the heart of Thrace before the return of the emperor.(4) Amurath first gave to the janizaries that form under which they at present subsist.

In order to create a body of devoted troops that might serve as the immediate guards of his person and dignity, the sultan commanded his officers to seize annually, as the imperial property, the third part of the young males taken in war. After being instructed in the Mahometan religion, inured to obedience by severe discipline, and trained to warlike exercise, these youths were formed into regular bands, distinguished by the name of *janizaries* or new soldiers. And as every sentiment which enthusiasm can inspire, and every mark of honour that the favour of the prince could confer, were employed to animate them with martial ardour, and fill them with a sense of their own pre-eminence, the janizaries soon became the chief strength and

(1) Phil. de Com. liv. vii. chap. v. Mezeray, tom. iv.

(3) Ducas.

(2) Pachymer

(4) Ibid.

pride of the Ottoman armies. By their valour Amurath defeated, in the plain of Cassovia, the united forces of the Wallachians, Hungarians, Dalmatians, and Triballians, under the conduct of Lascaris, prince of Servia; but walking carelessly over the field of victory, he was assassinated by a Christian soldier, who had concealed himself among the slain. He was succeeded by his son Bajazet, surnamed Ilderim, or the Thunderbolt, on account of the rapidity of his conquests.(1)

The Greeks, though surrounded by such dangerous enemies, and though their empire was almost reduced to the boundaries of Constantinople, were not more united among themselves than formerly. Discord even reigned in the imperial family. John Paleologus had condemned his son Andronicus to lose his eyes: Andronicus revolted against him, and, by the assistance of the Genoese, who were masters of the commerce, and even part of the suburbs, of Constantinople, he shut his father up in prison. After two years' confinement, the emperor recovered his liberty and his authority, and built a citadel in order to obstruct the designs of the Turks; but Bajazet, the terrible Bajazet, ordered him to demolish his works—and the works were demolished!(2)—What but ruin, and that both sudden and inevitable, could be expected from a people, whose timidity induced them to destroy the very column of their security?

In the mean time, the progress of the Turks in Europe alarming the Christian princes, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and the flower of the French nobility, took arms, and followed the call of John-without-Fear, count of Nevers. The main army, which consisted of about one hundred thousand men, of different nations, was commanded by Sigismund, king of Hungary, afterward emperor of Germany. The Christians besieged Nicopolis, upon the Danube. Bajazet came to relieve it. He examined the disposition of his enemies: he tried their spirit by skirmishes, and found they had courage, but wanted conduct: he drew them into an ambuscade, and gained a complete victory over them. Bajazet has been justly blamed for massacring his prisoners; but it ought to be remembered that the French had shown him the example, by putting to death all the Turks they had seized before the battle.(3)

Constantinople was immediately threatened by the conqueror. But Manuel Paleologus, the son and successor of John, purchased a seeming peace, by submitting to an annual tribute of six hundred pieces of gold; by obliging himself to build a mosque, and receive into the city a *cadi*, or judge, to decide the differences between the Mahometans settled there on account of trade. Perceiving, however, a new storm arising, he withdrew, and went to the several courts of Europe to petition assistance, as his father had formerly done: and with no better success. Nobody would stir in his defence. Few princes indeed were in a condition so to do, almost all Christendom being involved in civil wars. The Turks, meanwhile, had laid siege to Constantinople, and its ruin seemed inevitable; when the fatal blow was diverted for a time, by one of those great events that fill the world with confusion.

The dominions of the Mogul Tartars, under Genghiz Khan, and his immediate successors, (extended as we have had occasion to see) from the Wolga to the frontier of China, and as far east as the river Ganges. Tamerlane, or Timur Beck, one of the princes of those Tartars, and a descendant of Genghiz Khan, by the female line, though born without dominions (in the ancient Sogdiana, at present the country of the Usbees) subdued almost as great an extent of territory as his victorious ancestor; and, in the sweep of his conquests, gave a blow to the empire of the Turks. He had subjected Persia, India, and Syria, when the Greek emperor, and five Mahometan princes, whom the sultan had stripped of their dominions, invited him to Asia Minor, as the only potentate able to deliver them from the tyranny of Bajazet.

Tamerlane was no doubt glad of an opportunity of extending his conquests

(1) Cantemir, *Hist. Ott. Emp.*

(2) Ducas.

(3) Cantemir, *ubi sup.*

and his renown; but as he had still some respect for the laws of nations, he sent ambassadors to Bajazet, before he commenced hostilities, requiring him to raise the siege of Constantinople, and do justice to the Mahometan princes, whom he had deprived of their territories. The haughty sultan received these proposals with the highest rage and indignation. He abandoned his enterprise, and prepared to face his rival. Tamerlane continued his march, denouncing his vengeance. They met between Cæsaria and Ancyra, where all the forces in the world seemed assembled, and a great and terrible battle was fought. The dispute was long and obstinate, but fortune at length declared for Tamerlane: Bajazet himself was taken prisoner, and had the affliction to see one of his sons fall by his side, and the mortification to find another the companion of his chains. They were treated with great humanity by the victor, notwithstanding the vulgar story of the iron cage, in which the captive sultan is said to have been shut up. Three hundred and forty thousand men are computed to have fallen on both sides.(1)

In consequence of this victory, Tamerlane became master of Prusa, the seat of the Turkish empire. He pillaged Nice; ravaged all the country as far as the Thracian Bosphorus, and took Smyrna by assault, after one of the most memorable sieges recorded in history. Every place either yielded to the terror of his name or the force of his arms. The victorious Tartar, however, soon abandoned his acquisitions in Asia Minor, which he found it would be difficult to preserve against so brave a people as the Turks, and went to secure those conquests more likely to prove durable.(2)

Meanwhile Manuel Paleologus, the Greek emperor, thinking the Turkish power entirely broken, destroyed the mosque in Constantinople, and retook several places in its neighbourhood. The civil wars between the sons of Bajazet, after the death of their father, and the departure of Tamerlane, fortified Manuel in his ill-founded security. But the Greeks were in time made sensible of their mistake. On the death of Mahomet I., who had dethroned and put to death his brother Musa, Amurath II., the son of this Mahomet, immediately sat down before Constantinople. He raised the siege to quell the revolt of his brother Mustapha; he took Thessalonica and returned to the imperial city, which was in more danger than ever. The emperor Manuel had died in the habit of a monk; and his successor, John Paleologus II., threw himself into the arms of the Latins. He hoped to procure assistance from the West, by uniting the Greek and Roman churches; but he gained by this scheme only the hatred of his subjects. They considered him, and the bishops of his train, who had assisted at the council of Florence, as no better than infidels. The bishops were obliged to retract their opinions; and John was much less zealous in maintaining that so much desired union when he found it would not answer his purpose.(3)

The Turks, in the mean time, were happily diverted from Constantinople by their wars in Hungary; where Amurath found an antagonist worthy of himself, in the celebrated John Hunniades, vaivode of Transylvania, and general to Ladislaus VI. king of Poland, whom the Hungarians had raised to their throne. This great commander obliged the sultan to raise the siege of Belgrade; defeated him in a general engagement, and made him sue for peace. Amurath and Ladislaus accordingly concluded a solemn truce of ten years; to which the one swore upon the Koran, the other upon the gospels: and the sultan, tired of the toils of empire, resigned the sceptre to his son, Mahomet II. But an atrocious perfidy, disgraceful to the Christian name, obliged him to resume it, to the confusion of his enemies.

The Turks, reposing on the faith of the treaty, which they religiously observed, had carried their forces into Asia. This seemed a favourable opportunity to attack them on the side of Europe: and cardinal Julian Cæsa-

(1) Sharisod. *Hist. Timur-Beck*. Cantemir, *Hist. Oth. Emp.*

(2) Sharisod, ubi sup.

(3) *Aeneas Sylvius, Europ.* Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii. Besides acknowledging that the Roman pontiff was the supreme judge, the true head of the universal church, the Greek emperor and his bishops were obliged to admit, that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father, and that departed souls are purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their introduction to the presence or participation of the vision of the Deity. Mosheim, ubi sup.

rini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man of a violent and deceitful character, who had signalized himself in a crusade against the Hussites, persuaded Ladislaus that the treaty with the Turks was of no obligation, as it had been concluded without the consent of his holiness; and that it not only might, but ought to be violated. The pope confirmed this opinion; ordered the truce to be broken, and released Ladislaus from his oath. In so doing, he acted according to the established usage of the church of Rome, and in conformity with the maxim, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics," and consequently not with infidels:—one of the most pernicious doctrines ever devised by superstition; a doctrine which not only contradicts the first principles of reason and conscience, but which, if carried into practice, must destroy all moral and political order. It would authorize enemies to sport even with oaths; put an end to public faith; dissolve the links of society; and substitute robbery and bloodshed, instead of the laws of nations and the ties of duty.

The arguments of the pope and his legate however prevailed. All the Polish and Hungarian chiefs, except the brave Hunniades, suffered themselves to be carried away by the torrent; and Ladislaus, seduced by false hopes, and influenced by false principles, invaded the sultan's territories. The Turks, enraged at such a breach of faith, breathed nothing but vengeance. The janizaries went in a body to beg Amurath to quit his retreat, and put himself at their head, his son Mahomet being yet young and inexperienced. He consented, and marched in quest of the Christian army, which he found encamped near the city of Varna, in Moldavia. Ladislaus was ready to receive him, and both armies joined battle. Amurath wore in his bosom the treaty which had been so solemnly sworn to, and so shamefully violated: he held it up in the height of the engagement, when he found the vigour of his troops beginning to slacken, appealing to God, as a witness of the perjury of the Christians, and beseeching him to avenge the insult offered to the laws of nations. Perjury for once received its just reward. The Christians were defeated with great slaughter, after an obstinate resistance. Ladislaus fell with his sword in his hand, all covered with wounds: cardinal Julian sunk by his side; and ten thousand Poles, who guarded their monarch, covered with their dead bodies nearly the same ground on which they were drawn up.⁽¹⁾ Amurath, thus victorious, resigned once more the rod of empire—what a rare example of philosophy in a Turk!—and was again obliged to resume it.

The person who drew the sultan a second time from his retreat was George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, the son of a prince of Albania, formerly Epirus. This young hero had been delivered as a hostage on the subjection of his father's kingdom; had been educated in the court of Amurath, and had risen into favour by his valour and talents. But he still cherished the idea of becoming one day the deliverer of his country: and a favourable opportunity at last offered. He had been sent with the command of an army into Servia, when he heard of his father's death; and as he understood a secretary of the Ottoman court was to pass near his camp, he caused him to be seized, loaded with chains, and compelled him to sign and put the sultan's signet to an order, enjoining the governor of Croia, the capital of Albania, to deliver up the town and citadel to himself. This false order had the desired effect. The place was delivered up, and Scanderbeg massacred the Turkish garrison. The Albanians crowded to his standard; and he made so good a use of the mountainous situation of his country, as to defy all the efforts of the sultan's power.⁽²⁾

Amurath was succeeded in his extensive dominions by his son Mahomet II., justly surnamed the Great, who had been formerly crowned, and obeyed as emperor, but had resigned to his father the reins of government, as you have already seen, on account of the exigencies of the times—an example of moderation no less extraordinary than the philosophy of Amurath in retiring from the honours of empire in the hour of victory, especially as Mahomet

(1) Mat. de Michov. lib. iv. Herbert de Fulstin, lib. xiv. P. Cantemir, ubi sup.

(2) P. Cantemir. Sir Paul R4

was naturally of a fiery and ambitious temper. The character of this prince has been very differently represented by historians. Voltaire is his professed panegyrist; and, in order to free him from the imputation of certain cruel and ferocious actions, has combated the most incontestable facts. Other writers have gone equal lengths to degrade him: he has been painted as a rude and ignorant Barbarian, as well as a scholar and a patron of the liberal arts. But they who would do justice to the character of Mahomet must trace it by other lineaments. He was both a scholar and a Barbarian: he united the knowledge of the one to the savage ferocity of the other. He was enlightened, but not civilized. With some taste for the liberal arts, or at least some sense of the value of their productions, he entertained a general contempt for their professors: the Turk always predominated. He was a warrior and a politician in the most extensive meaning of the words: as such he was truly great: and whether we consider the conception or the execution of his enterprises, we shall find equal cause to admire the extent of his understanding and the vigour of his spirit. His first enterprise was against Constantinople, which had so long been the object of the ambition of his ancestors.

The Greek emperor, John Paleologus II., had been succeeded, in 1449, by his son Constantine. This prince possessed courage, but little capacity. He took care, however, to strengthen the fortifications of his capital, as soon as he was apprised of the designs of Mahomet: and he made many advances to the sultan, in order to conciliate matters, and induce him to lay aside his project. But Mahomet's resolution was taken. Though only twenty-one years of age when he ascended the Ottoman throne, he had already conceived the design of making Constantinople the seat of his empire; and nothing could divert him from his purpose. If he sometimes seemed to listen to terms of accommodation, it was only that he might lull his enemies into security, while he carried on his military preparations with unremitting assiduity. At last he cut off all communication with the city, both by sea and land, and laid siege to it in form. Though the garrison was but small, the walls were defended with great gallantry on the land side, the Greeks being actuated by the courage of despair; and the Turks were incapable of annoying them from the sea, by reason of large chains and booms which secured the mouth of the harbour. But nothing is impossible to human genius, when aided by the necessary force. In order to overcome this difficulty, Mahomet caused a passage of near two leagues to be dug over land, in the form of a ship's cradle, lined with planks, besmeared with grease; and by the help of engines, and a prodigious number of men, he drew up, in the space of one night, eighty galleys, and seventy vessels of smaller size, out of the water, upon these planks, and launched them all into the harbour. (1) What must have been the surprise of the besieged at morning, to behold a large fleet riding in their port, and yet all their booms secure.

The city was now assailed on all sides. Mahomet caused a bridge of boats to be built across the harbour, upon which he raised a battery of cannon. And here I cannot help remarking, that the artillery of the Greeks must have been very indifferent, or very ill served, otherwise this bridge could never have been built. The cannon employed by the Turks are said to have been of an enormous size, some of them carrying balls of one hundred pounds weight. With these great guns they beat down the walls faster than the besieged could repair them: a body of janizaries entered the breach, with Mahomet at their head, while another broke in at a sally port. The emperor Constantine, whose valour merited a more distinguished fate, was slain among the crowd, and his capital became a prey to the conqueror. But for the honour of Mahomet II., I must observe, that few of the garrison were put to the sword. He arrested the fury of his troops, and granted conditions to the inhabitants, who had sent deputies to implore his clemency. (2) They were allowed a magistrate to decide their civil differences, a patriarch, and the

(1) Ducas. Cantemir. (2) Cantemir. Ricaut.

public exercise of their religion. This spiritual indulgence they still enjoy, under certain limitations, and also their patriarch, and the benefit of their civil magistrate.

Here I might remark, as has been remarked by graver historians, that Constantinople (built by the first Christian emperor, whose name it bears) submitted to the Turks under a Constantine, and Rome to the Barbarians under an Augustus!—but such accidental coincidence of names and circumstances is more worthy the notice of a monkish chronologer than an observer of human nature.

Mahomet continued to push his conquests on all sides, and with unvaried fortune, till he received a check from John Hunniades, who obliged him to raise the siege of Belgrade. The knights of Rhodes, at present of Malta, opposed him in their island with like success. But he subdued Albania, after the death of Scanderbeg; and Trebisonde, where the family of Comnenus had preserved an image of the Greek empire. He carried his arms on the other side as far as Trieste; took Otranto, and fixed the Mahometan power in the heart of Calabria.⁽¹⁾ He threatened Venice and Rome itself with subjection; hoping to make himself master of Italy, as well as of Greece; and then the triumph of barbarism would have been complete. All Europe trembled at his motions: and well it might; for Europe, unless united, must have sunk beneath his sword. But death freed Christendom from this terrible conqueror, at an age when he might have executed the greatest enterprises, being only in his fifty-first year. His descendants, however, still possess the finest country in our quarter of the globe. Greece, where civil liberty was first known, and where arts and letters were first brought to perfection, continues to be the seat of ignorance, barbarism, and despotism.

LETTER LI.

Spain, from the Death of Peter the Cruel, in 1369, till the Conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1492.

PETER the Cruel, my dear Philip, after being deserted by the Black Prince on account of his perfidy, was subdued and slain, as you have already seen, by his bastard brother Henry count of Trastamara, who succeeded to the throne of Castile. Nothing remarkable happened during the reign of this prince, or under his descendants, for almost a century. They were engaged in frequent wars with their neighbours, the kings of Portugal and Arragon. But these wars were seldom decisive; so that Spain continued in nearly the same situation, from the death of Peter till the reign Henry IV. of Castile, whose debaucheries roused the resentment of his nobles, and produced a most singular insurrection, which led to the aggrandizement of the Spanish monarchy.

This prince, surnamed the Impotent, though continually surrounded with women, began his unhappy reign in 1454. He was totally enervated by his pleasures; and every thing in his court conspired to set the Castilians an example of the most abject flattery, and most abandoned licentiousness. The queen, a daughter of Portugal, lived as openly with her parasites and her gallants as the king did with his minions and his mistresses. Pleasure was the only object, and effeminacy the only recommendation to favour. The affairs of the state went every day into greater disorder; until the nobility, with the archbishop of Toledo at their head, combined against the weak and flagitious administration of Henry; arrogated to themselves, as one of the privileges of their order, the right of trying and passing sentence on their sovereign, which they executed in a manner unprecedented in history.

All the malecontent nobility was summoned to meet at Avila. A spacious

(1) Cantemir. Ricaut

theatre was erected in a plain, without the walls of the town; an image, representing the king, was seated on the throne, clad in royal robes, with a crown on its head, a sceptre in its hand, and the sword of justice by its side. The accusation against Henry was read, and the sentence of deposition pronounced, in presence of a numerous assembly. At the close of the first article of the charge, the archbishop of Toledo advanced, and tore the crown from the head of the image; at the close of the second, the Conde de Placentia snatched the sword of justice from its side; at the close of the third, the Conde de Benevente wrested the sceptre from its hand; and at the close of the last, Don Diego Lopez de Stuniga tumbled it headlong from the throne. At the same instant, Don Alphonso, Henry's brother, a boy about twelve years of age, was proclaimed king of Castile and Leon in his stead.(1)

This extraordinary proceeding was followed by all the horrors of civil war, which did not cease till some time after the death of the young prince, on whom the nobles had bestowed the kingdom. The archbishop and his party then continued to carry on war in the name of Isabella, the king's sister, to whom they gave the title of Infanta; and Henry could not extricate himself out of these troubles, nor remain quiet upon his throne, till he had signed one of the most humiliating treaties ever extorted from a sovereign. He acknowledged his sister Isabella the only lawful heiress of his kingdom, in prejudice to the rights of his reputed daughter Joan, whom the malecontents affirmed to be the offspring of an adulterous commerce between the queen and Don la Cueva.(2) At such a price did this weak prince purchase from his subjects the empty title of king!

The grand object of the malecontent party now was, the marriage of the princess Isabella; upon which, it was evident, the security of the crown and the happiness of the people must in a great measure depend. The alliance was sought by several princes. The king of Portugal offered her his hand; the king of France demanded her for his brother, and the king of Arragon for his son Ferdinand. The malecontents wisely preferred the Arragonian prince, and Isabella prudently made the same choice. Articles were drawn up, and they were privately married by the archbishop of Toledo.(3)

Henry was enraged at this alliance, which he foresaw would utterly ruin his authority, by furnishing his rebellious subjects with the support of a powerful neighbouring prince. He disinherited his sister, and established the right of his daughter. A furious civil war desolated the kingdom. The names of Joan and Isabella resounded from every quarter, and were every where the summons to arms. But peace was at length brought about. Henry was reconciled to his sister and to Ferdinand, though it does not appear that he ever renewed Isabella's right to the succession; for he affirmed in his last moments that he believed Joan to be his own daughter. The queen swore to the same effect; and Henry left a testamentary deed, transmitting the crown to this princess, who was proclaimed queen of Castile at Placentia. But the superior fortune, and superior arms, of Ferdinand and Isabella prevailed: the king of Portugal was obliged to abandon his niece and intended bride, after many ineffectual struggles and several years of war. Joan sunk into a convent, when she hoped to ascend a throne; and the death of Ferdinand's father, which happened about this time, added the kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily to those of Leon and Castile.(4)

Ferdinand and Isabella were persons of great prudence, and as sovereigns, highly worthy of imitation; but they did not seem to have merited all the praises bestowed upon them by the Spanish historians. They did not live like man and wife, having all things in common under the direction of the husband, but like two princes in close alliance. They neither loved nor hated each other; were seldom in company together; had each a separate council, and were frequently jealous of one another in the administration. But they were inseparably united in their common interests; always acting upon the same

(1) Mariana, lib. xxiii. Diego Henriques del Castillo.

(2) Rod. Sanctil, *Hist. Hisp. Chron. del Rey Don Henrrig.*

(3) Zurit. *Annal Arrag.* Mariana, ubi sup.

(4) Id. *Ibid.*

principles, and forwarding the same ends. Their first object was the regulation of their government, which the civil wars had thrown into the greatest disorder. Rapine, outrage, and murder were become so common, as not only to interrupt commerce, but in a great measure to suspend all intercourse between one place and another. These evils the joint sovereigns suppressed by their wise policy, at the same time that they extended the royal prerogative.(1)

About the middle of the thirteenth century the cities in the kingdom of Arragon, and, after their example, those in Castile, had formed themselves into an association, distinguished by the name of the Holy Brotherhood. They exacted a certain contribution from each of the associated towns; they levied a considerable body of troops in order to protect travellers, and pursue criminals; and they appointed judges who opened courts in various parts of the kingdom. Whoever was guilty of murder, robbery, or any act that violated the public peace, and was seized by the troops of the Brotherhood, was carried before their judges; who, without paying any regard to the exclusive jurisdiction which the lord of the place might claim, who was generally the author or abettor of the injustice, tried and condemned the criminals. The nobles often murmured against this salutary institution; they complained of it as an encroachment on one of their most valuable privileges, and endeavoured to get it abolished. But Ferdinand and Isabella, sensible of the beneficial effects of the Brotherhood, not only in regard to the police of their kingdoms, but in its tendency to abridge, and by degrees to annihilate, the territorial jurisdiction of the nobility, countenanced the institution upon every occasion, and supported it with the whole force of royal authority. By these means the prompt and impartial administration of justice was restored, and with it tranquillity and order returned.(2)

But at the same time their *Catholic Majesties* (for such was the title they now bore, conferred on them by the pope) were giving vigour to civil government, and securing their subjects from violence and oppression, an intemperate zeal led them to establish an ecclesiastical tribunal, equally contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and the mild spirit of the Gospel—I mean the court of Inquisition; which decides upon the honour, fortune, and even life of the unhappy wretch who happens to fall under the suspicion of heresy, or a contempt of any thing prescribed by the church, without his knowing his accusers, being confronted with them, or permitted either defence or appeal. Six thousand persons were burnt by order of this sanguinary tribunal, within four years after the appointment of Torquemada, the first inquisitor-general, and upwards of one hundred thousand felt its fury. The same zeal, however, which led to the depopulation, and the barbarizing of Castile and Arragon, led also to their aggrandizement.

The kingdom of Granada now alone remained of all the Mahometan possessions in Spain. Princes equally zealous and ambitious, like Ferdinand and Isabella, were naturally disposed to turn their eyes on that fertile territory; and to think of increasing their hereditary dominions by expelling the enemies of Christianity, and extending its doctrines. Every thing conspired to favour their project. The Moorish kingdom was a prey to civil wars, when Ferdinand, having obtained a bull from Sextus IV. authorizing a crusade, put himself at the head of his troops and entered Granada. He continued the war with rapid success. Isabella attended him in several expeditions: and they were both in great danger at the siege of Malaga, an important city, which was defended with great courage, and taken in 1487. Baza was reduced in 1489, after the loss of twenty thousand men. Guadix and Almeria were delivered up to them by the Moorish king Alzagel, who had at first dethroned his brother Alboacen, and afterward been chased from his capital, by his nephew Abdali. That prince, so blind or so base as to confound the ruin of his country with the humiliation of his rival, engaged in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, after reducing every other place of eminence,

undertook the siege of Granada. Abdali made a gallant defence; but all communication with the country being cut off, and all hopes of relief at an end, he capitulated, after a siege of eight months, on conditions that he should enjoy the revenue of certain places in the fertile mountains of Alpujarros; that the inhabitants should retain the undisturbed possession of their houses, goods, and inheritances; the use of their laws, and the free exercise of their religion. (1)

Thus ended the empire of the Arabs in Spain, after it had continued about eight hundred years. They introduced the arts and sciences into Europe, at a time when it was lost in darkness: they possessed many of the luxuries of life, when they were not even known among the neighbouring nations; and they seem to have given birth to that romantic gallantry, which so eminently prevailed in the ages of chivalry, and which, blending itself with the veneration of the northern nations for the softer sex, still particularly distinguishes modern from ancient manners. But the Moors, notwithstanding these advantages, and the eulogies bestowed upon them by Voltaire and other writers, appear to have been always destitute of the essential qualities of a polished people—humanity, generosity, and mutual sympathy.

The conquest of Granada was followed by the expulsion, or rather the pillage or banishment, of the Jews who had engrossed all the wealth and commerce of Spain. The inquisition exhausted its rage against these unhappy people, many of whom pretended to embrace Christianity, in order to preserve their property. About the same time their Catholic Majesties concluded an alliance with the emperor Maximilian, and a treaty of marriage for their daughter Joan with his son Philip, archduke of Austria, and sovereign of the Netherlands. About this time also the contract was concluded with Christopher Columbus for the discovery of *new* countries; and the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne were agreed to be restored by Charles VIII. of France, before his expedition into Italy. But the consequences of these measures, and the interest which Ferdinand took in the Italian wars, must form the subject of future letters.

I should now, my dear Philip, return to the great line of European history; but, for the sake of perspicuity, I shall first make you acquainted with the affairs of England under Henry VII.—as his son Henry VIII. had a considerable share in the continental transactions, and derived his importance chiefly from the prudent policy of his father.

LETTER LII.

England, during the Reign of Henry VII.

HENRY VII., the first prince of the house of Tudor, ascended the throne of England, as you have already seen, in consequence of the victory at Bosworth, and the death of Richard III. His title was confirmed by the parliament: his merit was known; and his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., united the jarring claims of the houses of York and Lancaster, and seemed to give universal satisfaction to the nation. He had therefore every reason to promise himself peace and security.

But Henry, although in many respects a prudent and politic prince, had unhappily imbibed a violent antipathy against the adherents of the house of York, which no time or experience was ever able to efface. Instead of embracing the present favourable opportunity of abolishing party distinctions by bestowing his smile indiscriminately on the friends of both families, he carried to the throne all the partialities that belong to the head of a faction. To exalt the Lancastrian party, and depress the retainers of the house of York, were still the favourite ideas of his mind. The house of York was

(1) Fran. Bermud. de Pedraza *Antia Excel de Granad.* Mariana. Herman del Pulgar.

generally beloved by the nation; and for that very reason it became every day more the object of Henry's hatred and aversion: hence his amiable consort was treated with contempt, his government grew unpopular, and his reign was filled with plots and insurrections.

The first insurrection was headed by the viscount Lovel, sir Humphry Stafford, and Thomas, his brother, who had all fought in the cause of Richard, and against whom, among many others, the parliament, at Henry's instigation, had passed an act of attainder; though it is not conceivable, how men could be guilty of treason for supporting the king in possession, against the earl of Richmond, to whom they had never sworn allegiance, and who had not even assumed the title of king. Enraged at such an instance of severity, they left their sanctuary at Colchester, and flew to arms. The king sent the duke of Bedford against them with a chosen body of troops, and a promise of pardon to such as would return to their duty. Lovel, afraid of the fidelity of his followers, privately withdrew, and fled to Flanders. His army submitted to the king's clemency. The other rebels, who had undertaken the siege of Worcester, immediately dispersed themselves. The two Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but as it was found that church had not the privilege of protecting rebels, they were taken thence. The elder was executed at Tyburn, the younger obtained a pardon.⁽¹⁾

This rebellion was immediately followed by another, of a more dangerous nature, as it laid deeper hold of the public discontents. Henry's jealousy confined in the tower Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence. This unhappy prince had been formerly detained, in a like confinement, at Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire, by the jealousy of his uncle Richard. A comparison was drawn between Henry and that tyrant; and as the tower was the place where Edward's children had been murdered, a fate not more gentle was feared for Warwick. While the compassion of the nation was thus turned towards youth and innocence exposed to oppression, a report was spread that Warwick had made his escape. A general joy communicated itself from face to face, and many seemed desirous to join him. Such a favourable opportunity was not neglected by the enemies of Henry's government.

One Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, and a zealous partisan of the house of York, attempted to gratify the popular wish by holding up an impostor to the nation. For this purpose he cast his eyes upon Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, who, being endowed with understanding beyond his years, and address above his condition, seemed well calculated to personate a prince of royal extraction. Simnel was taught to assume the name and character of the earl of Warwick; and he soon appeared so perfect in many private particulars relative to that unfortunate prince, to the court of king Edward, and the royal family, that the queen-dowager was supposed to have given him a lesson. But how apt soever father Simon might find his pupil, or whatever means he might take to procure him instruction, he was sensible that the imposture would not bear close inspection; he therefore determined to make trial of it first in Ireland.

That island was zealously attached to the house of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had resided there as lord lieutenant: and Henry had been so impolitic as to allow it to remain in the same condition in which he found it. All the officers appointed by his predecessor still retained their authority; so that Simnel no sooner presented himself to Thomas earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claimed his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman believed his tale, and embraced his cause. Other noblemen, to whom he communicated the fiction, were no less sanguine in their zeal and belief; the story diffused itself among the people of inferior condition, naturally more violent and credulous, who listened to it with still greater ardour; and the inhabitants

(1) Polyd. Virg.

of Dublin, with one consent, tendered their allegiance to Simnel, as the true Plantagenet. They lodged the pretended prince in the Castle of Dublin, crowned him with a diadem taken from a statue of the blessed Virgin, and publicly proclaimed him king, under the appellation of Edward VI. The whole island followed the example of the capital: not a sword was drawn in favour of Henry.(1)

The king was a good deal alarmed, when he received intelligence of this revolt. Though determined always to face his enemies, he scrupled at present to leave England, where he suspected the conspiracy had been framed, and where he knew many persons of condition, and the people in general, were disposed to give it countenance. He therefore held frequent consultations with his ministers and counsellors relative to the measures most proper for the safety of his kingdom, and the means of discovering the origin of the imposture. In consequence of these deliberations, the queen-dowager was taken into custody, and confined in the nunnery of Bermondsey for life. Unwilling, however, to accuse so near a relation of a conspiracy against him, the king alleged, that she was thus punished for yielding up the princess Elizabeth, now queen, to the tyrant Richard, after she had been secretly promised to him. Henry's next step was no less deliberate. He ordered Warwick to be taken from the tower, led in procession through the streets of London, conducted to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the view of the whole people.(2) This expedient had its full effect in England, but in Ireland the people still persisted in their revolt: and Henry had soon reason to apprehend, that the attempt to disturb his government was not laid on such slight foundations as the means employed seemed to indicate.

John, earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV., was engaged to take part in the conspiracy. This nobleman, alarmed at the king's jealousy of all eminent persons of the York party, and more especially at his rigour towards Warwick, had retired into Flanders, where lord Lovel was arrived a little before him. He resided some time in the court of his aunt, the dutchess of Burgundy, by whom he had been invited over. Margaret's bosom flamed with indignation against the oppressor of her family: and she determined to make him repent of his unreasonable enmity. After consulting with Lincoln and Lovel, she therefore hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer, and sent them over along with these noblemen to join Simnel in Ireland.

The courage of the Irish was much raised by this accession of military force, and the countenance of persons of such high rank; so that they formed the bold resolution of invading England, where they believed the spirit of disaffection to be no less prevalent than in Ireland. They accordingly landed at Foudrey in Lancashire, and were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great interest in that county; but the people in general, averse against an association with Irish and German invaders, convinced of Simnel's imposture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation in arms, either remained in tranquillity, or gave assistance to the royal army, which was advancing towards the enemy. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in victory, determined to bring the matter to a speedy decision; and Henry, emboldened by his native courage no less than by the superiority of his numbers, intrepidly advanced to the combat. The two armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, where a bloody and obstinate battle was fought. All the leaders of the rebels were resolved to conquer or die, and they inspired their troops with the like resolution. They were at last, however, obliged to give way; and if Henry's victory was purchased with loss, it was entirely decisive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart perished in the field of battle, together with four thousand of their followers. Lovel is supposed to have undergone the same fate, as he was never more heard of. Simnel and his tutor Simon were taken prisoners. Simon was

(1) Polyd Virg.

(2) Bacon's *Hist. of Henry VII*

committed to close custody for life : and his sacred character only could have saved him from a severer fate. Simnel was too contemptible either to excite apprehension or resentment in Henry : he was therefore pardoned, and employed as a scullion in the king's kitchen ; from which condition he was afterward advanced to the rank of one of his majesty's falconers.(1)

Henry, having thus restored tranquillity to his kingdom, and security to his government, had leisure not only to regulate his domestic affairs but also to look abroad. From Scotland, the most contiguous state, he had nothing to fear. There reigned James III., a prince of little industry and narrow genius. With him Henry concluded a treaty, when he might have demanded his crown : so truly pacific was the disposition of this monarch !—Of the states on the continent I have already spoken. They were fast hastening to that situation, in which they have remained, without any material alteration, for near three centuries. The balance of power began to be understood. Spain was become formidable by the union of the crowns of Arragon and Castile, in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella ; but these princes were employed in wresting Granada from the Moors. France, during the last fifty years, had made a mighty increase in power and dominion : and she was now attempting to swallow up Brittany, the last independent fief of the monarchy. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by her interests, to support the independency of that dutchy ; the most dangerous opposition was therefore expected from this quarter. But Henry's parsimonious temper and narrow politics, as I have had occasion to mention in the history of France, prevented him from yielding the Bretons any effectual support ; and Maximilian, king of the Romans, to whom they afterward applied, being unable to protect them, they were obliged to submit to the arms of Charles VIII., who prudently married the heiress of that dutchy, in order to conciliate their affections.

Henry, who saw the importance of Brittany to France, and who valued himself on his extensive foresight and sound judgment, was now ashamed of having allowed his most useful ally to be crushed by a superior power. All remedy for his miscarriage was become impracticable, but he talked loudly of vengeance. The conquest of France, in his language, was an easy matter : and he set out on that enterprise at the head of a splendid army, after obtaining large supplies from his parliament. The nobility, who had credulously swallowed all the boasts of the king, were universally seized with a thirst of military glory : they dreamed of nothing less than carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and putting the crown of France on the head of their sovereign. Henry, in the mean time, had nothing less at heart than war ; the gratification of his ruling passion was the only purpose of this mighty armament—avarice being in him a more powerful motive than either revenge or glory. Secret advances had been made towards peace before his invasion, and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary ; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Brittany an equivalent for any sum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the proposals made him. He engaged, by the treaty of Estaples, concluded about a month after the English landed in France, to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns : partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to the dutchess of Brittany, partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV. and not hitherto discharged :—and he stipulated a yearly pension to Henry and his heirs of twenty-five thousand crowns.(2)

Thus, as Lord Bacon observes, the English monarch made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace. But although the treaty of Estaples filled the coffers of Henry, it did very little honour to England ; as it put a shameful seal to the subjection of Brittany, which, properly supported, would have been a continual thorn in the side of France, and have effectually prevented that monarchy from ever becoming formidable to the

(1) Polyd. Virg. Bacon, ubi. sup.

(2) Id. ibid.

liberties of Europe. The people however agreed, that the king had fulfilled the promise which he made to the parliament when he said that he would make the war maintain itself, and all ranks of men seemed now perfectly satisfied with his government. He had every reason to flatter himself with durable peace and tranquillity. His authority was fully established at home, and his reputation for policy was great abroad: the hopes of all pretenders to his throne were cut off, as well by his marriage as the issue which it had brought him; yet at this height of his prosperity, his indefatigable enemies raised against him an adversary, who long gave him inquietude, and sometimes even brought him into danger.

The old dutchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV., still burning with resentment on account of the depression of her family and its partisans, determined to play off another impostor upon Henry. With that view she caused a report to be propagated, that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had made his escape from the tower, when his elder brother was murdered, and that he was still alive. Finding this rumour greedily received, her next care was to provide a young man proper to personate the unfortunate prince: and for that purpose she fixed upon Perkin Warbec, the son of a renegado Jew of Tournay.

This youth was born in England, and by some believed to be the son of Edward IV., on account of a certain resemblance observable between him and that amorous monarch. A few years after the birth of Perkin, his reputed father returned to Tournay; where his son did not long remain, but, by different accidents, was carried from place to place; so that his parentage and past life became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the most diligent inquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius; and he seemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or assume any character. In this light he had been represented to the dutchess of Burgundy, who immediately desired to see him, and found him to exceed her most sanguine expectations; so comely did he appear in his person! so graceful in his air! so courtly in his address! so full of dignity in his whole demeanour, and good sense in his conversation!

A young man of such quick apprehension soon learned the lessons necessary to be taught him in order to his personating the duke of York; but as some time was required, before every thing requisite could be prepared for this enterprise, Margaret sent him into Portugal, where he remained a year unknown to all the world. When that term was expired he landed in Ireland, which still retained its attachment to the house of York: and immediately assuming to himself the name of Richard Plantagenet, there drew to him many partisans among that ignorant and credulous people. The news of this phenomenon reached France; and Charles VIII., prompted by the secret solicitations of the dutchess of Burgundy, sent Perkin an invitation to visit him at Paris. The impostor repaired to the court of France, where he was received with all the marks of respect due to the duke of York. The whole kingdom was full of the accomplishments, as well as the singular adventures and misfortunes, of the young Plantagenet. From France, the tide of admiration and credulity diffused itself into England; and sir George Nevil, sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, went over to Paris, in order to offer their services to the supposed duke of York, and to share his fortunes.

Perkin however was dismissed France, in consequence of the peace of Estaples. He now retired to the dutchess of Burgundy, craving her protection, and offering to exhibit before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. Margaret affected ignorance of his pretensions; she even put on the appearance of distrust, and desired to be instructed, before all the world, in his reasons for assuming the name which he bore. She put many particular questions to him, seemed astonished at his answers, and at last burst into joy and admiration of his wonderful deliverance, embracing him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She assigned him an equipage suit-

able to his pretended birth, appointed him a guard, engaged every one to pay court to him, and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of *The White Rose of England*.

The Flemings, swayed by Margaret's authority, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal descent; and as no surmise of his real birth had yet been given, the English, from their frequent communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepossessed in favour of the impostor. Not only the populace, ever fond of novelty and desirous of change, but men of the highest birth and quality, disgusted at the severity of Henry's government, began to turn their eyes towards this new claimant. Their passions and prejudices inclined them to give credit to Perkin's pretensions; and as little opposition had been made to the prevailing opinion, a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority, and a correspondence settled between the malecontents in Flanders and those in England.(1)

Henry was informed of all these particulars, and proceeded resolutely, though deliberately, in counter-working the designs of his enemies. His first object was, to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, which he was able to do with a tolerable degree of certainty, two of the persons concerned in the murder being yet alive, and agreeing in the same story. But he found more difficulty, though in the end he was no less successful, in discovering who the extraordinary person was that so boldly advanced pretensions to his crown. For this purpose he dispersed his spies over all Flanders and England: he engaged many to pretend that they had embraced Perkin's party: he bribed the young man's servants, his confidants, and even his confessor. By these means he was at last made acquainted with the whole plan of the conspiracy, and with the pedigree, adventures, life, and conversation of the pretended duke of York.

The impostor's story was immediately published for the satisfaction of the nation; and as soon as Henry's projects were matured, he made the conspirators feel the weight of his resentment. Almost in the same instant he arrested lord Fitzwalter, sir Simon Mountfort, and sir Thomas Thwaites, who were convicted of high treason for promising to aid Perkin, and presently executed. Sir William Stanley, the lord high chamberlain, was also arrested; but greater and more solemn preparations were thought necessary for the trial of a man, whose authority in the nation, and whose domestic intimacy with the king, as well as his former services, seemed to secure him against any accusation or punishment. Henry however was determined to take vengeance on all his enemies. He therefore won over sir Robert Clifford, Perkin's particular confidant, who, returning to England, on a promise of pardon, accused Stanley as his chief abettor; and after six weeks' delay, which was interposed in order to show the king's lenity and coolness, the chamberlain was brought to his trial, condemned, and beheaded.(2)

The fate of Stanley made great impression on the minds of the people, and struck Perkin's adherents with the deepest dismay; as they found, from Clifford's desertion, that all their secrets were betrayed. The jealous and severe temper of the king kept men in awe, and quelled not only the movements of sedition, but the very murmurs of faction. A general distrust took place: all mutual confidence was destroyed, even among particular friends. Henry, in the mean time, elated with success, and little anxious of dispelling those terrors, or of gaining the affections of the nation, gave every day more and more rein to his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverted law and justice in order to extort fines and compositions from his subjects. His government was in itself highly oppressive; but it was so much the less burdensome, as he took care, like Lewis XI., to restrain the tyranny of the nobles, and permitted nobody to be guilty of injustice or oppression but himself.

Perkin, now finding his correspondence with the nobility cut off by Henry's vigilance and severity, and the king's authority daily gaining ground among the people, resolved to attempt something which might revive the drooping

hopes of his party. With this view he gathered together a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and necessitous persons of all nations, with whom he put to sea, and appeared off the coast of Kent; but finding the inhabitants determined to oppose him, he returned to Flanders, and afterward made a descent upon Ireland. The affairs of Ireland, however, were now in so good a posture, that he there met with little success; and being tired of the savage life he was obliged to lead, while skulking among the wild natives, he bent his course towards Scotland, and presented himself to James IV., who then reigned in that kingdom. Perkin had been previously recommended to this prince by the king of France; and the insinuating address, and plausible behaviour of the youth himself, seem further to have gained him credit with James, whom years had not yet taught distrust or caution, and who carried his confidence so far, as to give him in marriage the lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, a young lady eminent both for beauty and virtue.

The jealousy which then subsisted between the courts of England and Scotland was a new recommendation to Perkin; so that James, who had resolved to make an inroad into England, attended by some of his borderers, carried the impostor along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. But in this expectation he found himself deceived. Perkin's pretensions were now become stale even in the eyes of the populace; no Englishman of any condition joined him. James, after repeated incursions, attended with various success, therefore, found it necessary to conclude a truce with Henry, Perkin being privately ordered to depart the kingdom.(1)

Ireland once more afforded a retreat to the impostor. There he hid himself for some time in the wilds and fastnesses: but impatient of a condition which was both disagreeable and dangerous, he held a consultation with his followers, Horne, Skelton, and Astley, three broken tradesmen, and by their advice resolved to try the affections of the Cornish malecontents, who had lately risen in rebellion on account of an oppressive tax, and whose mutinous disposition still subsisted, notwithstanding the lenity that had been shown them. No sooner therefore did the pretended prince appear at Bodmin in Cornwall, than the populace, to the number of three thousand, flocked to his standard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of success, took on him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard IV., king of England. That the expectations of his followers might not be suffered to languish, he presented himself before Exeter: and, by many fair though fruitless promises, invited that city to join him. The inhabitants shut their gates against him, and he laid siege to the place.

Henry was happy to hear that the impostor had landed in England, and prepared himself with alacrity to attack him: for, as he usually said, he desired only to see his enemies. Perkin, informed of the king's preparations, immediately raised the siege of Exeter; and although his followers now amounted to the number of seven thousand, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu in the New Forest. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy, and found it was not yet exhausted in their behalf: a few of their chiefs excepted, they were dismissed with impunity. Henry was more at a loss how to proceed with regard to Perkin himself. Some counselled him to make the privileges of the church yield to reasons of state; to drag the impostor from the sanctuary, and inflict on him the punishment due to his temerity. But Henry did not think the evil so dangerous as to require such a violent remedy. He therefore employed some sagacious persons to persuade Perkin to deliver himself into the king's hands under promise of pardon. He did so; and Henry conducted him, in a kind of mock triumph, to London.

But although the impostor's life was granted him, he was still detained in custody; and having broke from his keepers, he was afterward confined in

(1) Bacon, *Hist. Hen. VII.* Polyd. Virg.

the tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. He found means to open a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison; and he engaged that unfortunate prince to embrace a project for his escape, which Perkin offered to conduct, by murdering the lieutenant of the tower. The conspiracy did not escape the king's vigilance; and Perkin, by this new attempt, after so many enormities, having rendered himself totally unworthy of mercy, was arraigned, condemned, and hanged at Tyburn. Warwick was also brought to trial, found guilty, and executed.(1)

This violent act of tyranny, by which Henry destroyed the last remaining male of the line of Plantagenet, begat great discontent among the people. They saw, with concern, an unhappy prince, who had long been denied the privileges of his birth, and even cut off from the common benefits of nature, now deprived of life itself, merely for attempting to shake off that oppression under which he laboured. But these domestic discontents did not weaken the king's government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now perfectly secure, paid him rather more deference and attention.

The prince whose alliance Henry valued most was Ferdinand of Spain, whose vigorous and steady policy, always attended with success, had rendered him in many respects the most considerable monarch in Europe. And the king of England had at last the satisfaction of completing a marriage which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years, between Arthur prince of Wales and the infanta Catharine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella: he near sixteen years of age, she eighteen. But this marriage proved unprosperous. Prince Arthur died a few months after the celebration of the nuptials; and the king, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catharine's dowry, obliged his second son Henry, now prince of Wales, to be betrothed to the infanta. Prince Henry made all the opposition of which a youth only twelve years old could be supposed capable; but as the king persisted in his resolution, the marriage was at last concluded between the parties. It was productive of the most important consequences.

Another marriage was also celebrated the same year, which, in the next age, gave birth to great events—the union of Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, with James IV. of Scotland. When this alliance was deliberated on in the English council, some objected that England might, in consequence of such marriage, fall under the dominion of Scotland. "No!" replied Henry; "though Scotland should give an heir to the English crown, that kingdom will only become an accession to England:"(2)—and the event has proved the justice of the observation.

The situation of Henry's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now in every respect fortunate. All the efforts of the European princes, as we shall afterward have occasion to see, were turned to the side of Italy; and the various events which there arose made Henry's alliance be eagerly courted by each party, yet interested himself so little as never to touch him with concern or anxiety. Uncontrolled therefore by apprehension or opposition, he gave full scope to his natural propensity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling passion, being increased by age, and encouraged by absolute authority, broke through all restraints of shame or justice. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceless people. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers; the first of mean birth, of brutal manners, and of unrelenting temper; the second better born, better educated, and better bred, but equally unjust, severe, and inflexible. By their knowledge of law, they were qualified to pervert the forms of justice to the oppression of the innocent: and Henry supported them in all their iniquities. The sole purpose of the king and his ministers was to amass money and bring every one under the lash of their authority.

(1) Bacon *Hist. Hen. VII.* Polyd. Virg.(2) Bacon, *Hist. Hen. VII.*

But while Henry was enriching himself with the spoils of his oppressed people, he did not neglect the political interests of the nation. Philip, archduke of Austria, and his wife Joan, heiress of Castile, being thrown upon the English coast on their passage to Spain, Henry entertained them with a magnificence suitable to his dignity, and at an expense by no means agreeable to his temper. But notwithstanding so much seeming cordiality, interest in this, as in all other things, was the only rule of his conduct. He resolved to draw some advantage from the involuntary visit paid him by his royal guests; and while he seemed only intent on displaying his hospitality, and in furnishing the means of amusement, he concluded a treaty of commerce highly beneficial to England.(1)

Henry's views did not terminate here: from the interests of the nation he turned them to his own. Edmund de la Pole earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV., and brother to the earl of Lincoln slain at the battle of Stoke, had retired to Flanders in disgust. The king did not neglect the present opportunity of complaining to the archduke of the reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. "I really thought," replied Philip, "that your greatness and felicity had set you far above apprehensions from any person of so little consequence: but to give you satisfaction, I shall banish him my state."—"I expect that you will carry your complaisance further," said Henry: "I desire to have Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can depend on his submission and obedience."—"That measure," observed Philip, "will reflect dishonour upon you, as well as myself. You will be thought to have used me as a prisoner."—"Then," replied Henry, "the matter is settled: I will take upon me that dishonour: and so your honour is safe." Philip found himself under the necessity of complying: but he first exacted a promise from Henry, that he would spare Suffolk's life.(2)

Henry survived these transactions about two years, but nothing memorable occurs in the remaining part of his reign. His declining health made him turn his thoughts towards that future state of existence, which the severities of his government had rendered a very dismal prospect to him. In order to allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured to procure a reconciliation with Heaven by distributing alms, and founding religious houses. Remorse even seized him at times for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley, though not to such a degree as to make him stop the rapacious hands of those oppressors, until death, by its nearer approaches, appalled him with new terrors; and then he ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured.(3) He died of a consumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign; which was, on the whole, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad.

Henry VII. was a prince of great talents, both civil and military. He put an end to the civil wars with which the English nation had long been harassed: he maintained the most perfect order in the state: he repressed the exorbitant power of the barons: and he indirectly increased the consequence of the commons, by enabling the nobility to break their ancient entails; as the prodigal were thereby encouraged to dissipate their fortunes and dismember their estates, which became the property of men who had acquired money by trade or industry. And while he possessed the friendship of some foreign princes, he commanded the respect of all. Hence his son, Henry VIII., as we shall afterward have occasion to see, became the arbiter of Europe. In the mean time, we must take a view of transactions in which England had no share, and which introduced the most important era in the history of modern Europe.

(1) Rymer, vol. xlii.

(3) Bacon, ubi sup. Holingshed. Polyd. Virg.

(2) Bacon, ubi sup

LETTER LIII.

A General View of the Continent of Europe, from the Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. in 1494, till the League of Cambray, in 1508.

I HAVE hitherto, my dear Philip, generally given you a separate history of all the principal European states; because each state depended chiefly on itself, and was in a great measure distinct from every other in its political interests. But that method will, in future, often be impracticable, by reason of the new system of policy which was adopted about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in consequence of which a union of interest became necessary in order to form a balance of power. This system took its rise from the political state of Europe at that time, and was perfected by the Italian wars, which commenced with the expedition of Charles VIII. in support of his claim to the kingdom of Naples.

This prince having married the heiress of Brittany, as I have already had occasion to observe, and purchased peace from the only powers able to molest him, the emperor of Germany, and the kings of England and Spain, set out on his favourite project, the conquest of Naples. To that kingdom he had pretensions as heir to the house of Anjou.

The army with which Charles undertook this great enterprise did not exceed twenty thousand men: yet with these he was able to overrun all Italy. The Italians, who had utterly lost the use of arms, and who, amid continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were astonished to meet an enemy that made the field of battle not a pompous tournament but a scene of blood: they were terrified at the aspect of real war, and shrunk on its approach. The impetuosity of the French valour appeared to them irresistible. Pope Alexander VI. of infamous memory, the Venetians, and Ludovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, duke of Milan, who had invited Charles into Italy, alarmed at its progress, which was equally unwished and unexpected, endeavoured to throw obstacles in his way almost as soon as he had crossed the Alps.

All opposition however was in vain. Charles entered in triumph the city of Florence, where the family of Medicis still held the chief authority. He delivered Sienna and Pisa from the Tuscan yoke: he prescribed such terms to the Florentines as his circumstances rendered necessary, and their situation obliged them to comply with: he marched to Rome, where Alexander VI. had ineffectually intrigued against him; and he took possession of that city as a conqueror. The pope had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo: but no sooner did he see the French cannon pointed against its feeble ramparts, than he offered to capitulate; and it cost him only a cardinal's hat to make his peace with the king. The president Brissonet, who from a lawyer was become an archbishop, persuaded Charles to this accommodation. In reward of his services he obtained the purple.⁽¹⁾ The king's confessor was likewise in the secret; and Charles, whose interest it was to have deposed the pope, forgave him, and afterward repented of his lenity.

No pontiff surely ever more deserved the indignation of a Christian prince. He and the Venetians had applied to the Turkish emperor Bajazet II., son and successor of Mahomet II., to assist them in driving the French monarch out of Italy. It is also asserted, that the pope had sent one Bozzo in quality of nuncio to the court of Constantinople, and that the alliance between his holiness and the sultan was purchased by one of those inhuman crimes which are not committed without horror even within the walls of the seraglio.

Alexander VI., by an extraordinary chain of events, had at that time in his possession the person of Zizim, brother to Bajazet II. The manner in which this unfortunate prince fell into the hands of the pope was as follows:

(1) Georgii Flori, *de Bel. Ital.* Phil. de Comin. liv. vii. chap. xli.

Zizim, who was adored by the Turks, had disputed the empire with Bajazet, and was defeated. Fortune prevailed over the prayers of the people; and this unhappy son of Mahomet II., the terror of the Christian name, had recourse in his distress to the knights of Rhodes, now the knights of Malta. They at first received him as a prince to whom they were bound to afford protection by the laws of hospitality, and who might one day be of use to them in their wars against the Infidels; but they soon afterward treated him as a prisoner, and Bajazet agreed to pay them forty thousand sequins annually, on condition that they should not suffer Zizim to return into Turkey. The knights conveyed him to one of their commanders at Poitou in France: and Charles VIII. received, at the same time, an ambassador from Bajazet II., and a nuncio from pope Innocent VIII., Alexander's predecessor, relative to this valuable captive. The sultan claimed him as his subject, and the pope wanted to have possession of his person, as a pledge for the safety of Italy against the attempts of the Turks. Charles sent him to the pope. The pontiff received him with all the splendour and magnificence which the sovereignty of Rome could show to the brother of the sovereign of Constantinople; and Paul Jovius says, that Alexander VI. sold Zizim's life in a treaty which he negotiated with Bajazet. But be that as it may, the king of France, full of his vast projects, and certain of the conquest of Naples, now wanted to become formidable to the sultan, by having the person of this unfortunate prince in his power. The pope delivered him to Charles, but poisoned, as is supposed. It is at least certain that he died soon after; and the character of Alexander VI. makes it probable, that three hundred thousand ducats, said to have been offered by Bajazet, were esteemed an equivalent for such a crime.(1)

Matters being thus settled between the king and the pope, who took an oath not to disturb Charles in his conquests, Alexander was set at liberty, and appeared again as pontiff on the Vatican theatre. There, in a public consistory, the French monarch came to pay him what is called the homage of obedience, assisted by John Gannai, first president of the parliament of Paris, who might certainly have been better employed elsewhere than at such a ceremony. Charles now kissed the feet of the person whom, two days before, he would have condemned as a criminal; and to complete the ludicrous scene, he served his holiness at high mass.(2)

Charlemagne, as we have seen, caused himself to be declared emperor of the West at Rome; Charles VIII. was, in the same city, declared emperor of the East; but after a very different manner. One Paleologus, nephew to the prince of that name, who lost Constantinople and his life, made an empty cession, in favour of Charles and his successors, of an empire which could not be recovered.(3)

After this ceremony, Charles continued his progress towards Naples; where Alphonso II., struck with terror at the approach of the French army, gave the world an example of a new kind of cowardice and pusillanimity. He fled privately to Sicily, and took refuge in a cloister; while Ferdinand, his son, now become king by his abdication, finding himself unable to retrieve the public affairs, rendered desperate by his father's flight, released his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and retired to the island of Ischia. Charles, thus left master of his favourite object, the kingdom of Naples, after having marched thither, from the bottom of the Alps, with as much rapidity, and almost as little opposition, as if he had been on a progress through his own dominions, took quiet possession of the Neapolitan throne, and intimidated, or gave law, to every power in Italy.(4)

Such, my dear Philip, was the result of this expedition, which must be considered as the first great exertion of those new powers which the princes of Europe had acquired, and now began to exercise. Its effects were no less considerable than its success had been astonishing. The Italians, unable to

(1) Phil. de Comin. Paul. Jov. Arnoldi Feroni.

(2) G. Flori. Guicciardini.

(3) Phil. de Comin.

(4) And. de la Vig. *Cong. de la Nap.* Phil. de Comin.

resist the force of Charles, permitted him to hold on his course undisturbed. But they quickly perceived, that although no single power which they could rouse to action was a match for such an enemy, yet a confederacy might accomplish what its separate members durst not attempt. To this expedient, therefore, they had recourse—the only one that remained, to deliver or preserve them from the French yoke; and while Charles inconsiderately wasted his time at Naples, in festivals and triumphs on account of his past successes or was fondly dreaming of future conquests in the East, to the empire of which he now aspired, they formed against him a powerful combination of almost all the Italian princes and states; the heads of which were the pope the Venetians, the duke of Milan, supported by the emperor Maximilian, who had lately succeeded his father Frederic III., and by their Catholic majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella.(1)

The union of so many powers, who suspended or forgot their particular animosities that they might act with concert against an enemy who had become formidable to them all, awakened Charles from his thoughtless security. He saw now no prospect of safety but in returning to France. The confederates had assembled an army of thirty thousand men, in order to obstruct his march. Charles had only nine thousand men with him. The two armies met in the valley of Fornova; and though the French, with a daring courage, which more than made up for their inferiority in numbers, broke the army of the allies, and gained a victory, which opened to their monarch a safe passage into his own territories, he was stripped of all his conquests in Italy in as short a time as he had gained them. The exiled Ferdinand, by the help of Gonsalvo de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, whom their Catholic majesties had sent to his assistance, speedily recovered the whole kingdom of Naples. He died soon after, and left his uncle Frederic in full possession of the throne;(2) so that the political system of Italy resumed the same appearance as before the French invasion.

Charles, after his return to France, gave himself up to those pastimes and pleasures which had been the bane of his Italian expedition. In the mean time, his health decayed, and he died without issue in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign: “a man of small body and short stature,” says Comines; “but so good that it is not possible to see a better creature; and so sweet and gentle in disposition, that it is not known that he ever either gave or took offence in his life.” He was succeeded in the throne of France by the duke of Orleans, under the title of Lewis XII., to which was afterward added the most glorious of all appellations, that of *father of his People*.

Lewis was thirty-six years of age when he ascended the throne; and from that moment he forgot all his personal resentments. When some of his courtiers put him in mind, that certain persons who had formerly been his enemies were now in his power, he made that ever memorable reply:—“The king of France revenges not the injuries of the duke of Orleans.” It is one thing, however, to deliver a fine maxim, and another to make it the rule of one’s conduct. Lewis did both. But his fatal ambition of reigning in Italy brought many misfortunes upon himself and his kingdom, notwithstanding his prudence and paternal affection for his subjects.

The claim of Lewis XII. to Naples was the same as that of Charles VIII., and he demanded the dutchy of Milan in right of one of his grandmothers, daughter of John Galeazzo Visconti, first duke of that territory: who had stipulated in the marriage contract of his daughter Valentine, that in case of failure of heirs male in the family of Visconti, the dutchy of Milan should descend to the posterity of this Valentine and the duke of Orleans. That event took place. The family of Visconti became extinct in 1447; but the house of Orleans had hitherto been prevented, by various accidents, from making good their claim: and the dutchy of Milan was still held by the descendants of Francis Sforza, a soldier of fortune, who, having married the

(1) Phil. de Comin. Mariana

(2) G. Flori Guicciardini.

natural daughter of the last legal duke, raised himself by his valour and talents to the ducal throne. Lewis now prepared to assert his right with ardour, and he succeeded. But before I relate the particulars of that conquest, it will be necessary to say a few words of pope Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, on account of their alliance with the king of France, and the share which they had in the wars of Italy: remarking by the way, that Ludovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, having murdered his nephew, and taken possession of the dutchy of Milan, had been confirmed in it, in 1494, by the investiture of the emperor Maximilian, who married his daughter.(1)

Alexander VI. was at that time engaged in two great designs: one was to recover for the patrimony of St. Peter the many territories of which it was said to have been deprived; and the other, the exaltation of his son Cæsar Borgia. Infamous as his conduct was, it did not in the least impair his authority. He was publicly accused of a criminal correspondence with his own sister, whom he took away from three husbands successively; and he caused the last to be assassinated, that he might bestow her in marriage on the heir of the house of Este. The nuptials were celebrated in the Vatican by the most shameless diversions that debauch had ever invented for the confusion of modesty. Fifty courtesans danced naked before this incestuous family; and prizes were given to those who exhibited the most lascivious motions. The duke of Gandia and Cæsar Borgia, at that time cardinal and archbishop of Valencia in Spain, are said to have publicly disputed the favours of their sister Lucretia. The duke of Gandia was assassinated at Rome, and Cæsar Borgia was the supposed author of the murder.(2) The personal estates of the cardinals, at their decease, belong to the pope: and Alexander VI. was strongly suspected of hastening the death of more than one member of the sacred college, that he might become possessed of their treasures. But, notwithstanding these enormities, the people of Rome obeyed without murmuring, and this pontiff's friendship was courted by all the potentates in Europe.

Lewis XII. had many reasons for desiring the friendship of Alexander. He wanted to be divorced from his wife Joan, the daughter of Lewis XI., who was crooked and ugly, and with whom he had lived in wedlock above twenty-two years, without having any children. No law but the law of nature could authorize such a separation; and yet disgust and policy made it necessary. The king disliked his wife, and was desirous of posterity. Anne of Brittany, the queen-dowager, still retained that tenderness which she had felt for him, when duke of Orleans. His passion for her was not yet extinguished; and unless he married her, or at least if she married another, Brittany must be for ever dismembered from the French monarchy.

These were powerful motives; but the authority of the Holy See was necessary to give a sanction to them. It had long been customary to apply to the pope for permission to marry a relation, or put away a wife: Lewis applied to Alexander VI., who never scrupled at any indulgence in which he could find his interest. The bull of divorce was issued; and Cæsar Borgia was sent with it into France, with power to negotiate with the king on the subject of his Italian claims. But this son of the church, in a double sense, did not leave Rome till he was assured of the dutchy of Valentinois, a company of one hundred armed men, and a pension of twenty thousand livres. All these Lewis not only agreed to, but also promised to procure for him the sister of the king of Navarre. The ambitious Borgia, though a cardinal and an archbishop, now changed his ecclesiastical character for a secular one; and pope Alexander granted, at one and the same time, a dispensation for his son to quit the church, and for the king of France to quit his wife.(3) Matters

(1) Du Mont. *Corp. Diplom.* tom. iii.

(2) Paul. Jov. *Arnoldi Feroni.*

(3) Du Clos. *Guicciardini.* Some particulars relative to this separation are sufficiently curious to deserve notice. Lewis XII. pretended that he had never consummated his marriage with the princess Joan, and the pope admitted his assertion as an argument for the divorce. But Joan herself, when questioned, declared in the most solemn manner that the marriage had been consummated. She even mentioned the time, place, and circumstances: and on being asked by the king's proctor, whether she had not some natural defects unusual in her sex? she promptly replied: "I know I am neither so well made nor well

were quickly settled between Lewis and the queen-dowager, and the French prepared for a fresh invasion of Italy.

In this enterprise Lewis had the Venetians on his side, who were to have share in the spoils of the Milanese. The emperor Maximilian, whose business it was to have defended the duke of Milan, his father-in-law and vassal, was not at that time in a condition to assist him. He could with difficulty make head against the Swiss, who had entirely freed themselves from the Austrian dominion: he therefore acted, upon this occasion, the feigned part of indifference.

The French monarch terminated amicably some disputes which he had with Philip the Handsome, the emperor's son, and father of Charles V., and this Philip did homage to France for the counties of Flanders and Artois. Lewis likewise renewed the treaty concluded by Charles VIII. with England; and being now secure on all sides, he made his army cross the Alps.

This army did not exceed twenty thousand men; yet in the space of twenty days, the French made themselves masters of the dutchy of Milan, and the republic of Genoa, while the Venetians occupied the territory of Cremona. The king, clad in ducal robes, entered the city of Milan, in triumph; and the duke, Ludovico Sforza, being betrayed soon after, by the Swiss in his pay, was sent prisoner into France, and shut up in the castle of Loches, where he lay unpitied during the remainder of his days.(1)

Could Lewis here have set bounds to his ambition, satisfied with the conquest of Milan, he was enabled by his situation to prescribe laws to all the Italian princes and states, and to hold the balance among them. But the desire of recovering the kingdom of Naples engaged him in new projects; and as he foresaw opposition from Ferdinand, the Catholic king, who had formerly expelled the French from that country, and who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic king of Naples, he endeavoured by offers of interest, to which the ears of that monarch were never deaf, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. A plan was accordingly settled for the expulsion of Frederic, and the partition of his dominions. Frederic, unable to resist the force of the combined monarchs, each of whom was far his superior in power, resigned his sceptre. But he had the satisfaction to see Naples prove the source of contention among his conquerors. Lewis and Ferdinand, though they had concurred in making the conquest, differed about the division of it. From allies they became enemies; and Gonsalvo de Cordova, partly by the exertion of those military talents which gave him a just title to the appellation of the Great Captain, bestowed upon him by his countrymen, partly by such shameless and frequent violations of the most solemn engagements as leave an indelible stain upon his memory, stripped the French of all they possessed in the Neapolitan dominions, and secured the entire possession of the disputed kingdom to his no less perfidious master.(2)

Meanwhile Alexander VI. subdued the fiefs in Romania by the arms of his son Cæsar Borgia. There is not one act of oppression, subtle artifice, heroic courage, or atrocious villany, which his son left unpractised. He made use of more art and dexterity to get possession of eight or ten little towns, and to rid himself of a few noblemen that stood in his way, than Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Genghiz-Khan, or Tamerlane had employed to subdue the greater part of the habitable globe. Every thing seemed to conspire to his aggrandizement. His father was armed with the spiritual, and he with the temporal power, of the church. But his good fortune was of short duration: he laboured, without knowing it, for the patrimony of St. Peter.

Alexander VI. died in 1503, and left behind him a more detestable memory in Europe than Nero or Caligula had done in the Roman empire; the sanctity of his station adding a double tinge to his guilt. The papacy, however, was indebted to him for an accession to its temporal dominions. Cæsar Borgia lost all the fruits of his crimes, and the church profited by them.

favoured, as the greater part of my sex; but I have no imperfection that renders me unfit for marriage "
Proces du Divorce de Jeanne de France.

(1) Brantome. Guicciardini.

(2) Paul Jov. Guicciardini. Mezeray

Most of the cities which he had conquered chose another master on the death of his father: and pope Julius II. obliged him soon after to deliver up the rest.

Abandoned by friends, allies, and relations, Borgia, in a short time, had nothing left of all his wicked greatness; and, to complete his miserable catastrophe, he who had betrayed so many, was at last betrayed. Gonsalvo de Cordova, the Great Captain, with whom he had trusted his person, sent him prisoner into Spain. Lewis XII. took from him the dutchy of Valentinois and his pension. All the world forsook him. Having found means, however, to escape from prison, he sought refuge in Navarre; and courage, which is not properly a virtue, but a happy qualification, common alike to the wicked and the virtuous, did not desert him in his distresses. While in this asylum, he still maintained every part of his character. He carried on intrigues, and he commanded in person the army of the king of Navarre, his father-in-law, during a war which that prince entered into by the persuasion of Borgia, to dispossess his vassals of the Holy See. He was slain fighting: (1) "A glorious end!" says Voltaire; but it is surely only glorious to fall in a good cause, and Borgia's was confessedly a bad one. We have no occasion therefore, to think his fall too favourable. He wrought his own ruin, after having completed his disgrace; a lesson more striking than if he had suffered by the hands of the public executioner.

Lewis XII. made a new attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples, and was again disappointed. This second disappointment was occasioned by the ambition of his minister, cardinal d'Amboise, who sold his master's interest for a promise of the papacy: by the policy of Ferdinand, and by the bravery of the Great Captain. Lewis was now sincerely desirous of peace; and willing to secure the possession of Milan, he engaged, by the treaty of Blois, to pay the emperor Maximilian a large sum for the investiture of that dutchy. By this treaty also, the king of France promised his daughter in marriage to Charles of Austria, grandson of Maximilian and Ferdinand, with Brittany, Burgundy, and all his Italian dominions as her dower, in case he died without heirs male. But this article of the treaty was wisely opposed by the states of France: (2) and the princess Anne was given in marriage to the count of Angoulême, first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the crown, afterward Francis I. Thus Brittany, which had been twice annexed to the French monarchy, and twice near being severed from it, was incorporated with it, and Burgundy also was preserved.

During the course of these transactions, Isabella, queen of Castile, died, and Philip of Austria went to take possession of that kingdom, as heir to his mother-in-law. He also died in a short time; and, to the astonishment of all Europe, left the king of France governor to his son Charles.

The balance of power was now happily poised among the principal European states, and might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterprising genius of an ambitious pontiff excited anew the flames of war and discord among them. But the cause of that discord, my dear Philip, and its consequences, must be investigated in a future Letter

LETTER LIV.

Europe, from the League of Cambray to the Death of Lewis XII.

JULIUS II. to whom the popes are particularly indebted for their temporal dominion, had formed the project of driving all foreigners out of Italy. But he was desirous, in the first place, of humbling the Venetians, who had not only declined entering into his views, but had refused to restore the places which they had dismembered from the territory of the church. The league of Cambray was the consequence of their refusal.

(1) Paul. Jov. Guicciardini. Mezeray.

(2) Mezeray, tom. iv. Henault tom. i

Let us take a view of that republic, which excited the jealousy of so many princes and states, and cemented this famous confederacy.

Venice, my dear Philip, took its rise, as I have had occasion to notice, during the inroads of the Barbarians, in the fifth century. The little islands of the Adriatic gulf afforded an asylum to the neighbouring inhabitants, who originally lived by fishing, and afterward grew rich and powerful by commerce. They again got footing on the terra firma; and Venice now extended her dominion from the lake of Como to the middle of Dalmatia. The Turks had despoiled her of what she had taken from the Christian emperors in Greece: but she still retained the large island of Candia or Crete, and soon got possession of Cyprus.

The civil constitution of Venice, established on a firm basis, had suffered no considerable alteration for several centuries; and the republic, during the same course of time, had conducted its affairs with a uniform and vigorous spirit of policy, which gave it great advantage over other states, whose views and measures changed as often as the form of their government, or the persons who administered it. But the constitution of this republic had one essential fault; it wanted a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, and did not offer proper encouragement to the common people. No private citizen of Venice can rise to the rank of a senator, or occupy any considerable employment in the state.

Such a partial aristocracy, which lodges all power in the hands of a few members of the community, is naturally jealous. The Venetian nobles distrusted their own subjects, and were afraid of allowing them the use of arms: the military force of the republic, therefore, consisted wholly of foreign mercenaries. Nor was the command of these ever trusted to noble Venetians, lest they should acquire such influence over the army as might endanger public liberty. A soldier of fortune was placed at the head of the armies of the commonwealth; and to obtain that honour was the great object of the Italian *condottieri*, or leaders of bands, who made a trade of war, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and hired out troops to different princes and states.⁽¹⁾

A republic that disarmed its subjects, and excluded its nobles from military command, must have carried on warlike enterprises at great disadvantage but its commerce was an inexhaustible source of opulence. All the nations in Europe depended upon the Venetians, not only for the precious commodities of the East, which they imported by the way of Egypt, but for various manufactures fabricated by them alone, or finished with a dexterity and elegance unknown in other countries. From this extensive commerce, the state derived such immense supplies, as concealed the vices in its constitution, and enabled it to keep on foot such armies as were an overmatch for the force which any of its neighbours could bring into the field. Venice became an object of terror to the Italian states. Her wealth was viewed with envy by the greatest monarchs, who could not vie with her private citizens in the magnificence of their buildings, in the richness of their dress and furniture, or in splendour and elegance of living. And Julius II., whose ambition and abilities were equal to those of any pontiff who had ever sat on the papal throne, by working upon the fears of the Italians, and upon the avarice of the princes beyond the Alps, induced them to form against this proud republic one of the most extensive confederacies that Europe had ever beheld.

The emperor, the king of France, the king of Spain, and the pope were principals in the league of Cambray, to which almost all the princes of Italy acceded; the least considerable of them hoping for some share in the spoils of a state which they deemed to be devoted to inevitable destruction. The Venetians might have diverted this storm, or have broken its force; but with a presumptuous rashness, to which there is nothing similar in the course of their history, they waited its approach. The impetuous valour of the French rendered ineffectual all their precautions for the safety of the

(1) Sandi. *Storia Civile Veneziana*

republic; and the battle of Aignadel, fought near the river Adda, entirely ruined the army on which they relied for defence. Julius II. seized all the towns which they held in the ecclesiastical territories; and Ferdinand re-annexed the places which they had got possession of on the coast of Calabria to his Neapolitan dominions. Maximilian, at the head of a powerful army, advanced towards Venice on one side; the French pushed their conquests on the other; and the Venetians, surrounded by so many enemies, and left without one ally, sunk from the height of presumption to the depths of despair. They abandoned all their territories on the continent, and shut themselves up in their capital, as their last refuge, and the only place which they hoped to preserve.(1)

Julius, having thus, in the humiliation of the Venetians, attained his first object, began to think of the second, more worthy of his enterprising genius, "the expulsion of every foreign power out of Italy." For this purpose it was necessary to dissolve the league of Cambray, and sow dissensions among those princes whom he had formerly united. He absolved the Venetians, on their ceding to him the places claimed by the Holy See, from that anathema which had been pronounced against them; and he concluded an alliance with the republic against those very French whom he had called in to oppress it. Their imperiousness had rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the Italians; and Julius II., who was a native of Genoa, was greatly desirous of revenging upon Lewis the triumphant ostentation with which he had punished the revolt of that city, whose records he caused to be burnt, and whose principal citizens he obliged to kneel at the foot of his throne, while he pronounced their sentence; which, after all, was only to pay a trifling fine. On Lewis, therefore, the haughty pontiff was determined that the tempest first should fall; and in order to pave the way for this bold project, he at once sought for a ground of quarrel with that monarch, and courted the alliance of foreign princes. He declared war against the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis; he solicited the favour of Henry VIII., who had lately ascended the throne of England, by sending him a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrism: he detached Ferdinand from the league, and drew him over to his party, by granting him the full investiture of the kingdom of Naples; and, what he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiss, whose subsidy Lewis had refused to augment, and whom he had offended by some contumelious expressions.(2)

The confederacy of Cambray being thus dissolved, the face of affairs soon began to wear a very different appearance in Italy. The Venetians, now recovered from their consternation, were able to make head against the emperor, and even to regain part of the territory which they had lost. * The pope and his allies made war upon the duke of Ferrara, the ally of France. They were opposed by the French troops, and obliged to raise the siege of Bologna; but they afterward formed that of Mirandola, where Julius appeared in person, visited the trenches, hastened the operations, and entered the breach, with all the ardour of a young soldier in pursuit of military glory.(3)

Lewis, in the mean time, was at a loss how to act: overawed by his veneration for the vicar of Christ, he was afraid to let his generals take those advantages which fortune threw in their way. He was, therefore, desirous to divert Julius of that sacred character, which chiefly rendered him formidable. With this view, in conjunction with Maximilian, who was himself ambitious of the papacy, and by the authority of some disgusted cardinals, he summoned a general council at Pisa, in order to reform the church, and check the exorbitancies of the sovereign power. But Lewis was as irresolute in supporting the council, as in instructing his generals. Julius saw his timidity, and availed himself of it. He summoned a council at the Lateran: he put Pisa under an interdict, and all the places that should give shelter to the schismatical council; he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended

(1) Guicciardini. Mezeray. *Hist. de la Ligue faite a Cambray*, par M. l'Abbé du Bos.

(2) Guicciardini. Mezeray. *Hist. de la Ligue faite a Cambray*, par M. l'Abbé du Bos. Spelm. *Council*

(3) Guicciardini.

it; he even pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who adhered to it: he freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take possession of them.(1)

Ambition lays hold of the slightest pretences to accomplish its designs. The crafty Ferdinand, who had obtained the surname of Catholic, but who regarded the cause of the pope and religion solely as a cover to his selfish politics, made this anathema of Julius a pretext for robbing the king of Navarre of his dominions, as an ally of France, and consequently included in the bull fulminated against the adherents of the council of Pisa. The method which he took to effect this conquest was no less singular than the measure. Henry VIII., his son-in-law, naturally sincere and sanguine in temper, was moved with a hearty desire of protecting the pope from that oppression to which he believed him exposed from the French monarch. Impatient also of acquiring that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amid the noise of arms: he was, therefore, led to join that alliance, which the pope, Spain, and Venice had formed against Lewis. Ferdinand saw his intemperate ardour, and made him the instrument of his own base ambition.

This artful prince, who considered his close connexion with Henry only as the means of taking advantage of his inexperience, advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him: he exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the English had still some adherents. He promised to forward this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army: and so zealous did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England, in order to transport the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. But the marquis of Dorset, who commanded the English army, was no sooner landed in Guipuscoa, than Ferdinand suggested the necessity of first subduing the kingdom of Navarre, which lies on the frontier between France and Spain.

Dorset, however, having no orders to make war any where but in France, refused to take any part in that enterprise: he therefore remained in his quarters at Fontarabia. But so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that the English army, even while it lay in that situation, was almost equally serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that the duke of Alva, the Spanish general, having full leisure to conduct his operations, after subduing the smaller towns, made himself master of Pampeluna, the capital, and obliged John d'Albert, the sovereign, to take refuge in France. Dorset was obliged to return to England, with his army much diminished by want and sickness, without being able to effect any thing for the interests of his master; and Henry, enraged at his ill success, was with difficulty made sensible of the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, his deceitful father-in-law.(2)

While these things were transacting on the other side of the Pyrenees, events of still greater moment happened beyond the Alps. Though the war which England waged against France brought no advantage to the former kingdom, it was of much prejudice to the latter; and by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces from Italy, lost him the superiority which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had acquired in that country. Gaston de Foix, his nephew, had been intrusted with the command of the French forces; and, at the age of twenty-three, exhibited in a few months such feats of military skill and valour, as were sufficient to render illustrious the life of the oldest general. His career terminated with the famous battle of Ravenna; which, after the most obstinate dispute, he gained over the Spanish and papal armies. He perished the moment his victory was complete, and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss, who had now

(1) Spelm. Concil.

(2) Herbert. *Hist. Hen. VIII.* Polyd. Virg.

endered themselves formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the dutchy of Milan with a numerous army, and excited its inconstant inhabitants to revolt against the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of that dutchy; and Lewis, in the course of a few weeks, totally lost his Italian conquests. Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovico, was again reinstated in the possession of Milan, and the Genoese recovered their liberty.(1)

The expulsion of the French gave much pleasure to the pope; more especially as he owed it to the Swiss, whom he had honoured with the title of *Defenders of the Holy See*, and whose councils he hoped always to govern. Julius II., however, enjoyed this satisfaction but a short time. He died suddenly, at an advanced age, and was succeeded in the pontificate by John of Medicis, son of the celebrated Laurence, who had governed Florence with so much reputation, and obtained the appellation of *Father of the Muses*. John took the name of Leo X., and proved one of the most illustrious pontiffs that ever sat on the papal throne. Humane, generous, affable, the patron of every art, and the friend of every virtue, he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor; but he was more delicate in employing means for the execution of them. By the negotiations of Leo, who adhered to the political system of Julius, the emperor Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry VIII., notwithstanding his disappointments in the former campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Lewis.(2)

In order to prevent disturbance from Scotland, while the English arms should be employed on the continent, Henry despatched an ambassador to James IV., his brother-in-law, with instructions to accommodate all differences between the two kingdoms. Some complaints had already been made on both sides; but matters might easily have been settled, had it not been for Henry's projected invasion of France, which roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation. The ancient league which subsisted between France and Scotland was esteemed the most sacred bond of connexion, and universally believed by the Scots essential to the preservation of their independency, against a people so much superior as the English. Henry's ambassador therefore easily foresaw, though James still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, that a war with Scotland would, in the end, prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his master, who sent the earl of Surry to put the borders in a posture of defence, and to resist the expected inroad of the enemy.(3)

Meanwhile, the king of England, all on fire for military fame, invaded France by the way of Calais. But of all the allies, on whose assistance he relied, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Maximilian, among others, failed to perform his; although he had received, in advance, a subsidy of a hundred and twenty thousand crowns. That he might make some atonement, however, for his breach of faith, he appeared in person in the Low Countries, and joined the English army with a small body of German and Flemish troops, that were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new levied forces. The emperor carried his condescension yet further; he did not pretend, with a handful of men, to act as an auxiliary, but enlisted himself in the service of the English monarch; wore the cross of St. George, and received a hundred ducats a day for the use of his table.(4)

An emperor of Germany, serving under a king of England, and living by his bounty, was surely a spectacle truly extraordinary; but Henry treated him with the highest respect, and he really directed all the operations of the war. The first enterprise which they undertook was the siege of Terouane, a town situated on the borders of Picardy. During the attack of this place was fought the famous battle of Guinegate, where the cavalry of France fled at the first onset, and in which the duke of Longueville, Bussi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction were made prisoners. This action, or rather rout, is commonly called

(1) Gulicciardini.

(3) Buchanan. Drummond. Herbert.

(2) Father Paul. Gulicciardini. Herbert

(4) Polydore Virg.

the *Battle of Spurs*; because the French on that occasion made more use of their spurs than their military weapons.(1)

After so considerable an advantage, Henry, who was at the head of a complete army of fifty thousand men, might have made incursions to the gates of Paris, and spread confusion and desolation every where. It therefore gave Lewis great joy, when he heard that the king of England, instead of pushing his victory, had returned to the siege of Terouane. That place, however, was soon obliged to capitulate, and the anxieties of the French were again renewed with regard to the motions of the English. The Swiss, at the same time, had entered Burgundy with a formidable army; and the Catholic king, though he had made a truce with Lewis, seemed disposed to seize every advantage which fortune should present to him. Never was the French monarchy in greater danger, or less in a condition to defend itself against those powerful armies which assailed or threatened it on every side.

Lewis, though fruitful in expedients, was now at a loss what course to follow, or where to place his safety: his troops were dismayed, his people intimidated, and he had no ally to assist him. But France was saved by the blunders of her enemies. The Swiss allowed themselves to be wheedled into a negotiation by Tremouille, governor of Burgundy, without inquiring whether he had any powers to treat; and that nobleman, who knew he should be disavowed by his master, stipulated whatever they were pleased to demand, happy to get rid of such dangerous invaders at the expense of a little money and many empty promises. Henry discovered no less ignorance in the conduct of war than the Swiss in negotiation. By the interested counsel of Maximilian, he laid siege to Tournay, which then belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a passage into the heart of the Netherlands. Soon after the reduction of this place, which nowise advanced the conquests of Henry, he was informed of the retreat of the Swiss; and as the season was now far advanced, he thought proper to return to England, and carried with him the greater part of his army.(2) Such, my dear Philip, was the issue of a campaign much boasted of by the English monarch; but which, all circumstances considered, was unprofitable, if not inglorious.

The success which, during this season, attended the English arms in North Britain was more decisive. James IV. had assembled the whole force of his dominions, and crossed the Tweed at the head of a brave though tumultuous army of fifty thousand men. But instead of making use of the opportunity which the absence of Henry afforded him to push his conquests, he wasted his time in the arms of a fair captive. His troops became dissatisfied, and began to be pinched with hunger; and as the authority of the prince was yet feeble among the Scots, and military discipline extremely lax, many of them stole from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile, the earl of Surry, having collected a body of twenty-six thousand men, approached the enemy, who lay on some high grounds near the hills of Cheviot. He drew them from their station, by feigning to enter their country; and an obstinate battle was fought in the field of Flouden, where the king of Scotland and the flower of his nobility were slain.(3)—Henry, on this occasion, discovered a mind truly great and generous. Though an inviting opportunity was now offered him of extending his dominion over the whole island, he took compassion on the helpless condition of his sister Margaret and her infant son; and readily granted peace to Scotland, as soon as it was applied for.

Soon after this peace, which put Henry in a condition to prosecute his views on the continent to more advantage, as he had nothing to fear from his northern neighbours, and a general pacification took place between the contending powers. Lewis renounced the council of Pisa, now transferred to Lyons, and Leo X. granted him absolution. Ferdinand the Catholic renewed the truce with France; and he and Maximilian entered into a treaty with Lewis for the marriage of his second daughter, Renée, to Charles, prince of Spain, their common grandson. Lewis himself espoused the princess Mary

(1) *Hist. de Chev. Bayard. Mem. de Bellai.*

(3) Buchanan. Drummond. Herbert.

(2) *Mem. de Fleuranges. Guicciardin.*

of England, and agreed to pay Henry a million of crowns, the arrears due by the treaty of Estaples. These two monarchs also entered into an alliance for their mutual defence.(1)

Lewis XII., thus rescued from his numerous difficulties, had the happiness of beholding once more his affairs in good order, and all Europe in tranquillity. But he enjoyed this happiness only a short while. Enchanted with the beauty and elegant accomplishments of his young queen, he forgot in her arms his advanced age, and was seduced into such a round of gayety and pleasure as proved very unsuitable to his declining health.(2) He died about three months after the marriage, in his fifty-fourth year, and when he was meditating anew the conquest of Milan—which was left to immortalize the name, and swell the misfortunes, of his successor.

There is no perfection in human beings, my dear Philip, and consequently not in kings, whatever their flatterers may tell them; but few men, either princes or subjects, seem to have possessed more social and benevolent virtues than fell to the share of Lewis XII. He was universally beloved by his people: the populace and the nobility equally adored him, and unanimously called him their Father: a title with which he was particularly pleased, and which he made it the study of his life to deserve. He began his reign with abolishing many taxes; and at the time of his death, notwithstanding his wars and his disasters, he had diminished the public burdens above one half. His very misfortunes, or, in a political sense, his errors, endeared him to his subjects; for it was well known, that he might have maintained his conquests in Italy, if he would have levied larger sums upon his people. But his heart would not permit him to distress them: he esteemed any loss light compared with that of their affections. His moderation was no less remarkable than his humanity. When told that some of his courtiers smiled at his economy, which they considered as too rigid, and that certain authors had taken the liberty to ridicule it in their writings, he was by no means displeased. "I would rather," replied he, magnanimously, "that my people should laugh at my parsimony, than weep at their own oppressions."(3)

LETTER LV.

The general View of Europe continued, from the Accession of Francis I. in 1515, to the Death of the Emperor Maximilian, in 1519; including the Rise of the Reformation in Germany.

LEWIS XII. was succeeded on the throne of France by his son-in-law Francis, count of Angoulême, first prince of the blood, whose military genius, it was foreseen, would soon disturb the peace of Europe. Young, brave, ambitious, and enterprising, he immediately turned his eyes towards Italy as the scene of glory and of conquest. His first object was the recovery of Milan. But before he sat out on that expedition, he renewed the treaty which his predecessor had concluded with England; and having nothing to fear from Spain, where Ferdinand was on the verge of the grave, he marched his army towards the Alps, under pretence of defending his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. Informed of his hostile intentions, that warlike people had taken up arms, at the instigation of the pope, in order to protect Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan, whom they had restored to his dominions, and thought themselves bound in honour to support.

These hardy mountaineers took possession of all those passes in the Alps.

(1) Du Tillet.

(2) Brantome. *Eloge de Louis XII.* "The good king," says another writer, "for the sake of his wife totally altered his manner of living. Whereas before he used to dine at eight o'clock in the morning, he now did not dine till noon. He had also been accustomed to go to bed at six in the evening, and he now frequently sat up till midnight." (*Hist. de Chev. Bayard.*) Nothing can mark more strongly than this passage the difference between the mode of living in that and the present age.

(3) *Hist. de Louis XII.* pub. par Theod. Godefroy.

through which they thought the French must enter Italy; and when informed that Francis had made his way into Piedmont, by a secret route, they descended undismayed into the plain, and gallantly opposed themselves on foot to the heavy-armed cavalry of France. The two armies met at Marignan, near Milan; where was fought one of the most furious and obstinate battles mentioned in the history of modern times. The action began towards evening: night parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiss renewed the attack with unabated ardour, and it required all the heroic valour of Francis to inspire his troops with courage sufficient to resist the shock. The Swiss, though broken at last by the cavalry, and galled by the cannon, long kept their ground; and did not retire till they had lost upwards of twelve thousand of their best troops, about one half of their whole number. The loss of the French was very considerable; twenty thousand men fell on both sides; and the old marshal Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, used to declare, that in comparison of the battle of Marignan every other engagement he had seen was but *the play of children*, but that this was a *combat of heroes*.⁽¹⁾

The surrender of the city of Milan, and the conquest of the whole duchy, were the consequences of this victory. Maximilian Sforza resigned his claim, in consideration of a pension; and Francis, having concluded a treaty with the pope and with the Swiss, returned into France, leaving to Charles duke of Bourbon the government of his Italian dominions.⁽²⁾

In the mean time, the success and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealousy in the breast of the old emperor Maximilian: nor was the rapid progress of Francis, though in so distant a country, regarded with indifference even by the king of England. Henry despatched a minister to the court of Vienna, with secret orders to propose certain payments to the emperor: and Maximilian, who was ever ready to embrace any overture to excite fresh troubles, and always necessitous, immediately invaded Italy with a considerable army. But that prince being repulsed before Milan, by the French garrison, and hearing that twelve thousand Swiss were advancing to its relief, retired hastily into Germany; made peace with France and with Venice; ceded Verona to that republic for a sum of money; and thus excluded himself, in some measure, from all future access into Italy.⁽³⁾

This peace, which restored universal tranquillity to Europe, was preceded by the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions; an event which had long been looked for, and from which the most important consequences were expected. Charles, who had hitherto resided in the Low Countries, which he inherited as heir of the house of Burgundy, was now near the full age of sixteen, and possessed a recollection and sedateness much above his years; but his genius had yet given no indications of that superiority which its maturer state displayed. That capacious and decisive judgment, which afterward directed so ably the affairs of a vast empire, was left to be discovered by those great events to which it gave birth, and those occasions which made it necessary. At present there was little call for it.

Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, a person of equal virtue and sagacity, had prudently been appointed, by the will of Ferdinand, sole regent of Castile till the arrival of his grandson. This man, whose character is no less singular than illustrious, who united the abilities of a great statesman with the abject devotion of a superstitious monk, and the magnificence of a prime minister with the austerity of a mendicant, maintained order and tranquillity in Spain, notwithstanding the discontents of a turbulent and high-spirited nobility. When they disputed his right to the regency, he coolly showed them the testament of Ferdinand, and the ratification of that deed by Charles; but these not satisfying them, and arguments proving ineffectual, he led them insensibly towards a balcony, whence they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, and a formidable train of artillery. "Behold,"

(1) *Mém. de Fleury.*

(2) Guicciardini. Mezeray.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

said the cardinal, raising his voice, and extending his arm, "the powers which I have received from his Catholic majesty: by these I govern Castile! and will govern it, till the king, your master and mine, shall come to take possession of his kingdom." A declaration so bold and determined silenced all opposition, and Ximenes maintained his authority till the arrival of Charles.(1)

The fate of this minister merits our attention, though not immediately connected with the line of general history. The young king was received with universal acclamations of joy; but Ximenes found little cause to rejoice. He was seized with a violent disorder, supposed to be the effect of poison; and when he recovered, Charles, prejudiced against him by the Spanish grandees and his Flemish courtiers, slighted his advice, and allowed him every day to sink into neglect. The cardinal did not bear this treatment with his usual firmness of spirit. He expected a more grateful return from a prince, to whom he delivered a kingdom far more flourishing than it had been in any former age, and authority more extensive and better established than the most illustrious of his ancestors had ever possessed. Conscious of his own integrity and merit, he could not therefore refrain from giving vent, at times, to indignation and complaint. He lamented the fate of his country, and foretold the calamities to which it would be exposed from the insolence, the rapaciousness, and the ignorance of strangers. These persons agitated the soul of Ximenes, when he received a letter from the king, genteelly dismissing him from his councils, under pretence of easing his age of that burden which he had so long and so ably sustained. This letter proved fatal to the minister. His haughty mind could not endure disgrace, nor his generous heart the stings of ingratitude: he expired a few hours after reading it.(2)

While Charles was taking possession of the throne of Spain, in consequence of the death of one grandfather, another was endeavouring to obtain for him the imperial crown. With this view Maximilian assembled a diet at Augsburg, where he strove to gain the favour of the electors by many acts of beneficence, in order to engage them to choose that young prince as his successor. But Maximilian himself having never been crowned by the pope, a ceremony deemed essential in that age, as well as the preceding, he was considered only as king of the Romans, or emperor *elect*; and no example occurring in history of any person being chosen successor to a king of the Romans, the Germans, ever tenacious of their forms, obstinately refused to confer upon Charles a dignity for which their constitution knew no name.(3)

But the diet of Augsburg had other business. Thither was summoned Martin Luther, for "propagating new and dangerous opinions." These opinions were no other, my dear Philip, than the first principles of the Reformation; which soon diffused themselves through Germany, which were afterward embraced by so many nations, and which separated one half of Europe from the Romish church. Of the origin of this great schism some account will be necessary; for, although I would by no means engage you in theological disputes, you ought to know the grounds of a controversy which produced so remarkable a revolution in the religious world, in the creeds and ceremonies of Christians, that you may be the better enabled to judge of its effects upon society, upon industry, literature, policy, and morals. In that light only I mean to consider it: the road to heaven I leave to heavenly directors.

In the course of these Letters I have had occasion to observe the rise of the pope's spiritual power, as well as of his temporal dominion; to trace the progress, and to remark the abuses of each. A repetition here would therefore be unnecessary. The spiritual despotism of Gregory VII.—the temporal tyranny of Alexander VI.—and the bloody ambition of Julius II.—make too strong an impression on the mind to be soon effaced. After that enormous

(1) Flechier, *Vie. de Ximen.*(2) Marsallier, *Vie. de Ximen.* Baudier, *Hist. de Ximen.*

(3) Barre, tom. vi.

privilege which the Roman pontiffs assumed of disposing of crowns, and of releasing nations from their oath of allegiance, the most pernicious to society was that of absolving individuals from the ties of moral duty. This dangerous power, or one equivalent to it, the pope claimed as the successor of St. Peter, and the keeper of the spiritual treasury of the church, supposed to contain the superabounding good works of the saints, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ. Out of this inexhaustible storehouse of superabundant merit, his holiness might retail, at pleasure, particular portions to those who were deficient. He assumed, in short, and directly exercised, the right of pardoning sins; which was, in other words, granting a permission to commit them: for, if it is known, as had long been the case in the Romish church, at what price the punishment of any crime may be bought off, the encouragement to vice is the same as if a dispensation had been granted beforehand. And even that was frequently indulged.

The influence of such indulgences upon morals may easily be imagined; especially in ages when superstition had silenced the voice of conscience, and reason was bewildered in Gothic darkness; when the church had every where provided sanctuaries, which not only screened from the arm of the civil magistrate persons guilty of the greatest enormities, but often enabled them to live in affluence. Yet that great historian, and profound philosopher, Mr. Hume, has endeavoured to prove, that Protestant writers are mistaken in supposing that a dissolution of morals should ensue, "because a man could purchase for a shilling an *indulgence* for the most enormous and unheard-of crimes!" (1) But you, I hope, will think otherwise, when you have duly weighed the foregoing considerations.

Mr. Hume seems here to have forgot, that all men are not philosophers; or, blinded by the love of paradox, to have lost sight of common sense. He seems even to have lost sight of his argument; for he adds, that "after these indulgences, there still remained hell-fire, the civil magistrate, and the remorse of conscience," to awe mankind to their duty. Now the first of these assertions is literally false; for the very words of an indulgence bore, that it restored the person to whom it was granted "to that innocence and purity which he possessed at baptism;" and, according to the doctrine of the Romish church, the infant is then fit for heaven. But the indulgence did not stop here: it concluded thus; "so that, when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened." (2) The terror of the civil magistrate, as I have already shown, could be very small, when the church afforded shelter to every criminal that sought her sanctuaries, and took into her bosom the whole body of the clergy. Conscience, indeed, so often represented by this doubting sage as an erring guide, as a principle superinduced and local, conscience could not be banished the human breast; but its voice, if not entirely silenced by superstition, was too feeble to be listened to by the self-deluding and headstrong passions of man, when flattered by the hope, or encouraged by the assurance, of a papal indulgence.

These indulgences, or plenary pardons, of which I have been led insensibly to speak, and which not only served as a remission of sins to the living, but as a release to the dead from the pains of purgatory, were first invented by Urban II. as a recompense for those who engaged in the wild expeditions to the Holy Land. They were afterward granted to such as contributed money for that or any other pious purpose: and the sums so raised were frequently diverted to other uses. They were employed to swell the state, to furnish the luxuries, or accomplish the ambitious enterprises, of the popes. John XXII. reduced this spiritual traffic into a system: and Leo X. that great patron of arts and of letters, having exhausted the papal treasury in rewards to men of genius, in magnificent works, and expensive pleasures, thought that he might attempt, without danger, those pious frauds so successfully practised

(1) *Hist. of England*, vol. iv. note A.

(2) Beckend, *Comment*, lib. l. Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* book ii

by the most ignorant of his predecessors: Leo published a general sale of *indulgences*.

If any thing could apologize for a religious cheat that tends to the subversion of morals, Leo's apology was ready. He was engaged in building that superb temple, St. Peter's cathedral, founded by his predecessor, and the Turks were preparing to enter Germany. He had no occasion to forge pretences for this extension of papal authority. But Leo, though a polite scholar, and a fine gentleman, was but a pitiful pope. Liberal-minded himself, and surrounded by liberal-minded men, he did not foresee that the lamp of Knowledge, which he held up to mankind, would light them to the abode of Superstition; would show them her errors, her impostures, her usurpations, and their own slavish condition. He did not reflect, that impositions employed with success in one age may prove dangerous experiments in another. But he had soon occasion to remember it.

The abuse of the sale of indulgences in Germany, where they were publicly retailed in ale-houses, and where the produce of particular districts was farmed out, in the manner of a toll or custom, awakened the indignation of Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, and professor of theology in the university of Wittemberg. Luther was also incensed, it is said, that the privilege of vending this spiritual merchandise had been taken from his order, and given to the Dominicans. But, be that as it may, he wrote and he preached against indulgences. His writings were read with avidity, and his discourses were listened to with admiration. He appealed to reason and Scripture for the truth of his arguments, not to the decisions of councils or of popes. A corner of the veil was now happily lifted. The people, ever fond of judging for themselves (and in matters which concern themselves only, they have an undoubted right), flattered by this appeal, began to call in question that authority which they had formerly revered, which they had blindly adored; and Luther, emboldened by success, extended his views, and ventured to declaim against other abuses. From abuses he proceeded to usurpations; from usurpations to errors; and from one error to another, till the whole fabric of the Romish church began to totter.

Leo, in the mean time, alarmed at the progress of this daring innovator, had summoned him to answer for his doctrines at Rome. But that citation was remitted at the intercession of Frederic, surnamed the Wise, elector of Saxony, who had hitherto protected Luther; and his cause was ordered to be tried in Germany, by cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and the pope's legate at the imperial court. For this end, among others, Cajetan attended the diet at Augsburg; and thither Luther repaired without hesitation, after having obtained the emperor's safe-conduct, though he had good reason to decline a judge chosen from among his avowed adversaries. The cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured, at first, to gain him by gentle treatment; but finding him firm in his principles, and thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute, he required him, by virtue of the apostolic powers with which he was vested, to retract his errors (without showing that they were such), and to abstain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, who had flattered himself with a hearing, and hoped to distinguish himself in a dispute with a prelate of such eminent abilities, was much mortified at this arbitrary mode of proceeding. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not forsake him: he boldly replied, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; but offered to submit the whole controversy to the judgment of the learned, naming certain universities. This offer was rejected by Cajetan, who still insisted on a simple recantation; and Luther, by the advice of his friends, after appealing to a general council, secretly withdrew from Augsburg, and returned to his own country.⁽¹⁾ The progress of this extraordinary man, and of that reformation to which he gave birth, I shall afterward have occasion to trace.

(1) Sleid. *Hist. Reform* Robertson, ubi sup.

The diet of Augsburg was soon followed by the death of the emperor Maximilian; an event in itself of little moment, as that prince had, for some years, ceased to be of any consequence. But as it left vacant the first station among Christian princes, of which two great monarchs were equally ambitious, it became memorable by its effects. It gave rise to a competition, and awakened a jealousy, which threw all Europe into agitation: it broke that profound peace which then reigned in Christendom, and kindled wars more general and lasting than any which modern times had beheld.—But before we enter on that interesting era, I must carry forward the Progress of Society; notice the improvements in arts and in letters; and exhibit some account of those great naval discoveries which produced so important a revolution in the commercial world, and gave to Europe a new continent, while religion and ambition were depopulating the old. Meanwhile it will be proper to remark, that, during the reign of Maximilian, Germany was divided into circles, in each of which a provincial and particular jurisdiction was established to supply the place of a public and common tribunal. In this reign also was instituted the Imperial Chamber, composed of judges nominated partly by the emperor, partly by the several states, and vested with authority to decide finally concerning all differences among the members of the Germanic body. The Aulic Council too, which takes cognizance of all feudal cases, and such as belong to the emperor's immediate jurisdiction, received under this prince a new form.⁽¹⁾ By these regulations, order was given to that confused government, and some degree of vigour restored to the imperial authority.

LETTER LVI.

Progress of Society in Europe from the beginning of the Fourteenth to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century, with a retrospective View of the Revival of Letters.

WE have already, my dear Philip, traced the Progress of Society to the beginning of the fourteenth century. We have seen corporation-charters granted; civil communities formed; and the great body of the people, released from that servitude under which they had so long groaned, applying themselves to trade and industry. We have also seen universities generally established; the study of the Roman law introducing a more perfect system of jurisprudence; an acquaintance with the learned languages awakening an ambition of literary merit; manners taking a more liberal turn; and commerce beginning to circulate the conveniences of life. But society had still many advances to make, before it arrived at that state of refinement in which we now behold it, or to which it had attained under the pontificate of Leo X.

These advances it is now our business to trace. By the way, however, I must remind you, that, in the course of the general narrative, I have taken occasion to notice the Progress of Society with respect to the command of national force; the vigour which government acquired, by the increase of the royal authority; the alterations which took place in the art of war, in consequence of the invention of gunpowder; the establishment of standing armies, and the supplies necessary for the support of such a body of men. I have also had occasion to mention the new system adopted by princes, for national defence and safety, by maintaining a balance of political power, and the means by which that system was perfected. I shall, therefore, devote this letter solely to such objects as cannot come within the line of general history; the progress of manners, of arts, and of polite literature. The sciences, as since cultivated, were not yet known. True philosophy belongs to a more modern era.

(1) Dutt. *De Pace Publica Imperii*

Mankind are no sooner in possession of the conveniences of life, than they begin to aspire after its elegancies. About the beginning of the fourteenth century, such a taste became general in Europe. The Italian cities, which had early acquired liberty, and obtained municipal charters, carried on at that time a flourishing trade with India, through the ports of the Red Sea. They introduced into their own country manufactures of various kinds, and carried them on with great ingenuity and vigour. In the manufacture of silk in particular, they made so rapid a progress, that about the middle of the fourteenth century, a thousand citizens of Genoa appeared in one procession, clad in silk robes. They attempted new arts; among which may be numbered the art of taking impressions from engravings on plates of copper, the manufacture of crystal glass for mirrors, of paper made of linen rags, and of earthen ware in imitation of porcelain. And they imported from warmer climates the art of raising several natural productions, formerly unknown in Europe, which now furnish the materials of a lucrative and extended commerce; particularly the culture of silk, and the plantation of the sugar-cane. Originally the produce of Asia, and esteemed peculiar to the East, the sugar-cane was transplanted from the Greek islands in Sicily, from Sicily into Italy, from Italy into Spain, and from Spain and Portugal into the newly discovered islands in the Western Ocean.(1)

The discovery of those islands, and also of the American continent, was the effect of another modern invention, namely, the mariner's compass; which, by rendering navigation at once more secure and more adventurous, facilitated the intercourse between remote nations, and may be said to have brought them nearer to each other.

But the progress of navigation, and the discoveries to which it gave birth, demand a particular Letter. Yet here I must observe, that commerce, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was by no means confined to the Italian states. Flanders had long been as famous for the manufacture of linen and woollen cloths, as Italy was for that of silk. All the wool of England, before the reign of Edward III. except a small quantity wrought into coarse cloths for home consumption, was sold to the Flemings or Lombards, but chiefly to the former, and manufactured by them; and it was not till the middle of the fifteenth century (so late were our ancestors of availing themselves of their natural commercial advantages!) that the English were capable of fabricating cloth for foreign markets. Bruges was at once the staple for English wool, for the woollen and linen manufactures of the Netherlands, for the naval stores and other bulky commodities of the North, and for the precious commodities of the East, as well as domestic productions, carried thither by the Italian states.(2) It was the greatest emporium in Europe.

Nothing so much advances society as an intercourse with strangers. In proportion as commerce made its way into the different countries of Europe, they successively turned their attention to those objects, and adopted those manners, which occupy and distinguish polished nations. Accordingly we find the Italians and Flemings taking the lead in the liberal as well as in the commercial arts, and exhibiting the first examples of cultivated life.

Painting and architecture were revived in Italy towards the end of the thirteenth century. They continued to make rapid progress under different masters, and were both carried to perfection during the period under review. Tapestry, then in high estimation, had long been manufactured with the greatest ingenuity in the Low Countries; and the Flemings, in their turn, became painters and architects, before the rest of Europe were furnished with the necessary arts. Ghent and Bruges, Venice and Genoa, were splendid cities, adorned with stately buildings, while the inhabitants of London and Paris lived in wretched cottages, without so much as a chimney to carry up the smoke. The fire was made on the ground in the middle of the apartment, and all the family sat round it, like the Laplanders in their

(1) Guicciardini, *Descrit. Paesi Basse.*

(2) Guicciardini, *Descrit. Paesi Basse.* Anderson, *Hist. Com.* vol. i

huts.(1) This rude method of building and living continued to be common in considerable towns, both in France and England, as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Learning and politeness are supposed to keep pace with each other. But this observation seems to have been made without due attention, to have been formed into a maxim by some dogmatist, and implicitly adopted by succeeding writers; for, if applied to the abstract sciences, it seems equally void of foundation, whether we consider the fact itself, the nature of those sciences, or the manners of the literati in different ages. Politeness arises from the habits of social life, and the intercourse of men and nations; it is therefore more likely to accompany commerce than learning. But it must be allowed, at the same time, that manners receive their last polish from works of imagination and sentiment; which soften the mind by pictures of natural and moral beauty, and dispose it to tenderness and social affection.

These reflections, my dear Philip, naturally lead us to the most curious and interesting inquiries; "the revival of letters, and the progress of genius and manners." The method in which you now study history does not permit me to treat those subjects so fully as their importance may seem to require: yet shall I take care to omit nothing essential for a gentleman to know, while I studiously avoid every thing that belongs to the mere antiquary. An attempt to trace, with critical minuteness, through dark and ignorant ages, the obscure sources of refinement, is like travelling over barren mountains and uninhabited deserts, in search of the remote fountain of the Nile, instead of contemplating the accumulated majesty of that river; when greatly bountiful its mysterious waters shed health and plenty over an extensive kingdom, and furnish the means of an enriching commerce, which feeds and employs millions, and calls forth every power of the mind, and cherishes every virtue of the heart.

The first permanent step towards the revival of letters in Europe was the erection of schools under lay preceptors. Alfred and Charlemagne, those early luminaries of the modern world, had shed a temporary lustre over the ages in which they lived. They had encouraged learning both by their example and patronage, and some gleams of genius began to break forth; but the promising dawn did not arrive at perfect day. The schools erected by these great monarchs were confined solely to the churches and monasteries, and monks were almost the only instructors of youth. The contracted ideas of such men, partly arising from their mode of life, partly from their religious opinions, made them utterly unfit for the communication of liberal knowledge. Science, in their hands, degenerated into a barbarous jargon, and genius again sunk in the gloom of superstition. A long night of ignorance succeeded. Learning was considered as dangerous to true piety, and darkness was necessary to hide the usurpations of the clergy, who were then exalting themselves on the ruins of the civil power. The ancient poets and orators were represented as seducers to the path of destruction. Virgil and Horace were the pimps of hell, Ovid a lecherous fiend, and Cicero a vain declaimer, impiously elated with the talent of heathenish reasoning. Aristotle's logic alone was recommended, because it was found capable of involving the simplest arguments, and perplexing the plainest truths. It became the universal science: and Europe for almost three centuries produced no composition that can afford pleasure to a classical reader. Incredible legends, unedifying homilies, and trite expositions of Scripture, were the only labours of the learned during that dark period. But the gloom at last began to disappear, and the sceptre of Knowledge was wrested from the hand of Superstition. Several enlightened persons among the laity, who had studied under the Arabs in Spain, undertook the education of youth about the beginning of the eleventh century, in the chief cities of Italy; and afterward in those of France, England, and Germany. Instruction was communicated in a more rational manner: more numerous and more useful branches of science were

(1) Erasmus. Hollingshed.

taught; a taste for ancient literature was revived; and some Latin poems were written, before the close of the twelfth century, not unworthy of the latter times of the Roman empire.(1)

The human soul during this period seems to have roused itself as from a lethargy. The same enthusiasm, which prompted one set of men to signalize their valour in the Holy Land, inspired another with the ardour of transmitting to posterity the gallant actions of the former, and of animating the zeal of those pious warriors, by the fabulous adventures of former Christian heroes. These performances were composed in verse; and several of them with much elegance, and no small degree of imagination. But many bars were yet in the way of literary refinement. The taste of the age was too rude to relish the beauties of classical composition: the Latin language, in which all science was conveyed, was but imperfectly known to the bulk of readers; and the scarcity of parchment, together with the expense of transcribing, rendered books so extremely dear, as to be only within the reach of a few. Learning, however, continued to advance, in spite of every obstruction; and the invention of paper in the fourteenth century, and of printing about the middle of the fifteenth, made knowledge so general within a century after, that Italy began to compare, in arts and in letters, her modern with her ancient state, and to contrast the age of Leo X. with that of the second Cæsar.

In the mean time, a singular revolution had taken place in the empire of Genius, introduced by one no less singular in the system of manners. Women, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, seem to have been considered merely as objects of sensuality, or of domestic conveniency. They were devoted to a state of seclusion and obscurity, had few attentions offered them, and were permitted to take as little share in the conversation as in the general commerce of life. But the northern nations, who paid a kind of devotion to the softer sex, even in their native forests, had no sooner settled themselves in the provinces of the Roman empire, than the female character began to assume new consequence. Those fierce barbarians, who seemed to thirst only for blood, who involved in one undistinguished ruin the monuments of ancient grandeur and ancient ingenuity, and who devoted to the flames the knowledge of ages, always forebore to offer any violence to the women. They brought along with them the respectful gallantry of the North, which had power to restrain even their savage ferocity; and they introduced into the West of Europe a generosity of sentiment, and a complaisance towards the ladies, to which the most polished nations of antiquity were strangers.

These sentiments of generous gallantry were fostered by the institution of chivalry, which lifted women yet higher in the scale of life. Instead of being nobody in society, she became its *primum mobile*. Every knight devoting himself to danger, declared himself the humble servant to some lady, and that lady was generally the object of his love. Her honour was supposed to be intimately connected with his, and her smile was the reward of his valour: for her he attacked, for her he defended, and for her he shed his blood. Courage, animated by so powerful a motive, lost sight of every thing but enterprise. Incredible toils were cheerfully endured; incredible actions were performed; and the boldest inventions of fiction were more than realized. The effect was reciprocal. Women, proud of their influence, became worthy of the heroism they had inspired: they were not to be approached but by the high-minded and the brave; and men, in those gallant times, could only hope to be admitted to the bosom of the chaste fair, after having proved their fidelity and affection by years of perseverance and of peril.

A similar change took place in the operations of war. The perfect hero of antiquity was superior to fear, but he made use of every artifice to annoy his enemy: impelled by animosity and hostile passion, like the savage in the

(1) Warton, *Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. ii.

American woods, he was only anxious of attaining his end, without regard whether fraud or force were the means. But the true knight, or modern hero of the middle ages, who seemed to have had, in all his encounters, his eye fixed on the judicial combat, or Judgment of God, had an equal contempt for stratagem and danger. He disdained to take advantage of his enemy: he desired only to see him, and to combat him upon equal terms, trusting that Heaven would interpose in behalf of the just; and as he professed only to vindicate the cause of religion, of injured beauty, or oppressed innocence, he was further confirmed in this enthusiastic opinion of his own heated imagination. Strongly persuaded that the decision must be in his favour, he fought as if under the influence of divine inspiration rather than of military ardour.(1) Thus the system of chivalry, by a singular combination of manners, blended the heroic and sanctified characters, united devotion and valour, zeal and gallantry, and reconciled the love of God and of the ladies.

From these new manners arose a new species of composition; namely, the romance, or modern heroic fable. It was originally written in verse, and, by giving a new direction to genius, banished for a time that vein of ancient poetry which had been so successfully revived and cultivated during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Modern poetry, however, lost nothing by this relapse. Had classical taste and judgment been so early established, imagination must have suffered: truth and reason, as an ingenious writer observes, would have chased before their time those visions of illusive fancy which delight to hover on the gloom of superstition, and which form so considerable a part of our polite literature. We should still have been strangers to the beautiful extravagancies of romantic fabling.

This new species of composition took its rise, in the thirteenth century, among the Troubadours or minstrels of Provence; and was originally written in the Provençal dialect, then the most polished and universal of any modern tongue. These Troubadours, who seem to have been the lineal successors of the Celtic bards, had followed in crowds to the Holy Land the princes and nobles by whom they were patronised. They had seen the riches and splendour of oriental cities, and the pomp of oriental princes; they had beheld the greatest scene of war that modern times had yet exhibited. They had seen the combined armies of Europe and of Asia encamp in the plains of Palestine; they had also seen them engage. Their imagination was inflamed by the sumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial cognizances, and grand pavilions, in which the champions of the cross strove to excel each other; but still more by the enthusiastic valour of the combatants. They had seen many wonderful things, and heard many marvellous tales; and they gave to the whole, on their return, the colouring of poetic fancy, heightened by all the exaggerations of Asiatic imagery, and filled with all the extravagancies of Asiatic fiction.(2)

The ignorance and credulity of the age, the superstitious veneration paid to the heroes of the crusades, the frightful ideas formed of the infidels, and the distance of country, made the wildest conceptions of the poet be received with all the avidity of truth. The romance became the favourite mode of composition; and as every kingdom in Europe had its valorous knights, every kingdom soon had its romances; and every romance was nearly the same. Whether the scene was laid in ancient or in modern times, in Spain or in Syria, the same set of ideal beings were introduced, the same kind of plot was pursued, and the same manners were painted. A lady miraculously fair and chaste, and a knight more than humanely brave and constant, encountering monsters, and resisting the allurements of enchantresses, formed the ground-work of all those unnatural compositions.

Modern poetry, however, did not long remain in this rude state. The romance, which had its rise in the manners of chivalry, and which rendered

(1) *Mém. sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*, par M. de la Curne de St. Palaye.

(2) Among these may be numbered dwarfs, giants, dragons, and necromancers; for I am unwilling to give up to the East, with a certain learned critic the honour of the beautiful invention of fairies. See Warton, *Hist. English Poetry*, vol. i.

them still more romantic, fell into disrepute as soon as those manners began to decline. It was succeeded by the allegorical tale; in which the virtues and vices, appetites and passions, took the place of human beings, and were made subservient to the design of the poet. This shadowy production was followed by the Italian epic; which, like the heroic poem of the Greeks, consist of a compound of mortal, immortal, and allegorical personages. Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso are supposed to have carried it to perfection.

Dante, the father of Italian poetry, flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. His *Inferno*, though full of extravagancies, is one of the greatest efforts of human genius. No poem, ancient or modern, affords more striking instances of the true sublime, and true pathetic.⁽¹⁾ He was succeeded by Petrarch and Boccacio, who perfected the Italian language.

Petrarch is the first modern poet who writes with classical elegance and purity. He appears to have been intimately acquainted with the beauties of the ancients, and to have studied their graces. His Canzoni, or lyric pieces, have often all the ease of Horace, and all the delicacy of Tibullus. In many of them, however, we discover a degree of that puerile conceit or affectation of wit, that perpetual effort to say something brilliant, which seems inseparable from Italian poetry; and the Platonic ideas with which all his passionate writings abound, though admired by his countrymen as a decent veil to love, give to his celebrated sonnets to Laura too much the air of hymns to a divinity to interest the human heart. His elegy on the death of that lady, whose story is well known, has been much and deservedly admired. It partakes of the faults and of the beauties of all his compositions, as will appear from the following lines, translated by Sir William Jones in the true spirit of the original:

“Go, plaintive breeze, to Laura’s flow’ry bier,
Heave the warm sigh, and shed the tender tear.
There to the awful shade due homage pay,
And softly thus address the sacred clay:
Say, envied earth, that dost those charms infold,
Where are those cheeks, and where those locks of gold?
Where are those eyes, which oft the muse has sung?
Where those sweet lips, and that enchanting tongue?
Ye radiant tresses, and thou nectar’d smile,
Ye looks that might the melting skies beguile,
You robb’d my soul of rest, my eyes of sleep,
You taught me how to love, and how to weep.”

Boccacio has great and various merit. He is chiefly known as a prose writer; and his prose compositions are superior, in purity of diction, to those of any other Italian author. But if his modesty had not led him to commit to the flames his poetical performances, from an apprehension of their inferiority to those of his master Petrarch, he might possibly have appeared no less considerable as a poet. One piece, which paternal tenderness preserved,

(1) Since the first publication of this work, Mr. Hayley has given to the world an *Essay on Epic Poetry*, a performance, whatever may be its poetical merit, which abounds with much good sense and sound criticism. And I am happy to find my opinion of the higher Italian poets supported by the suffrage of an author, who possesses so large a share of public favour. He thus concludes the character of Dante, after judiciously observing, that he raised to epic pomp his native tongue:

“Unequal spirit! in thy various strain,
With all their influence light and darkness reign;
In thy strange verse and wayward theme alike
New forms of beauty and disorder strike;
Extremes of harmony and discord dwell,
The seraph’s music and the demon’s yell!
The patient reader, to thy merit just,
With transport glows, and shudders with disgust.
Thy failings spring from thy disastrous time;
Thy stronger beauties from a soul sublime,
Whose vigour burst, like the volcano’s flame,
From central darkness to the sphere of fame.”

Essay on Epic Poetry, epist. iii

and three more that escaped the general ruin, give reason for this opinion. The favourite piece is entitled the *Theseid*; and although it confounds, like all the poems of that age, ancient and modern manners, time, and ceremonies, it abounds with so many native beauties as to leave criticism only room for admiration. It is of the heroic kind; and the fable is better constructed, and filled with more interesting incidents, than that of any other Italian poem of the same period.⁽¹⁾ It has been rendered into English, with alterations and additions, by Chaucer, under the name of the *Knight's Tale*; and, as modernized by Dryden, is perhaps the most animated and truly harmonious piece of versification, of the same extent, in our language.

The reputation of Boccaccio, however, with the world in general, is chiefly founded on his *Decameron*; which is truly an enchanting work. It contains more good tales, of the gay and humorous kind, than had then been produced by all former writers, ancient or modern. The most celebrated moderns, in that walk, have indeed borrowed from it their best pieces. Chaucer and Fontaine, though they lived at almost three hundred years distance from each other, are equally indebted to the *Decameron*. Those tales of Boccaccio, which may be considered as the most early gleanings of popular anecdote, are the first modern compositions that give us any just idea of the manners of domestic life; and both the style in which they are related, and the subjects which they unfold, prove that civilization was then in an advanced state in Italy.

But Italy was not the only country where civilization had made advances. The English court was, in that age, the most splendid in Europe, and one of the most polished. Thither many accomplished foreigners resorted, to behold the grandeur, and to enjoy the bounty, of the third Edward. The spoils of France swelled the pomp of England in his reign; while a captive king, and his unfortunate nobles, civilized its manners, by accustoming his haughty and insolent barons to the exercise of mutual complaisance. Edward III. himself, and his illustrious son, the Black Prince, were the examples of all that was great in arms, or gallant in courtesy. They were the patrons and the mirrors of chivalry. The stately castle of Windsor, built in this illustrious reign, saw the round table of king Arthur restored, and the Order of the Garter instituted; that glorious tribute to gallantry, and sacred badge of honour. Tilts, tournaments, and pageants were constantly exhibited, and with a magnificence formerly unknown.

The ladies, who thronged the court of Edward, and crowded to such spectacles, arrayed in the richest habits, were the judges in those peaceful, though not always bloodless, combats; and the victorious knight, in receiving from the hand of beauty the reward of his prowess, became desirous of exciting other passions besides that of admiration. He began to turn his eyes from fancy to the heart. He aspired at an interest in the seat of the affections. Instead of the cold consent of virtue, he sought the warm return of love; instead of acquiescence, he demanded sensibility. Female pride was roused at such a request: assiduities and attentions were employed to sooth it; and nature and custom, vanity and feeling, were long at war in the breast of woman. During the course of this sentimental struggle, which had its rise in a more rational mode of thinking, which opened more freedom of intercourse, and terminated in our present familiar manners, the two sexes mutually polished each other; the men acquired more softness and address, the women more knowledge and graces.

In a reign of so much heroism and gallantry, the Muses were not likely to sleep. Jeffery Chaucer, the father of English poetry, was the brightest ornament of Edward's court. He added to a lively genius and a learned education, a thorough knowledge of life and manners. He was perfectly a man of the world; had frequently visited France and Italy, and sometimes

(1) "The gay Boccaccio tempts the Italian Muse,
More varied notes and different themes to choose;
Themes which her voice had dared not yet to sound,
Valour's heroic feats by beauty crown'd."

under the advantage of a public character. He had studied the Italian and Provençal poets, was intimately acquainted with both languages, and attempted successfully all the kinds of poetry then in use. His translation of the *Theseid* of Boccaccio I have already mentioned. He also translated, and greatly improved, the famous allegorical poem, called the *Romance of the Rose*, written by William of Lorris and John of Meun, two celebrated French poets of those times: and he composed the *Canterbury Tales* after the model of the *Decameron*. They abound with much true humour and pleasantry; and, though chiefly borrowed, entitle their author to a distinguished rank among the writers of his age. The prologues, in particular, which are wholly his own, contain a vein of moral satire that has not hitherto been exceeded.

Chaucer, however, had many disadvantages to struggle with, from which his contemporaries were in a great measure free. William the Conqueror had attempted to extirpate the English tongue. The Norman language was ordered to be used in all public writings, and taught in all public schools. It was also the dialect of the court. That badge of slavery was only abolished by Edward III. It had continued almost three hundred years. Chaucer had therefore to create, or at least to form, a new dialect. This circumstance ought always to be attended to in contemplating the writings of our venerable bard, as it alone can account for that prodigious disparity observable, after all his diligence, between the progress of English manners and of the English language. Had things continued to proceed in their natural order, Chaucer's style would now have been nearly as intelligible as that of Shakspeare.

But this bright dawn of English literature and English refinement was deeply obscured by the civil wars that followed, and which continued, with little interruption, till the accession of Henry VII. During that long period of anarchy, genius went to decay; and the animosities of faction had rendered the manners of the people almost altogether savage. The severity of Henry's temper and government was little calculated to promote either letters or politeness; and the religious disputes which took place under the reign of his son, were a new bar in the way of civilization. Chaucer had no successor worthy of himself till the days of Elizabeth.

Like circumstances obstructed the progress of literature in France till the reign of Francis I. of whom I shall afterward have occasion to speak, and who is deservedly styled the Father of the French Muses. *Chants Royaux*, *Balades*, *Rondeaux*, and *Pastorales* had taken place of the Provençal poetry about the beginning of the fourteenth century; but Froissart, who cultivated with success this *New Poetry*, as it was called, cannot be considered as equal to William of Lorris or John of Meun. The *Romance of the Rose* was still the finest French poem.

Genius, in the mean time, continued to advance, with giant strides, in Italy. A succession of great poets followed Dante in the highest walk of the Muse: at length appeared Ariosto and Tasso, the glory of the sixteenth century, and whose celebrated works are supposed to contain all that is excellent in poetry. The *Orlando* of Ariosto is a wonderful production. It is formed upon the Gothic plan, if it can be said to have any, and consequently is wild and extravagant; but it abounds with so many and such various beauties, that, whether considered as a whole or in parts, it commands our fondest admiration.⁽¹⁾ The *Jerusalem* of Tasso is a more classical performance. It is

(1) "High in mid air, between the moon and earth,
The bard of pathos now, and now of mirth,
Pois'd with his lyre between a griffin's wings,
Her sportive darling, Ariosto, sings.
As the light clouds, whose varying vapours fly,
Driven by the zephyr of the evening sky,
Fixes and charms the never-wearied view,
By taking every shape and every hue;
So, by Variety's supreme control,
His changeful numbers seize the willing soul."
Hayley, *Essay on Epic Poetry*, epist. iii

constructed after the Grecian model; and adds to an interesting and happily conducted fable, a number of striking and well drawn characters, all operating to one end, together with a profusion of beautiful machinery, affecting situations, sublime images, and bold descriptions.(1) Voltaire prefers the first to the *Odyssey*, and the second to the *Iliad* of Homer; but you, I hope, have a juster taste of solid elegance, and of what is truly great in nature and in poetry, than to be swayed by such an opinion.

The progress of genius in Italy, however, during this period, was not confined to poetry, and still less to one species of it. Petrarch and Boccaccio had their successors, as well as Dante. The dramatic talent began to disclose itself. Theatrical representation was revived. Both tragedy and comedy had been attempted with success before the middle of the sixteenth century; but that musical drama, which has long been so universal in Italy, and which in excluding too often, nature and probability has enlarged the bounds of harmony, was yet in its infancy.

Music is one of the first sciences that is cultivated, and the last that is perfected in any country. The rude tale of the bard is accompanied with wild notes of his voice and harp, in order to atone for his want of ideas, and to engage attention; but as fable becomes more extensive and rich, the legendary poet disdains to court the ear with any thing but the harmony of his numbers. He relies for interest solely on the powers of imagination and sentiment; and these, without any adventitious aid, produce their effect upon a people civilized, but not corrupted. The dramatic writer, in like manner, obtains his end, for a time, by the happy disposition of plot, the force of dialogue, and the strength and variety of his characters. But in proportion as mankind become more refined they become more effeminate, and the luxury of harmony is found necessary to give to theatrical representation its proper influence. Then, and not till then, does the musical science attain perfection; and then poetry begins to decline. Every thing is sung; every thing is composed to be warbled through the eunuch's throat, and sense is sacrificed to sound.

A similar observation may be extended to history. The deeds of the hero are the first objects of human curiosity; yet mankind in almost every country, have ceased to act with dignity before their actions have been properly recorded. Truth appears cold and insipid to a people inclined to wonder, and wonder is the predominant passion of all uncivilized nations. Fiction is called in to gratify it; and fable is for a time received as history. But when men come to be more employed about political objects, they become more desirous of being informed than amazed: they wish to know the real actions of their ancestors, and the causes and the consequences of such actions. The historian takes advantage of this disposition of mind to procure admission to his labours; but as it is more difficult to ascertain facts than to assume them, and easier to assign motives of action, and deduce incidents ingeniously from them, than to trace the motives of men in their actions, and give to truth such a degree of colouring as will make it interest, without rendering its validity suspected, history has every where been later in attaining perfection than the highest works of imagination.

Italy had at last her historians, and excellent ones. Machiavel successfully courted the comic muse, unfolded the principles of a dark and pernicious policy, and digested the annals of his native country with all the discernment of Tacitus; while Guicciardini, a more amiable writer, related the transactions of his own times with the elegance and exactness of Thucydides.

1) After having characterized Ariosto, Mr. Hayley proceeds thus, in perfect conformity with the text:

"Of chaster fire a rival name succeeds,
Whose bold and glowing hand religion leads;
In solemn accent and in sacred state,
With classic lore and Christian zeal elate,
Sweetly pathetic and sublimely strong,
Tasso begins his more majestic song;
The Muse of Sion, not implor'd in vain,
Guides to th' impassion'd soul his heavenly strain."

Hayley, *Essay on Epic Poetry*, epist. III.

Philosophy was only wanting, in the sixteenth century, to bring Italy within the line of comparison with ancient Greece, when Greece was in her glory. A number of independent and free states vied with each other in all the elegant and commercial arts; in wealth and in luxury, in manners and in talents, in pomp and in power. Proud of her privileges, and of her liberal acquisitions, she looked down with contempt upon every other country, and branded every other people with the name of Barbarians. Two great monarchs, like those of Persia and Macedon, were contending who should be her master. She wanted only the lights of philosophy to render the parallel complete. Bewildered in the mazes of scholastic reasoning, or lost in the dreams of perverted Platonism, her sages were still alike ignorant of the system of man and of the universe. And before they could know either, it was necessary that the veil of superstition should be rent; that mankind, beholding the puppet to which they had kneeled, and by which they had been overawed, might fearlessly look through the range of nature, and contemplate its physical and moral order.

LETTER LVII.

The Progress of Navigation, and particularly among the Portuguese. A short Introduction to the History of Portugal. The Discoveries and Settlements of the Portuguese on the Coast of Africa, and in the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope. The Discovery of America by the Spaniards; the Settlement of the West Indies, and the Conquest of Mexico and Peru, together with some Reflections on the moral and political Consequences of those great Events.

FROM the arts that polish nations, my dear Philip, let us turn our eyes more particularly towards those that aggrandize them; which supply the wants of one people with the superfluities of another, and make all things common to all. Such are navigation and commerce. By these, and the arts to which they gave birth, the Phœnicians and Carthagenians crowded with cities their barren shores, and attained the first rank among ancient nations; by these, in latter times, the Venetians and Dutch, struggling from dirt and sea-weed, crowned with palaces their lakes and marshes, and became, in different eras, the most opulent and powerful people in modern Europe; by these Britain now governs the ocean, and gives law to the opposite extremities of the globe, at the same time that she wafts from pole to pole the luxuries and conveniences of life.(1)

The navigation of Europe at the beginning of the fifteenth century, though much improved since the age of Charlemagne, was chiefly confined to the Mediterranean and Baltic seas, and was still little more than what is now called *coasting*. Flanders was the great theatre of commerce. Thither, as I have already had occasion to observe, the Italian states conveyed, from the ports of Egypt, the precious commodities of the East: and thither the Hanseatic merchants carried from the shores of the Baltic the naval stores and other rude merchandise of the North. To this common mart all European nations resorted. Here they sold or exchanged the produce of their several countries, and supplied themselves with what they wanted, without dreaming of new ports, or suspecting that the system of commerce could be altered. Dantzic, Lisbon, and Alexandria continued to mark the limits of practical navigation: when the enlightened and enterprising genius of Don Henry of Portugal extended the views of the mariner, and emboldened him to pilot the Atlantic or Great Western Ocean. But before I speak of that prince, and the discoveries which he accomplished, I must say a few words of his country, which I have hitherto considered only as an appendage of Spain.

Portugal, which forms the western coast of the southern peninsula of Europe,

(1) This letter was written before the revolt of our American colonies.

had no existence as a separate state till towards the close of the eleventh century. About that time Alphonso VI. king of Castile and Leon, having conquered from the Moors the northern provinces of the present kingdom of Portugal, bestowed them, together with his natural daughter, upon Henry of Burgundy, a noble volunteer, who had assisted him in his wars. Henry took only the title of count; but his son Alphonso, having recovered other provinces from the Moors, assumed the regal dignity in 1139. The kings of Portugal, like those of Spain, long spent their force in combating the Moors, and had no connexion with the rest of Europe. A detail of those barbarous wars would be equally void of instruction and amusement. I shall therefore only observe, that the succession continued uninterrupted in the line of Burgundy till the death of Ferdinand, in 1383; when John of Castile, who had married the infant of Portugal, claimed the crown, as the king had left no male issue. But the states of Portugal, after an interregnum of eighteen months, gave it to John, natural brother of their deceased sovereign, and at that time regent of the kingdom.(1)

This John, surnamed the Bastard, no less politic than enterprising, proved worthy of his new dignity. He was the first European prince who formed a respectable navy; which he employed, with equal success, in annoying his enemies and in protecting his subjects. He took Ceuta from the Moors, and overawed the states of Barbary during his whole reign. He had several sons, who all signalized themselves by their valour and abilities; but more especially the third, Don Henry, whose bold and enlightened genius, assisted by the reports of travellers, led him to project discoveries in the Western Ocean.

This amiable prince who joined the virtues of a hero and a patriot to the knowledge of a philosopher, turned to use that astronomy which the Arabs had preserved. He had a considerable share in the invention of the astrolabe, and first perceived the advantage that might be derived from the direction of the magnetic needle to the North; which, though already known in Europe, had not hitherto been employed with any success in navigation. He established an observatory at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, where many persons were instructed in astronomy and the art of sailing. The pilots formed under his eye, not only doubled Cape Non, long supposed an insurmountable barrier, but advanced as far as Cape Bajadore, and in their return discovered the island of Madeira. Other pilots, yet more bold, were sent out. They doubled Cape Bajadore, Cape Blanco, Cape Verd, and at last Cape Sierra Leona, within eight degrees of the line, before the death of Don Henry. In the course of these voyages, the Azores, and Cape de Verd islands had been discovered, and the vine and the sugar-cane introduced into the island of Madeira, and there cultivated with success.

Under the reign of John II., a prince of the most profound sagacity and most extensive views, who first made Lisbon a free port, the Portuguese prosecuted their discoveries with equal ardour and success. The river Zara, on the other side of the line, conducted them to the kingdom of Congo, in the interior part of Africa, where they made easy conquests, and established an advantageous commerce. Captain Diaz passed the extreme point of Africa, to which he gave the name of the *Stormy Cape*; but the king, who saw more fully the importance of that discovery, styled it the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Emmanuel I. pursued the great projects of his predecessors. He sent out a fleet of six ships, under the command of Vasco de Gama, a noble Portuguese, in order to complete the passage to India by sea. This admiral possessed all the knowledge and talents necessary for such an expedition. After being assailed by tempests, encircling the eastern coast of Africa, and ranging through unknown seas, he happily arrived at the city of Calicut on the coast of Malabar, or the higher part of the western side of the great peninsula of India.(2)

(1) Neuville, *Hist. Gen. de Portugal*.

(2) *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. I.

Calicut was at that time the emporium of Indostan. Thither the Arabs resorted for all the rich products and precious manufactures of the East. These they carried in ships to the ports of the Red Sea, and sold to the Italian merchants from Alexandria. This information Gama received at Melinda, on the coast of Zanzibar, the most eastern part of Africa, where he had touched; and engaged a pilot, who conducted him into the harbour of Calicut, when the trade was at its height. Here he fortunately met with a native of Barbary, named Monzaida, who understood the Portuguese language, and whose admiration of that people overbalanced the prejudices of religion and country. This admiration determined Monzaida to do every thing in his power to serve strangers who unbosomed themselves to him without reserve. He procured Gama an audience of the Samorin or emperor, who received him very favourably; and a treaty of commerce was set on foot in the name of the king of Portugal. But this negotiation, when almost completed, was broken off by the insinuations of the Arabs. Jealous of their lucrative trade, they represented so strongly the danger of such an alliance, and the ambition of the Portuguese, that Samorin took the ungenerous resolution of putting to death those bold navigators, whom he had lately treated with kindness, and whose friendship he seemed to desire.

Informed of his danger by the faithful Monzaida, Gama sent his brother on board the fleet. "Should you hear," said he, "of my death or imprisonment, I prohibit you, as your commander, either to attempt to release me or to avenge my fate. Set sail immediately and inform the king of the success of our voyage. I am happy in having performed his orders, and discovered a passage to India for Portugal."(1)

Fortunately, however, matters were not pushed to that extremity. Gama lived to carry to Portugal the news of his own success. The Samorin permitted him to join his fleet, he departed soon after for Europe.

No language can express the joy of the Portuguese on the return of Gama to Lisbon. They saw themselves, by one daring enterprise, in possession of the richest commerce in the world; and no less superstitious than avaricious, they flattered themselves with the project of extending their religion along with their dominion.

The pope further encouraged this hope. Glad of an occasion of asserting his universal sovereignty, he granted to the Portuguese all the countries which they had discovered, or should discover, in the East, on condition that they should there plant the Catholic faith. The whole nation was seized with the enthusiasm of conversion and of conquest. They presented themselves in crowds to man the new fleet destined for India; and thirteen ships sailed, as soon as the season would permit, from the Tagus to Calicut, under the command of Alvarez de Cabral.

This admiral in his passage keeping out to sea, in order to avoid the calms on the coast of Africa, and the storms which had been met with in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, discovered the rich country now called Brazil, to which he gave the name of the *Land of the Holy Cross*. He took possession of it in the name of the king his master, and proceeded on his voyage. When he arrived at the coast of Malabar, the Samorin made him an offer of friendship, and invited him to Calicut, where he had an audience of that Indian prince, and was permitted to open a magazine of commerce. But this good understanding was of short duration. The Arabs again found means to poison the mind of the Samorin: the admiral did not behave with the greatest discretion: mutual jealousies took place, mutual fears, and mutual injuries. At last the inhabitants of Calicut rose, murdered fifty Portuguese, and burnt their magazine. This act of hostility did not escape unpunished. Cabral, in revenge of such a breach of faith, and such undermining perfidy, destroyed all the Arabian vessels in the port, beat down great part of the city, and left it in flames.(2)

After this second rupture with the Samorin the measures of the Portuguese

(1) Faria y Sousa, *Port. Asia*, vol. i.

(2) Massel, *Hist. Indica*, lib. ii. cap. iv

in India were totally changed. The peaceful system of Gama was laid aside: the maxims of mutual advantage gave place to those of violence, of force, and of fear; and commerce was established by the sword. Cabral, on leaving Calicut, entered into a negotiation with the kings of Cochin, Cananor, Onor, Culan, and other Indian princes, who were tributaries of the Samorin, and desirous of independency. This love of freedom procured the Portuguese the sovereignty of Malabar, and the trade of India. Cabral promised those deluded princes support, and carried their ambassadors to the court of Lisbon, where such political steps were taken as rendered success infallible. A force was sent out sufficient to combat the Samorin. But no prince could obtain the protection of Portugal without first acknowledging himself its vassal, permitting a fortress to be erected in his capital, and selling his commodities to its subjects at their own price. No strange merchant might load a cargo, till the Portuguese were served; nor any mariner ravage those seas, but with their passports. They were the terror and admiration of the East, the wonder and envy of the West. All European merchants soon resorted to Lisbon for Indian commodities; because they could there purchase them much cheaper than at Venice, or any other mart to which they were brought by the way of Egypt. And, happily for Portugal, the Venetians were then sinking under the pressure of the league of Cambray.

In order to secure and render perpetual these invaluable advantages, the chief command in India was given to Alphonso Albuquerque, a man of singular sagacity and penetration, and equally distinguished by his military and political talents. Albuquerque was no sooner invested with the government, than he began to form the most extensive projects; many of which he executed, and with a facility that is altogether incredible. The Arabs settled in India, and their associates, he had long been sensible, were the only power in the East that the Portuguese had to fear. These traders had secretly entered into a league with the Samorin, the sultan of Egypt, and the Venetians, who were gainers by their commerce, and whose interest it was to destroy the trade of Portugal. The furnishers of the caravans, and navigators of the Red Sea, were the natural enemies of the circumnavigators of the Cape. Albuquerque saw it early, while a private commander. He had therefore done every thing in his power to ruin their settlements on the coast of Arabia, and their united naval force had received a signal overthrow in the Indian Ocean. He now extended his views: he projected nothing less than the conquest of Ormus in the Persian Gulf, and of Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea; where Portuguese squadrons stationed might command the trade of Persia and of Egypt.

The immediate execution of these projects would at once have proved fatal to the commerce of the Arabs and their allies; but Albuquerque, upon mature deliberation, perceived the necessity of establishing the Portuguese more fully on the coast of Malabar, before he divided his forces. He accordingly burnt Calicut, which had long been a thorn in the side of his countrymen; and observing that the Portuguese had yet no good port in a wholesome air, where they might refit their ships and recruit their seamen, after the fatigues of the European voyage, he resolved to procure one. He found that Lisbon had need of Goa.

Goa, which rises to view in the form of an amphitheatre, is situated towards the middle of the coast of Malabar, in an island detached from the continent by two branches of a river that throws itself into the sea at some distance from the city, after having formed beneath its walls one of the finest harbours in the world. It properly belonged to the king of Decan; but a Moor, named Idalcán, to whom the government of it had been intrusted, had rendered himself its sovereign. While this usurper was occupied on the continent, Albuquerque appeared before the city, and carried it by assault. (1) It was afterwards recovered, but soon retaken: and Goa became the capital of the Portuguese empire in India.

(1) Lafitau. *Hist. du Conq. des Port Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. I.

Albuquerque, whose ambition was boundless, attempted next to establish the Portuguese on the coast of Coromandel. With this view he made an attack upon Malacca, situated near the straits of Singapore, one of the richest cities in India, and the best adapted for commerce. It was the centre of the trade between Japan, China, the Spice islands, and the other Indian ports. When Albuquerque appeared before Malacca, he found it in a posture of defence: and a new obstacle conspired to retard his progress. His friend Araujo was there a prisoner, and threatened with death the moment the city should be besieged. Deliberating how to act, while the sentiments of friendship and ambition, perhaps of duty, struggled in his breast, he received the following billet from Araujo: "Think only of the glory and advantage of Portugal: if I cannot be an instrument of your victory, let me not retard it." The place was carried by storm, after an obstinate defence, and several changes of fortune. The Portuguese found in an immense booty, both in treasure and precious commodities.(1) Albuquerque, whose heart was superior to the charms of gold, erected a citadel to secure his conquest, and returned to Goa.

The friendship of the Portuguese was now courted by the Samorin, Idalcán, and all the most formidable Indian princes, who offered to permit fortresses to be built, and factories to be established in any part of their dominions. Albuquerque did not fail to profit by these offers; and judging that the season was now arrived for giving the final blow to the Arabian commerce in the East, he embarked in his original projects, the conquests of Aden and Ormus.

In his attempt upon Aden, which was then the key of Egypt, Albuquerque miscarried: but he committed so many ravages on the coasts of the Red Sea, and in the straits of Babelmandel, as entirely ruined the commerce of the Arabs and Egyptians. He was more successful in his expedition against Ormus, at that time the most opulent and splendid city in the East. It appears to have been nothing inferior to what we are told of ancient Tyre either in wealth or in splendour, in industry or in pleasure: and, like Tyre, it was seated in a barren isle. Like Tyre, it seemed only to have been disjoined from the land, that it might become queen of the sea. It was one of the greatest marts in the universe. But its voluptuous inhabitants were little able to withstand the impetuous and hardy valour of the Portuguese. Albuquerque soon made himself master of the place, and had the honour of there receiving an embassy from the king of Persia.(2)

The reduction of Ormus, which was the last enterprise of this truly great man, together with the possession of Goa and Malacca, gave perfect security to the Portuguese commerce in India. His successors afterward extended it into China and Japan; but it was never more respectable than under Albuquerque. Yet this founder of his country's greatness died in disgrace, and of a broken heart, if ever any man may be said to have done so. That dauntless spirit which had encountered so many enemies, and surmounted so many dangers, could not support the frown of his prince. Emmanuel, become jealous of his glory, had listened to the insinuations of his enemies; had appointed another governor in his stead; and promoted those whom he sent home as criminals. When Albuquerque received this intelligence, he sighed and said, "Can these things be so?—I incurred the hatred of men by my love for the king, and am disgraced by him through his prepossession for other men: to the grave, unhappy old man! to the grave!—thy actions will speak for themselves and for thee."(3)

While the Portuguese, my dear Philip, were thus employed in making acquisitions in the East, and appropriating to themselves the most lucrative commerce in the known world, the Spaniards had discovered a new continent towards the West. They had called into existence, as it were, another world;

(1) Laftau. *Hist. du Cong. des Port.* *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. i.

(2) Guyon. *Hist. des Ind. Orient.* tom. i. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. i.

(3) *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. i.

had opened new sources of trade; expanded new theatres of dominion; and displayed new scenes of ambition, of avarice, and of blood.

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese navigator, who resided at Lisbon, and who had devoted himself to the study of astronomy, first conceived the idea of this new continent. Perfectly acquainted with the figure of the earth, the notion of the antipodes, considered by reason as a chimera, and by religion as impiety, appeared to him an incontestable fact. But if Columbus had not added the stout heart of a hero to the enlightened mind and persevering spirit of a philosopher, the world might still have been ignorant of his discoveries. The Genoese, his countrymen, whom he proposed to put in possession of another hemisphere, treated him as a visionary. He also unfolded his project, the grandest that human genius ever formed, in 1484, to the court of Portugal, without success. He next laid it before the court of Spain; where he long suffered all that supercilious neglect which unsupported merit so often meets with from men in office, who are too apt to despise what they do not understand.

Ferdinand and Isabella were then engaged in the conquest of Granada. The Spanish treasury was exhausted. But no sooner were the Moors subdued, than the ambitious mind of Isabella seemed to sympathize with the bold spirit of Columbus. She offered to pledge her jewels, in order to furnish him with a fleet. Three small vessels were fitted out by other means; and Columbus set sail from the port of Palos, in Andalusia, on the third of August, in the year 1492, in quest of a Western continent, with the title of Admiral and Viceroy of the Isles and Lands which he should discover.(1)

Transcendent genius and superlative courage experience almost equal difficulty in carrying their designs into execution, when they depend on the assistance of others. Columbus possessed both—he exerted both; and the concurrence of other heads and other hearts were necessary to give success to either; he had indolence and cowardice to encounter, as well as ignorance and prejudice. He had formerly been ridiculed as a visionary, he was now pitted as a desperado. The Portuguese navigators, in accomplishing their first discoveries, had always some reference to the coast: cape had pointed them to cape; but Columbus, with no land-mark but the heavens, nor any guide but the compass, boldly launched into the ocean, without knowing what shore should receive him, or where he could find rest for the sole of his foot. His crew murmured—they mutinied: they proposed to commit him to those waves with which he so wantonly sported, and return to Spain.(2)

This was a severe trial to the courage of Columbus, and Columbus only, perhaps, could have supported it. The enthusiasm of genius added strength to his natural fortitude. Cool and unconcerned himself about every thing but his great object, he had recourse to the softest language. He encouraged his men by fair promises, he deceived his officers by false reckonings. But all these expedients proving at last ineffectual, he demanded three days indulgence; at the end of which, if he did not discover land, he promised to abandon his project. His request was granted; and on the morning of the second day, being the twelfth of October, to his inexpressible joy, he got sight of one of the Bahama islands, to which he gave the name of San Salvador. He took possession of it in the name of their Catholic majesties and proceeded on his course.(3)

After leaving San Salvador, now better known by the name of Guanahani, given to it by the natives, Columbus fell in with several other small islands, to one of which he gave the name of Isabella, in honour of his patroness, and to another that of Ferdinand, in compliment to the Catholic king. These he rightly judged to belong to that Western continent which he sought, and which he conjectured must reach to the Portuguese settlements in India: hence the name of *West Indies*. At length he arrived at the island of Cuba, where he entered into some correspondence with the natives, and particularly

(1) *Life of Columbus*, written by his son, chap. xv.

(3) *Life of Columbus*, chap. xxiii.

(2) Oviedo, *Hist. des Ind.* lib. iii.

with the women, from whom he learned, that the gold ornaments which they wore came from Bohio, a large island to the south-east. Thither Columbus steered: what heart does not pant after gold? he soon reached Bohio, or Hayti, as it was called by the natives, to which he gave the name of Espagnola, altered by us into Hispaniola. Here Columbus built a fort, and planted a little colony; after which, having taken a general survey of the island, and settled a friendly intercourse with the natives, he set out on his return to Spain, carrying along with him a sufficient quantity of gold to evince the importance of his discoveries, and some of those new people to complete the astonishment of Europe.

The natives of Hispaniola, and indeed of all the islands which Columbus had visited, were an easy, indolent, harmless race. They were of a copper colour. The men and the girls were entirely naked: the women had a mat of cotton wrapped about their loins. They had no hair on any part of their body but the head; a distinction which also is common to the natives of the American continent. They considered the Spaniards as divinities, and the discharge of the artillery as their thunder: they fell on their faces at the sound. The women, however, seem very early to have had less awful apprehensions of their new guests: for they no sooner saw them than they offered their favours, and courted their embraces as men.⁽¹⁾ Some wicked wit may indeed say, that women from the beginning may have been fond of superior beings and if we credit ancient story, they have often good reason for such fondness. But be that as it may, it is certain that the women of Hispaniola were fonder of the Spaniards than of their husbands. Their husbands were not jealous of them. And in the arms of those wantons the companions of Columbus are said to have caught that fatal malady which has strewed with new thorns the paths of love; and which, if human happiness is to be computed by the balance of pain and pleasure, will be found to be more than a counterpoise to all the gold of Mexico, the silver of Peru, and the diamonds of Brazil.

But let not this misfortune be brought as a charge against the great navigator. He could not know that the new hemisphere contained new maladies; he could not foresee, that he should import into Europe a distemper that would poison the springs of life; which would propagate disease from generation to generation, emasculate the vigour of nations, and multiply a thousand ways the miseries of mankind!—And, happily for him, his enemies were ignorant of it at his return. He again entered the port of Palos, on the fifteenth of March, 1493, after a voyage of seven months and eleven days, and was received with universal acclamations of joy. Those who had ridiculed his project, were the readiest to pay court to him. He was ordered into the presence of Ferdinand and Isabella, and desired to sit covered like a grandee of Spain. Royal favour beamed upon him with unremitting brightness, and the church loaded him with its benedictions. Superstition lent its sanction to those discoveries which had been made in its defiance. Pope Alexander VI. issued a bull, granting to the sovereigns of Spain all the countries which they had discovered, or should discover a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores. A fleet of seventeen sail was fitted out in a few months; and Columbus, vested with yet more extensive powers, and furnished with every thing necessary for discovery, for colonization, or for conquest again committed himself to the waves in quest of a Western Continent.⁽²⁾

Great things were expected from this second voyage; and many new islands were discovered; yet it ended in general disappointment, misfortune, and disgust. When Columbus arrived at Hispaniola, with a multitude of missionaries, soldiers, and settlers, he found the fortresses utterly ruined, and the garrison all massacred. They had drawn upon themselves this untimely fate by their arrogance, licentiousness, and tyranny. These particulars he learned from the natives, accompanied with such marking circumstances, as left him no room to disbelieve them. He therefore entered once more into friendly correspondence with those artless people, established a new

(1) Herrera, dec. i.

(2) *Life of Columbus*, chap. xlii. xliii.

colony, and built the town of Isabella—afterward abandoned for that of St. Domingo, which became the capital of the island. His next care was to discover the mines; near which he erected forts, and left garrisons to protect the labourers. But neither the wisdom nor humanity of this great man were sufficient to preserve order among his followers, or to teach them fellow-feeling. They roused anew, by their barbarities, the gentle spirit of the natives; they quarrelled among themselves; they rose against their commander. Mortified by so many untoward circumstances, Columbus committed the government of the island to his brother Bartholomew, and returned to Spain in 1496, with some samples of gold dust and gold ore, pearls, and other precious products, after having a second time attempted in vain to discover a Western Continent.(1)

Bartholomew Columbus suffered many hardships, and was on the point of sinking under the mutineers, before he received any assistance from the court of Spain; and although the great Christopher was able to clear himself of all the aspersions of his enemies, some years elapsed before he could obtain a third appointment for the prosecution of his favourite project. At last a small fleet was granted him, and he discovered the continent of America, near the mouth of the river Orinoco, on the first day of August, in the year 1498. He carried off six of the natives, and returned to Hispaniola, convinced that he had now reached the great object of his ambition.

But while Columbus was employed in reducing to obedience the mutineers in that island, another navigator unjustly took from him the honour of the discovery of the Western Continent. The merchants of Seville having obtained permission to attempt discoveries, as private adventurers, sent out four ships in 1499, under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, assisted by Americus Vesputius, a Florentine gentleman deeply skilled in the science of navigation. This fleet touched on the part of the Western Continent already discovered by Columbus whose tract Ojeda followed; and Americus, who was a man of much address, as well as possessed of considerable literary talents, by publishing the first voyages on the subject, and other artful means, gave his name to the New World, in prejudice to the illustrious Genoese.(2) Mankind are now become sensible of the imposture, but time has sanctified the error; and the great Western Continent, or fourth division of the globe, so long unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, Asia, and Africa, still continues to be distinguished by the name of AMERICA.

This, however, was but a small misfortune in comparison of what Columbus was doomed to suffer. His enemies having prevailed at the court of Madrid, a new governor was sent out to Hispaniola. The great discoverer and his brother were loaded with irons, and sent home in that condition, in different ships. Touched with sentiments of veneration and pity, Vallejo, captain of the vessels on board of which the admiral was confined, approached his prisoner with profound respect, as soon as he was clear of the island, and offered to strike off the fetters with which he was unjustly bound. "No, Vallejo!"—replied Columbus, with a generous indignation, "I wear these fetters in consequence of an order from my sovereigns. They shall find me as obedient to this, as to all their other injunctions. By their command I have been confined, and their command alone shall set me at liberty."(3)

The Spanish ministry were ashamed of the severity of their creature, Bovadilla: Columbus was set at liberty on his arrival, and a fourth command granted him in 1502, for the prosecution of farther discoveries. But this expedition did not prove more fortunate than the former; for although Columbus touched at several parts of the American continent, where he exchanged trinkets for gold and pearls, to a considerable amount, he failed in an attempt to establish a colony on the river Yebra or Belem, in the province of Veragua, and lost every thing in his course home. He was shipwrecked on the island of Jamaica: his followers mutinied; and, after being alternately in danger of

(1) Herrera, dec. i. lib. iiii.

(2) *Life of Columbus*, chap. xxxiii.

(3) Herrera, dec. i. lib. iv.

perishing by hunger, or by violence, he arrived in Spain in 1505, to experience a more severe fate than either.(1) Queen Isabella was dead at his return. With her all his hopes of future favour perished. The court received him coldly. His services were too great for humility: his proud heart disdained to sue, and his aspiring spirit could not submit to neglect. He retired to Valadolid, where he was suffered to fall a martyr to the ingratitude of that monarch, to whom he had given the West Indies, and for whom he had opened a passage into a richer and more extensive empire than was ever subdued by the Roman arms. He died with firmness and composure on the 20th of May, 1506, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.(2)

There is something in true genius which seems to be essentially connected with humanity. Don Henry, Gama, and Columbus prosecuted their discoveries upon the most liberal principles,—those of mutual advantage; they sought to benefit, not to destroy, their species. After the death of Columbus, the maxims of Spain, like those of Portugal, became altogether bloody. Religion, avarice, and violence walked hand in hand. The cross was held up as an object of worship to those who had never heard of the name of Jesus: and millions were deliberately butchered, for not embracing tenets which they could not understand, not delivering treasures which they did not possess, or not suffering oppressions which man was never born to bear, and which his nature cannot sustain.(3)

The leader who pursued these new maxims with least violence to humanity, and most advantage to his country, was Fernando Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico. Before the discovery of that rich and powerful empire, the Spanish colonies of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico were in a flourishing condition: frequent expeditions had been made to the continent, the settlements established in Castello del Oro and the isthmus of Darien. At last a descent was made in the gulf of Mexico, and information received of the opulence and grandeur of the emperor Montezuma and his capital. Velasquez, governor of Cuba, to whom this intelligence was communicated, immediately resolved upon the conquest of Mexico, and committed to Cortez, an officer hitherto more distinguished by his merit than his rank, the execution of the enterprise: and that gallant soldier accomplished, what appears too bold even for fiction, the overthrow of an empire that could send millions into the field, with so small a force as five hundred men.(4)

A success so unexampled, in an unknown country, must have been accompanied with many favourable circumstances, independent of the ability of the general, the courage of the troops, and even the superiority of weapons. Some of these we know. When Cortez landed with his little army on the coast of Mexico, he met with a Spanish captive, who understood the dialect of the country, and whose ransom he obtained. He also formed an intimacy with a fair American named Marina, who soon learned the Castilian language, and became both his mistress and his counsellor. Her attachment communicated itself to all the Mexican women, who were generally neglected by their husbands for the most abominable of all debaucheries; that which perverts the animal instinct, confounds the distinction of sex, and defeats the leading purpose of nature. While the men opposed their naked breasts to the weapons of the Spaniards, fell by their blows, or fled from their fury, the women every where flew to their embrace, rioted in their arms, and rendered them all the services in their power.

To these fortunate occurrences may be added, the arrival of the ambassadors of Montezuma, who endeavoured, by presents, to engage the invaders to re-embark. The delay which this negotiation produced was of infinite service to Cortez. An army, instead of an embassy, on his first landing, might have ruined him. He replied, by his female interpreter, who best understood the Mexican tongue, that he was only an ambassador himself, and, as such, could

(1) *Life of Columbus*, chap. lxxxix. xc. xci.

(2) *Ibid.* chap. cviii. Herrera, dec. i. lib. vi.

(3) *Relation de Destrroys de las Indias.* par Bart. de las Casas.

(4) De Solis, lib. ii. Herrera, dec. ii.

not depart without an audience of the emperor. This answer put the ambassadors of Montezuma to a stand. They reported it to the emperor. He was alarmed at the request. They redoubled their presents: they employed persuasions, but to no purpose. Cortez was inflexible. At last they had recourse to threats, according to their instructions, and talked loudly of the forces and treasures of their country. "These," said Cortez, turning to his companions, "these are what we seek; great perils, and great riches." Stronger motives could not have been offered to needy adventurers, burning with the spirit of chivalry and the lust of plunder. Their leader saw conquest in their looks; and having now received the necessary informations, and prepared himself against all hazards, he boldly marched towards the seat of the empire.(1)

The Spanish general, however, though so little diffident of his own strength, prudently negotiated with such princes and states as he found to be enemies of the Mexicans. Among these the most powerful was the republic of Tlascala. Cortez proposed an alliance to the senate. It divided upon the subject: but at last came to a resolution, not only to deny assistance to the Spaniards, but to oppose them. This resolution had almost proved fatal to Cortez and his enterprise. The Tlascalans were a brave people, and brought a formidable army into the field; but by the help of firearms, artillery, and cavalry, to these republicans above all things tremendous, the Spaniards, after repeated struggles, were enabled to humble them. They saw their mistake, entered into a treaty with Cortez, and were highly serviceable in his future operations.

The invaders now advanced without interruption to the gates of Mexico. Montezuma was all irresolution and terror. That mighty emperor, whose treasures were immense, and whose sway was absolute; who was lord over thirty princes, each of whom could bring a numerous army into the field, was so intimidated by the defeat of the Tlascalans, that he wanted resolution to strike a blow in defence of his dignity. The haughty potentate, who had ordered Cortez to depart his coast, introduced him into his capital. Instead of making use of force he had recourse to perfidy. While he professed friendship to the Spanish general, he sent an army to attack the Spanish colony, newly settled at Vera Cruz, and yet in a feeble condition. Cortez received intelligence of this breach of faith, and took one of the boldest resolutions ever formed by man. He immediately proceeded to the imperial palace, accompanied by five of his principal officers; and arrested Montezuma as his prisoner; carried him off to the Spanish quarters; made him deliver to punishment the officer who had acted by his orders, and publicly acknowledge himself, in the seat of his power, the vassal of the king of Spain.(2)

In the height of these successes Cortez was informed that a new general, sent by the governor of Cuba, was arrived with a superior force to supplant him in the command, and reap the fruits of his victories. He marched against his rival: he defeated him; he took him prisoner; and the vanquished army, gained by the magnanimity and confidence of the victor, ranged themselves under his standard. Thus reinforced, by an occurrence which threatened the extinction of his hopes, he returned with rapidity to the city of Mexico, where he found full occasion for this accession of strength.

The Mexicans were all in arms, and had surrounded the party which Cortez had left to guard the emperor. This insurrection was occasioned by the avarice and intemperate zeal of the Spaniards; who, on a solemn festival in honour of the gods of the country, had massacred two thousand of the Mexican nobles, under pretence of a secret conspiracy, and stripped them of their precious ornaments. The spirit of the people was roused: they were incensed at the confinement of their prince; they were filled with holy indignation at the insult offered to the gods, and they longed to revenge the fate of their nobility. Cortez found it difficult to resist their fury. They

(1) Herrera dec. ii. De Solis, lib. iii. iv.

(2) De Solis, lib. iv. Herrera, dec. ii.

permitted him, however, to join his detachment, though not from motives of friendship or generosity: they hoped to involve the whole body of the Spaniards in one undistinguished ruin. "We have discovered," said they, "that you are not immortal; and although the death of every Spaniard should cost us a thousand lives, we are determined to complete your destruction. After so great a slaughter, there will still remain a sufficient number to celebrate the victory."⁽¹⁾

In consequence of this resolution, the Mexicans attacked the Spanish quarters with incredible bravery. They were several times repulsed, and as often returned to the charge with undiminished ardour. They devoted themselves cheerfully to death; boldly advanced in the face of the artillery; threw themselves in crowds upon the musketry, and fearlessly grappled the mouths of the guns in attempting to ascend the fortifications. Montezuma judged this a favourable opportunity for obtaining his freedom and the departure of the Spaniards. On those conditions he consented to employ his good offices with his people. He showed himself on the ramparts, clad in his royal robes, and endeavoured to induce the multitude to retire. They at first seemed overawed by the presence of their sovereign, and ready to obey his commands; but suddenly recollecting the pusillanimity of his behaviour, their love was changed into hate, their veneration into contempt, and a stone, launched by an indignant arm, at once deprived Montezuma of the empire and his life.⁽²⁾

That accident gave sincere concern to Cortez, and was a real misfortune to the Spaniards. The successor of Montezuma was a fierce and warlike prince, and resolutely determined to support the independency of his country. Cortez, after several ineffectual struggles, found himself under the necessity of quitting the city. The Mexicans harassed him in his retreat; they took from him all his baggage and treasure; and they engaged him in the field, before he had time to recruit his forces, with an army of two hundred thousand men. The ensigns of various nations waved in the air, and the imperial standard of massy gold was displayed. Now was the time for heroism; and stronger proofs of it were never exhibited than in the valley of Otumba. "Death or victory!" was the charge, and the resolution of every Spaniard. The Mexicans were soon broken, and a terrible slaughter ensued; but fresh crowds still pressing on, supplied the place of the slain, and the Spaniards must have sunk under the fatigue of continual fighting, had not Cortez, by a happy presence of mind, put an end to the dispute, and rendered the victory decisive. He rushed, at the head of his cavalry, towards the imperial standard, closed with the Mexican general who guarded it, and at one stroke of his lance tumbled him out of his litter. The standard was seized, and the consequence proved as Cortez had expected: the Mexicans threw down their arms, and fled with precipitation and terror.⁽³⁾

This victory, and the assistance of the Tlascalans, encouraged Cortez to undertake the siege of Mexico: and another fortunate circumstance enabled him to complete his conquest. The new emperor Guatimozin was taken prisoner in attempting to make his escape out of his capital, in order to rouse to arms the distant provinces of his dominions. The metropolis surrendered, and the whole empire submitted to the Spaniards.

The city of Mexico is represented as one of the most striking monuments of human grandeur. Its spacious squares, its sumptuous palaces, its magnificent temples, are pompously displayed by the Spanish historians; but we must not give entire credit to those splendid descriptions. The mechanical arts could not be carried to great perfection in a country where the use of iron was unknown; nor could the sciences or liberal arts be cultivated with success among a people ignorant of letters. The hieroglyphics which the Mexicans are said to have made use of for communicating their ideas, could but imperfectly answer that end, in comparison of general symbols or signs;

(1) De Solis, lib. iv. Herrera, dec. ii.

(2) Herrera, dec. ii. lib. viii. De Solis, lib. iv. cap. xiv. xv.

(3) De Solis, lib. iv. cap. xx.

and without a facile method of recording past transactions, and of preserving our own thoughts and those of others, society can never make any considerable progress. The ferocious religion of the Mexicans is another proof of their barbarity; for although we frequently find absurd ceremonies prevail among polished nations, we seldom or never meet with those that are cruel. Civilized man has a feeling for man. Human blood was profusely spilled upon the altars of the Mexican gods: and, if we believe the most respectable Spanish historians, human flesh (though only that of enemies) was greedily devoured both by the priests and the people. Enormous superstition and excessive despotism always go hand in hand. When the mind is enslaved, it is easy to enslave the body. Montezuma was the most absolute sovereign upon earth, and his subjects the most abject slaves.

The conquest of Mexico was followed by that of Peru, another country in the New World, abounding yet more in precious metals.

Peru had long been governed by a race of emperors, under the name of Incas, who were supposed to be the descendants of the Sun. The name of the Spanish invader was Pizarro, and that of the Inca in possession of the crown Atahualpa. Alarmed at the ravages of the Spaniards, this prince agreed to an interview with their general, in order to settle the conditions of a peace. Though Pizarro solicited the conference, he had no thoughts but of war. The Inca, it is said, was not more sincere in his professions. He came to the place of meeting carried upon a throne of gold, and attended by upwards of ten thousand men: twenty thousand more are reported to have waited his signal; but for this report, or the insincerity of the Inca, there seems to have been no foundation in fact. All the Peruvians were richly dressed, and their arms glittered with gold and precious stones. The avarice of the Spaniards was inflamed. Pizarro disposed his followers, who did not exceed two hundred, in the most advantageous order, while Vincenti Valverde, a Dominican friar, advanced towards Atahualpa, with a crucifix in one hand and a breviary in the other. He addressed to the Inca, by the help of an interpreter, a long discourse, unfolding the principles of the Christian faith, and pressing him to embrace that religion, and submit himself to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru. Atahualpa, who had listened with a good deal of patience, replied thus to his pious admonisher: "How extravagant is it in the pope, to give away so liberally that which doth not belong to him!—He is inferior, you own, to God the Father, to God the Son, and to God the Holy Ghost: these are all your gods: and the gods only can dispose of kingdoms. I should like to be a friend to the king of Spain, who has sufficiently displayed his power by sending armies to such distant countries; but I will not be his vassal. I owe tribute to no mortal prince: I know no superior upon earth. The religion of my ancestors I venerate: and to renounce it would be equally absurd and impious, until you have convinced me it is false, and that yours, which you would have me embrace, is true. You adore a God who died upon a gibbet; I worship the Sun, who never dies."

"Vengeance!"—cried Valverde, turning towards the Spaniards;—"vengeance! my friends;—kill these dogs who despise the religion of the cross." (1)

The word of command was given; the artillery played; the musketry fired; the cavalry spread confusion and terror; while Pizarro advanced at the head of a chosen band, and seized the person of the Inca. The slaughter was dreadful, and the pillage immense. The blow was final: Peru ceased to be an empire. The descendants of the Sun, who united in their person both the regal and pontifical dignity, sunk under a set of banditti that knew not their birth. After draining Atahualpa of his treasure, under pretence of a ransom for his liberty, Pizarro condemned him to be burnt alive, as an obstinate idolater. But through the mediation of father Valverde, blessed intercessor! the Inca's sentence was changed into strangling, on condition that he should die in the Christian faith! (2)

(1) Bonzoni, *Hist. Nov. Orb.* lib. iii. Herrera, dec. iii. Zarete, lib. iii. Garcilasso, lib. I. (2) *Id. ibid*

The conquest of Mexico and Peru put the Spaniards at once in possession of more specie than all the other nations of Europe. Yet Spain from that era has continued to decline. It has declined in population, industry, and vigour. The vices attendant upon riches have corrupted all ranks of men, and enervated the national spirit. From being the first kingdom in Europe, it has become one of the less considerable. Portugal has experienced a like fate, since the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the settlement of Brazil; and from the same cause, a too great and sudden influx of wealth.

These reflections naturally lead us to inquire, "How far the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards have been advantageous to Europe, or beneficial to mankind?" The subject is complicated, and will best be illustrated by the sequel of events, and the ideas suggested by such a train of particulars. Meanwhile I shall observe, that writers in general are wrong in ascribing to those discoveries our present improvements in commerce and civilization. Commerce and civilization were fast advancing in Europe before the beginning of the sixteenth century; and this quarter of the globe would have been nearly in the situation in which we now find it, though no such discoveries had been made. We should not indeed have had so much specie, but we should have had less occasion for it: the price of labour would have been lower, and would have borne the same proportion to the price of provisions, which would have answered the purpose of a larger quantity of circulating money. Our resources in war would have been fewer; but our real strength might perhaps have been greater, as we should not have had occasion to colonize and combat at both extremities of the globe.

It must, however, be owned, that the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, in the first instance, has been of singular service to the general commerce of Europe. Our trade with India was formerly conducted by means of the Arabs, who, consequently, had a share in the profits: it is now entirely carried on by Europeans. European ships and European sailors import the commodities of the East into our harbours. But in balance of this advantage, the new passage, by being open to every nation, has increased the taste for Indian commodities, and whetted the avarice of man. It has made the nations of Europe massacre one another in the South of Asia, and rob and murder the industrious natives, without feeling or remorse; while it has hurt the European manufacturer, by furnishing foreign fabrics of superior quality, at a lower price than he can afford to sell. It has encouraged a losing trade; for such, in general, that with India must be accounted; a trade which continues to drain Europe of its bullion and specie, the commodities of the East being chiefly purchased with gold and silver.

The mines of Mexico and Peru are necessary to supply that drain. So far the discovery of America must be accounted a good, or at least the palliation of an evil. Besides, the colonies established on the continent, and in the islands of America, depend chiefly upon Europe for their manufactures, and furnish an honest and comfortable maintenance to millions of our people, who must otherwise have wanted bread, or have lived in the lowest state of wretchedness. In this view, America is favourable both to industry and population. These are solid advantages; and the superabundance of the precious metals alone could make Spain and Portugal overlook them. They are poor amid their treasures; while other nations, profiting by their indolence, grow wealthy by supplying their wants. The labour of a people is the only desirable source of their riches, and the only certain road to their felicity; though mankind, in general, are so ignorant as to suppose, that they should be happier without toil.

The discovery of America has increased the labour of Europe, and consequently its happiness, collectively considered. It has also increased the number of the civilized part of the human species, by opening a boundless region for the planting of European colonies; which have greatly flourished in many parts, and supplied the inhabitants of the mother-countries with a

variety of commodities, formerly unknown, that contribute to the more comfortable enjoyment of life, and to the extension of trade. But the violent means by which those colonies were generally established, and the outrages which continue to be exercised against the injured natives, as often as they attempt to reinstate themselves in their original rights, together with the brutal slavery to which another race of men are condemned, in order to cultivate the lands so unjustly seized and held, are circumstances over which humanity must ever mourn, and which the heart of every lover of his species will tell him no commercial, no political motives can authorize or vindicate.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to the line of general history, and enter upon that important era, when all the great powers on the European continent made a trial of their strength in Italy; when religion united with ambition to give new energy to the sword; when creeds, no less than kingdoms, became the source of war; and fire and fagot were employed to enforce human belief.

LETTER LVIII.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe from the Election of Charles V. in 1519, till the Peace of Cambray, in 1529, including the Progress of the Reformation.

THOUGH Maximilian could not prevail upon the German electors to choose his grandson of Spain king of the Romans, he had disposed their minds in favour of that prince: and other circumstances, on the death of the emperor, conspired to the exaltation of Charles. The imperial crown had so long continued in the Austrian line, that it began to be considered as hereditary in that family; and Germany, torn by religious disputes, stood in need of a powerful emperor, not only to preserve its own internal tranquillity, but also to protect it against the victorious arms of the Turks, who, under Selim I., threatened the liberties of Europe. This fierce and rapid conqueror, had already subdued the Mamalukes, a barbarous militia that had dismembered the empire of the Arabs, and made themselves masters of Egypt and Syria. The power of Charles appeared necessary to oppose that of Selim. The extensive dominions of the house of Austria, which gave him an interest in the preservation of Germany; the rich sovereignty of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté; the entire possession of the great and warlike kingdom of Spain, together with that of Naples and Sicily, all united to hold him up to the first dignity among Christian princes: and the New World seemed only to be called into existence, that its treasures might enable him to defend Christendom against the Infidels. Such was the language of his partisans.

Francis I., however, no sooner received intelligence of the death of Maximilian than he declared himself a candidate for the empire; and with no less confidence of success than Charles. He trusted to his superior years and experience, with his great reputation in arms, acquired by the victory at Marignan, and the conquest of Milan. And it was farther urged in his favour, that the impetuosity of the French cavalry, added to the firmness of the German infantry, would prove irresistible; and not only be sufficient, under a warlike emperor, to set limits to the ambition of Selim, but to break entirely the Ottoman power, and prevent it from ever becoming dangerous again to Germany.

Both claims were plausible. The dominions of Francis were less extensive but more united than those of Charles. His subjects were numerous, active, brave, lovers of glory, and lovers of their king. These were strong arguments in favour of his power, so necessary at this juncture; but he had no natural interest in the Germanic body and the electors, hearing so much

of military force on each side, became more alarmed for their own privileges than the common safety. They determined to reject both candidates, and offered the imperial crown to Frederic, surnamed the Wise, duke of Saxony. But he, undazzled by the splendour of an object courted with so much eagerness by two mighty monarchs, rejected it with a magnanimity no less singular than great.

"In times of tranquillity," said Frederic, "we wish for an emperor who has no power to invade our liberties; times of danger demand one who is able to secure our safety. The Turkish armies, led by a warlike and victorious monarch, are now assembling: they are ready to pour in upon Germany with a violence unknown in former ages. New conjunctures call for new expedients. The imperial sceptre must be committed to some hand more powerful than mine, or that of any other German prince. We possess neither dominions, nor revenues, nor authority, which enable us to encounter such a formidable enemy. Recourse must be had, in this exigency, to one of the rival monarchs. Each of them can bring into the field forces sufficient for our defence. But as the king of Spain is of German extraction, as he is a member and prince of the empire by the territories which descend to him from his grandfather, and as his dominions stretch along that frontier which lies most exposed to the enemy, his claim, in my opinion, is preferable to that of a stranger to our language, to our blood, and to our country." (1) Charles was elected in consequence of this speech.

The two candidates had hitherto conducted their rivalry with emulation, but without enmity. They had even softened their competition by many expressions of friendship and regard. Francis in particular declared, with his usual vivacity, that his brother Charles and he were fairly and openly suitors to the same mistress: "The most assiduous and fortunate," added he, "will win her; and the other must rest contented." (2) But although a generous and high-minded prince, while animated by the hope of success, might be capable of forming such a philosophic resolution, it soon appeared that he had promised a moderation too refined for humanity, and which he was little able to practise. The preference was no sooner given to his rival than Francis discovered all the passions natural to disappointed ambition. He could not suppress his chagrin and indignation, at being balked in his favourite purpose, and rejected in the face of all Europe, for a youth yet unknown to fame. The spirit of Charles resented such contempt: and from this jealousy, as much as from opposition of interest, arose that emulation between those two great monarchs, which involved them in almost perpetual hostilities, and kept their whole age in agitation.

When princes or private persons are resolved to quarrel, it is easy to find a brand of discord. Charles and Francis had many interfering claims in Italy; and besides these obvious sources of contention and competition, the latter thought himself bound in honour to restore the king of Navarre to his dominions, unjustly seized by the crown of Spain. They immediately began to negotiate; and as Henry VIII. of England was the third prince of the age in power and in dignity, his friendship was eagerly courted by each of the rivals. He was the natural guardian of the liberties of Europe. Sensible of the consequence which his situation gave him, and proud of his pre-eminence, Henry knew it to be his interest to keep the balance even between the contending powers, and to restrain both, by not joining constantly with either. But he was seldom able to reduce his ideas to practice: he was governed by caprice more than by principle: the passions of the man were ever an overmatch for the maxims of the king. Vanity and resentment were the great springs of all his actions; and his neighbours, by touching these, found an easy way to draw him into their measures.

All the impolitic steps in Henry's government, however, must not be imputed to himself: many of them were occasioned by the ambition and avarice

(1) Scard. *Rev. Germ. Script.* Sockend. *Comment.* Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* book i.

(2) Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

of his prime minister and favourite, cardinal Wolsey. This man, who, by his talents and accomplishments had risen from one of the lowest conditions in life to the highest employments both in church and state, and who lived with regal splendour, governed the haughty, presumptuous, and intractable spirit of Henry with absolute ascendancy. Equally rapacious and profuse, he was insatiable in desiring wealth; vain and ostentatious, he was greedy of adulation; of boundless ambition, he aspired after new honours with an eagerness unabated by his former success. To these passions he himself sacrificed every consideration, divine and human; and whoever sought to obtain his favour, or that of his master, found it necessary also to sacrifice liberally to them.

Francis was equally well acquainted with the character of Henry and of his minister. He had successfully flattered Wolsey's pride, by honouring him with particular marks of his confidence, and bestowing upon him the appellations of Father, Tutor, and Governor; and he had obtained the restitution of Tournay, by adding a pension to these respectful titles. He now solicited an interview with the king of England near Calais; in hopes of being able, by familiar conversation, to attach him to his friendship and interest, while he gratified the cardinal's vanity, by affording him an opportunity of displaying his magnificence in the presence of two courts, and of discovering to the two nations his influence over their monarchs.

Politically though young, Charles dreaded the effects of this projected interview between two gallant princes, whose hearts were no less susceptible of friendship than their manners were of inspiring it. Finding it impossible, however, to prevent a visit, in which the vanity of all parties was so much concerned, he endeavoured to defeat its purpose, and to preoccupy the favour of the English monarch, and of his minister, by an act of complaisance still more flattering and more uncommon. Relying wholly upon Henry's generosity for his safety, he landed at Dover, in his way from Spain to the Low Countries. The king of England, who was on his way to France, charmed with such an instance of confidence, hastened to receive his royal guest; and Charles, during his short stay, had the address not only to give Henry favourable impressions of his character and intentions, but to detach Wolsey entirely from the interests of Francis. The tiara had attracted the eye of that ambitious prelate; and as the emperor knew that the papacy was the sole point of elevation, beyond his present greatness, at which he could aspire, he made him an offer of his interest on the first vacancy. (1)

On the day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with his whole court, in order to meet Francis. Their interview was in an open plain between Guisnes and Ardres; where the two kings and their attendants displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expense, as procured it the name of the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*. Here Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvass, framed in London, on which, under the figure of an English archer, was inscribed the following motto: "He prevails whom I favour!" alluding to his own political situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power, between the emperor and French monarch. Feats of chivalry, however, parties of gallantry, and such exercises as were in that age reckoned manly or elegant, rather than serious business, occupied the two courts, during the time they continued together, which was eighteen days. And here I cannot help noticing a circumstance that strongly marks the manners of those times, and their contrast to ours, if not their comparative rusticity. After the French and English wrestlers had exercised their strength and agility, which, according to the phrase of the historian, afforded *excellent pastime*, the kings of France and England, says Fleuranges, retired to a tent, where they drank together; and the king of England, seizing the king of France by the collar, said, "My brother, I must wrestle with you!" and attempted once or twice to *trip up his heels*; but the king of France, who was an *excellent wrestler*, twisted him round, and threw him on the

(1) Polyd. Virg. Holingshed. Herbert, *Hist. Henry VIII.* Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*

ground with great violence. Henry wanted to renew the struggle, but was prevented.(1)

After taking leave of this scene of dissipation, the king of England paid a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais; where the artful and politic Charles completed the impression which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. He renewed his assurance of assisting Wolsey in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in present possession of the revenues of the sees of Badajox and Palencia, in Spain. He flattered Henry's pride, by convincing him of his own importance, and the justness of the motto which he had chosen; offering to submit to his sole arbitration any difference that might arise between him and Francis.(2)

This important point being secured, Charles repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was solemnly invested with the crown and sceptre of Charlemagne, in presence of a more splendid and numerous assembly than had appeared on any former inauguration. About the same time Solymán II. surnamed the Magnificent, one of the most accomplished, enterprising, and warlike of the Turkish princes, and a constant and formidable rival of the German emperor, ascended the Ottoman throne, in consequence of the death of Selim.

The first act of Charles's administration was the appointing a diet to be held at Worms, in order to concert with the princes of the empire proper measures for checking the progress of "those new and dangerous opinions, which threatened to disturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of their ancestors." The opinions propagated by Luther and his followers were here meant. That bold innovator, after the diet at Augsburg, and the death of Maximilian, had freely promulgated his opinions, under the protection of the elector of Saxony, to whom the vicariate of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws was committed, during the interregnum that preceded the election of Charles V. And these opinions were suffered to take root in different places, and to grow up to some degree of strength and firmness. But Leo X., though little skilled in such controversies, came at last to be alarmed at Luther's progress; and, convinced that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were in vain, issued a bull of excommunication against him. His books were ordered to be burned, and he himself was delivered over to Satan, as an obstinate heretic, if he did not, within sixty days, publicly recant his errors.

This sentence neither disconcerted nor intimidated Luther. After renewing his appeal to a general council, he published remarks upon the bull of excommunication, and boldly declared the pope to be the man of Sin, or Antichrist, whose appearance is foretold in the Revelations of St. John; declaimed against the tyranny and usurpations of the court of Rome with greater vehemence than ever, exhorted all Christian princes to shake off such an ignominious yoke, and boasted of his own happiness in being marked out as the object of ecclesiastical indignation, because he had ventured to assert the rights of religion, and the mental liberty of mankind. Nor did he confine his contempt of the papal power to words alone. He assembled all the professors and students of the university of Wittemberg, and with great pomp, and before a vast multitude of spectators, cast the volumes of the canon law, together with the bull of excommunication, into the flames; and his example was imitated in several other cities.(3)

While the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff were thus furiously shaken in Germany, an attack no less violent, and occasioned by the same causes, was made upon them in Switzerland. The Franciscans being intrusted with the sale of indulgences in that country, executed their commission with the same unblushing rapaciousness which had rendered the Dominicans so odious in Saxony. They proceeded, however, with uninterrupted

(1) *Mem. de Fleuranges.*

(3) *Seckend. Comment. Luth. Oper. vol. ii.*

(2) *Polyd. Virg. Fiddes, ubi sup.*

success till they arrived at Zurich; where they received a mortal blow from Zuinglius, canon of that place, a man of extensive learning, uncommon sagacity, and heroic intrepidity of spirit. Animated with a republican boldness, and free from those restraints which subjection to the will of a prince, and perhaps a remnant of original prejudice, imposed upon the German reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid steps to overturn the whole fabric of the established religion; and the pope's supremacy was soon denied in the greater part of Switzerland.(1)

Such was the state of the Reformation, when Charles V. arrived in Germany. No secular prince had yet embraced the new opinions; no change in the established forms of worship had been introduced, nor any encroachments made upon the possessions or jurisdiction of the clergy: a deep impression, however, was made upon the minds of the people; their reverence for ancient institutions and doctrines was shaken; and the materials were already scattered, which produced the conflagration that afterward spread over all Europe. Charles saw the flames gathering; and, as he found it necessary to secure the friendship of Leo X., he cited Luther to appear before the diet at Worms. Luther did not hesitate a moment about yielding obedience: he accompanied the herald who brought the emperor's letter and safe-conduct, "I am lawfully called to appear in that city," said he to some of his friends, who were anxious for his safety; "and thither I will go in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as tiles upon the houses were there assembled against me."(2)

Had vanity and the love of applause, from which no human heart is free, been the sole principles by which Luther was influenced, his reception at Worms was such as he might have reckoned a full reward for all his labours. Vast crowds assembled to see him whenever he walked abroad; and his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank, who treated him with all the respect that is due to superior merit, but which is more particularly commanded by those who possess the power of directing the understanding and the sentiments of others. Rank or birth can receive no homage so flattering; for they can receive none so sincere, or which has so immediate a reference to those qualities, which men call their own. Luther was not, however, intoxicated: he behaved before the diet with equal decency and firmness. He readily acknowledged an excess of vehemence and acrimony in his controversial writings; but he refused to retract his opinions, till convinced of their falsehood, or consent to their being tried by any other standard than the Scripture. Neither threats nor entreaties could prevail on him to depart from this resolution. Some of the fathers, therefore, proposed to imitate the example of the council of Constance, in its proceedings relative to John Huss; to commit to the flames the author of this pestilent heresy, now in their power, and deliver the church at once from so dangerous an enemy; but the members of the diet refusing to expose the German integrity to fresh reproach by a second violation of public faith, and Charles being no less unwilling to bring a stain upon the beginning of his administration by such an ignominious measure, Luther was permitted to depart in safety.(3) A few days after he left the city, a severe edict was issued in the emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, forbidding any prince to harbour him, and requiring all to concur in seizing his person as soon as his safe-conduct was expired. But the elector of Saxony, his faithful patron, took him again, though secretly, under protection. Luther, in solitude, propagated his opinions; and Charles, for a time, found other matters to engage his attention.

The Spaniards, who were dissatisfied with the departure of their sovereign, whose election to the empire they foresaw would interfere with the administration of his own kingdom, and incensed at the avarice of the Flemings, to whom the direction of public affairs had been committed since the death of

(1) Buchart. *Hist. de la Reformat. en Suisse* liv. 1.
(3) F. Paul. Seckend

(2) Luth. *Oper.* vol. II.

cardinal Ximenes, broke out into open rebellion. Several grandees, in order to shake off that oppression, entered into an association, to which they gave the name of the Sancta Junta: and the sword was appealed to, as the means of redress. This seemed, to Francis, a favourable juncture for reinstating the family of John d'Albert in the kingdom of Navarre. Charles was at a distance from that part of his dominions, and the troops usually stationed there had been recalled to quell the commotions in Spain. A French army, under Andrew de Foix, speedily conquered Navarre; but that young and inexperienced nobleman, dazzled with success, and pushed on by military ardour, ventured to enter Castile. Though divided among themselves, the Spaniards united against a foreign enemy; routed his forces, took him prisoner, and recovered Navarre in a shorter time than he had spent in subduing it.

Hostilities, thus began in one quarter, between the rival monarchs, rapidly spread to another. The king of France encouraged the duke of Bouillon to make war upon the emperor, and invade Luxembourg. Charles, after humbling the duke, attempted to enter France, but was repelled and worsted before Mezieres, by the famous chevalier de Bayard; distinguished among his contemporaries by the appellation of *The Knight without fear and without reproach*, and who united the talents of a consummate general to the punctilious honour and romantic gallantry of the heroes of chivalry. Francis broke into the Low Countries; where, by an excess of caution, an error not natural to him, he lost an opportunity of cutting off the whole imperial army; and, what was still greater misconduct, he disgusted the constable Bourbon, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon.(1)

During these operations in the field, an unsuccessful congress was held at Calais, under the mediation of Henry VIII. It served only to exasperate the parties it was intended to reconcile. And a league was soon after concluded at Bruges, through the intrigues of Wolsey, between the pope, Henry, and Charles, against France. Leo had already entered into a separate league with the emperor, and the French were fast losing ground in Italy.(2)

The insolence and exactions of mareschal de Lautrec, governor of Milan, had totally alienated the affections of the Milanese from France. They resolved to expel the troops of that nation, and put themselves under the government of Francis Sforza, brother of Maximilian their late duke. In this resolution they were encouraged by the pope, who excommunicated Lautrec, and took into his pay a considerable body of Swiss. The papal army, commanded by Prosper Colonna, an experienced general, was joined by reinforcements from Germany and Naples; while Lautrec, neglected by his court, and deserted by the Swiss in its pay, was unable to make head against the enemy. The city of Milan was betrayed by the inhabitants to the confederates; Parma and Placentia were united to the ecclesiastical state: and of their conquests in Lombardy, only the town of Cremona, the castle of Milan, and a few inconsiderable forts remained in the hands of the French.(3)

Leo X. received the account of his rapid success with such transports of joy as are said to have brought on a fever which occasioned his death. The spirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations suspended by that event. The Swiss were recalled; some other mercenaries were disbanded for want of pay: so that the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the emperor's service, only remained to defend the duchy of Milan. But Lautrec, who, with the remnant of his army, had taken shelter in the Venetian territories, destitute of both men and money, was unable to improve this favourable opportunity. All his efforts were rendered ineffectual by the vigilance and ability of Colonna and his associates.

Meantime, high discord prevailed in the conclave. Wolsey's name, notwithstanding all the emperor's magnificent promises, was scarcely mentioned there. Julio of Medicis, Leo's nephew, thought himself sure of the election; when, by an unexpected turn of fortune, Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's

(1) *Euvr. de Brantome*, tom. vi. *Mém. de Bellay*.

(2) *Rymer, Fœd.* vol. xiii. *Herbert, Hist. Hen. VIII.*

(3) *Guicciardini lib. xiv. Mém. de Bellay*

preceptor, who at that time governed Spain in the character of viceroy, was unanimously raised to the papacy, to the astonishment of all Europe, and the great disgust of the Italians.

Francis, roused by the rising consequence of his rival, resolved to exert himself with fresh vigour, in order to wrest from him his late conquests in Lombardy. Lautrec received a supply of money, and a recruit of ten thousand Swiss infantry. With this reinforcement he was enabled once more to act offensively, and even to advance within a few miles of the city of Milan; when money again failing him, and the Swiss growing mutinous, he was obliged to attack the imperialists in their camp at Bicocca, where he was repulsed with great slaughter, having lost his bravest officers and best troops. All the Swiss that survived immediately set out for their own country; and Lautrec, despairing of being able to keep the field, retired into France. Genoa, which still remained subject to Francis, and which made it easy for him to execute any scheme for the recovery of Milan, was soon after taken by Colonna: the authority of the emperor and his faction was every where established in Italy. The citadel of Cremona was the sole fortress that remained in the hands of the French.⁽¹⁾

The affliction of Francis for such a succession of misfortunes, was augmented by the unexpected arrival of an English herald, who, in the name of his sovereign, declared war against France. The courage of this high-spirited prince, however, did not forsake him. Though his treasury was exhausted by expensive pleasures no less than by hostile enterprises, he assembled a considerable army, and put his kingdom in a posture for resisting his new enemy, without abandoning any of the schemes which he was forming against the emperor. He was surprised, but not alarmed, at such a denunciation.

Willing to derive as much advantage as possible from so powerful an ally, Charles paid a second visit to the court of England in his way to Spain, where his presence was become highly necessary. And his success here exceeded his most sanguine expectations. He not only gained the entire friendship of Henry, who publicly ratified the treaty of Bruges, but disarmed the resentment of Wolsey, by assuring him of the papacy on Adrian's death, an event seemingly not distant, by reason of his age and infirmities. In consequence of these negotiations, an English army invaded France under the command of the earl of Surry; who, at the close of the campaign, was obliged to retire with his forces greatly diminished, without being able to make himself master of one place within the French frontier. Charles was more fortunate than his ally. He soon quelled the tumults that had arisen in Spain during his absence.

While the Christian princes were thus wasting each other's strength, Solyman the Magnificent entered Hungary, and made himself master of Belgrade, reckoned the chief barrier of that kingdom against the Turkish power. Encouraged by his success, he turned his victorious arms against the island of Rhodes, then the seat of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and although every prince in that warlike age acknowledged Rhodes to be the principal bulwark of Christendom in the Levant, so violent was their animosity against each other, that they suffered Solyman without disturbance to carry on his operations against that city and island. Lisle Adam, the grand master, made a gallant defence; but after incredible efforts of courage, patience, and military skill, during a siege of six months, he was obliged to surrender the place, having obtained an honourable capitulation from the sultan, who admired and respected his heroic qualities.⁽²⁾ Charles and Francis were equally ashamed of having occasioned, through their contests, such a loss to the Christian world; and the emperor, by way of reparation, granted to the knights of St. John the small island of Malta, where they fixed their residence, and continue still to retain their ancient spirit, though much reduced in power and splendour.

Adrian VI., though the creature of the emperor, and devoted to his interest,

(1) Guicciardini, ubi sup.

(2) Fontan. de Bell. Rhod. Barre, *Hist. d'Allemag* tom. viii

endeavoured to assume the impartiality which became the common father of Christendom, and laboured to reconcile the contending princes, that they might unite in a league against Solymán, whose conquest of Rhodes rendered him more formidable than ever to Europe. The Italian states were no less desirous of peace than the pope: and so much regard was paid by the hostile powers to the exhortations of his holiness, and to a bull which he issued, requiring all Christian princes to consent to a truce for three years, that the imperial, the French, and the English ambassadors at Rome, were empowered to treat of that matter. But while they wasted their time in fruitless negotiations, their masters were continuing their preparations for war; and other negotiations soon took place.—The confederacy against France became more formidable than ever.

The Venetians who had hitherto adhered to the French interest, formed engagements with the emperor for securing Francis Sforza in the possession of the duchy of Milan; and the pope, from a persuasion that the ambition of the French monarch was the only obstacle to peace, acceded to the same alliance. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, with all the other Italian powers, followed this example. Francis was left without a single ally to resist the efforts of a multitude of enemies, whose armies every where threatened, and whose territories encompassed, his dominions. The emperor in person, at the head of a Spanish army, menaced France on the side of Guienne: the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy, and a numerous body of Germans was preparing to ravage Burgundy.⁽¹⁾

The dread of so many and such powerful adversaries it was thought would have obliged Francis to keep wholly on the defensive, or at least have prevented him from entertaining any thoughts of marching into Italy. But it was the peculiar characteristic of this prince, too apt to become negligent on ordinary occasions, to rouse at the approach of imminent danger, and not only to encounter it with spirit and intrepidity, but to provide against it with diligence and industry. Before his enemies were able to strike a blow, Francis had assembled a powerful army, with which he hoped to disconcert all the emperor's schemes, by leading it in person into Italy; and this bold measure could scarcely have failed of the desired effect, had it been immediately carried into execution. But the discovery of a domestic conspiracy, which threatened the destruction of his kingdom, obliged Francis to stop short at Lyons.

Charles, duke of Bourbon, high constable of France, was a prince of the most shining talents. His great abilities equally fitted him for the council or the field, while his eminent services to the crown entitled him to its first favour. But, unhappily, Louisa, dutchess of Angoulême, the king's mother, had contracted a violent aversion against the house of Bourbon; and had taught her son, over whom she had acquired an absolute ascendant, to view all the constable's actions with a jealous eye. After repeated affronts he retired from court, and began to listen to the advances of the emperor's ministers. Meantime, the dutchess of Bourbon happened to die; and as the constable was no less handsome than accomplished, the dutchess of Angoulême, still susceptible of the tender passions, formed the scheme of marrying him. But Bourbon, who might have expected every thing to which an ambitious mind can aspire, from the doting fondness of a woman who governed her son and the kingdom, incapable of imitating Louisa in her sudden transition from love to hate, or of meanly counterfeiting a passion for one who had so long pursued him with unprovoked malice, treated the proposal with disdain, and even turned it into ridicule. At once refused and insulted by the man whom love only could have made her cease to persecute, Louisa was filled with all the rage of disappointed woman: she resolved to ruin, since she could not marry, Bourbon. For this purpose she commenced an iniquitous suit against him; and by the chicanery of chancellor Du Prat, the constable was stripped

(1) Guicciardini, lib. xv.

of his whole family estate. Driven to despair by so many injuries, he had recourse to measures which despair only could have dictated. He entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England; and he proposed, as soon as Francis should have crossed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, and to introduce foreign troops into the heart of France. (1)

Happily, Francis got intimation of this conspiracy before he left the kingdom. But not being sufficiently convinced of the constable's guilt, he suffered so dangerous an enemy to escape; and Bourbon, entering into the emperor's service, employed all the resources of his enterprising genius, and his military skill, to the prejudice of his sovereign and his native country. He took a severe revenge for all his wrongs.

In consequence of the discovery of this plot, and the escape of the powerful conspirator, Francis relinquished his intention of leading his army in person into Italy. He was ignorant how far the infection had spread among his subjects, and afraid that his absence might encourage them to make some desperate attack in favour of a man so much beloved. He did not, however, abandon his design on the dutchy of Milan; but sent forward, in order to subdue it, an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of admiral Bonnivet. Colonna, who was intrusted with the defence of that dutchy, was in no condition to resist such a force; and the city of Milan, on which the whole territory depends, must have fallen into the hands of the French, had not Bonnivet, who possessed none of the talents of a general, wasted his time in frivolous enterprises, till the inhabitants recovered from their consternation. The imperial army was reinforced. Colonna died, and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, succeeded him in the command. But the military operations were chiefly conducted by the duke of Bourbon and the marquis de Pescara, the two greatest generals of their age. Bonnivet, destitute of the talents necessary to oppose such able commanders, was reduced, after various movements and encounters, to the necessity of attempting a retreat into France. He was pursued by the imperial generals, and routed at Biagrasa.

Here fell the chevalier Bayard, whose contempt of the arts of courts prevented him from ever rising to the chief command, but who was always called, in times of real danger, to the posts of difficulty and importance. Bonnivet being wounded, the conduct of the rear was committed to Bayard. He put himself at the head of the heavy-armed cavalry, and, animating them by his presence and example to sustain the whole shock of the imperial army, he gained time for the body of his countrymen to make good their retreat. But in that service he received a mortal wound; and being unable any longer to continue on horseback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, where he calmly waited the approach of death. In this situation he was found by Bourbon, who led the van of the imperialists, and expressed much sorrow for his fate. "Pity not me!" cried the high-minded chevalier: "I die, as a man of honour ought, in the discharge of my duty; but pity those who fight against their king, their country, and their oath." (2)

The emperor and his allies were less successful in their operations on the frontier of France. They were baffled on all sides. And Francis, though stripped of his Italian dominions, might still have enjoyed in safety the glory of having defended his native kingdom against one half of Europe, and have bid defiance to all his enemies, could he have moderated his military ardour. But understanding that the king of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprises, and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for invading Picardy, his rage for the conquest of Milan returned; and he determined, notwithstanding the approach of winter, to march into Italy.

The French army no sooner appeared in Piedmont, than the whole dutchy of Milan was thrown into consternation. The capital opened its gates. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi: and had Francis been so

(1) Thuanus, lib. i. cap. ii. *Mém. de Bellay*, liv. ii.

(2) *Mém. de Bellay*, ubi sup. *Œuvr. de Brantome*, tom. vi.

fortunate as to pursue them, they must have abandoned that post, and been totally dispersed. But his evil genius led him to besiege Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Antonio de Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every thing known to the engineers of that age, or which could be effected by the valour of his troops, was attempted in vain by the French monarch against this important place, during a siege of three months. In the mean time, confident of success, he had detached a considerable part of his army to invade the kingdom of Naples: and the main body was much wasted by the fatigues of the siege and the rigour of the season. The imperial generals had not hitherto molested him, but they were not idle. Pescara and Lannoy had assembled forces from all quarters; and Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, had gone into Germany, and levied at his own expense a body of twelve thousand Lansquenets. The united army advanced to the relief of Pavia, now reduced to extremity for want of ammunition and provisions. Prudence, and the advice of his most experienced officers, dictated to Francis the propriety of a retreat; but his own romantic notions of honour, and the opinion of Bonnivet, unhappily determined him to keep his post. Having said that he would take Pavia or perish in the attempt, he thought it ignominious to depart from that resolution; and he anxiously waited the approach of the enemy.

The imperial generals found the French so strongly intrenched, that they hesitated long before they ventured to attack them. But the necessities of the besieged, and the murmurs of their own troops, obliged them at last to put every thing to hazard. Never did armies engage with greater ardour, or with a higher opinion of the battle they were going to fight; never were men more strongly animated with personal emulation, national antipathy, mutual resentment, and all the passions which inspire obstinate bravery. The first efforts of the French valour made the firmest battalions of the imperialists give ground; but the fortune of the day was soon changed. The Swiss troops in the service of France, unmindful of their national honour, shamefully deserted their post. Pescara fell upon the French cavalry with the imperial horse, and broke that formidable body, by a mode of attack with which they were wholly unacquainted;(1) while Leyva, sallying out with his garrison, during the heat of action, made a furious assault on the enemy's rear, and threw every thing into confusion. The rout became general. But Francis himself, surrounded by a brave nobility, many of whom fell by his side, long sustained the combat. His horse being killed under him, he fought on foot, undistinguished but by his valour, and killed seven men with his own hand. At last he was observed by Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had followed the fortunes of Bourbon, and who now saved the life of his sovereign, ready to sink beneath an enraged soldiery. By his persuasion Francis was prevailed upon to surrender; yet he obstinately refused, imminent as the danger was, to deliver up his sword to Bourbon. Lannoy received it. But Bourbon had the cruel satisfaction of exulting over his sovereign's distress, and of repaying, from revenge, the insults offered by jealousy.(2)

This victory, and the captivity of Francis, filled all Europe with alarm. Almost the whole French army was cut off: Milan was immediately abandoned; and in a few weeks not a Frenchman was left in Italy. The power of the emperor, and still more his ambition, became the object of universal terror: and resolutions were every where taken to set bounds to it. Meanwhile, Francis, deeply impressed with a sense of his fortune, wrote to his mother Louisa, whom he had left regent of the kingdom, the following short but expressive letter: "All is lost, but honour!"

The same courier that delivered this letter carried also despatches to Charles, who received the news of the signal and unexpected success which had crowned his arms with the most hypocritical moderation. He would not

(1) Pescara had intermingled with the imperial horse a considerable number of Spanish foot, armed with the heavy muskets then in use. Guicciardini, lib. xv

(2) *Mém. de Bellay*. Brantome. Guicciardini.

suffer any public rejoicings to be made on account of it; and said, he only valued it as it would prove the occasion of restoring peace to Christendom. Louisa, however, did not trust to those appearances. Instead of giving herself up to such lamentations as were natural to a woman remarkable for maternal tenderness, she discovered all the foresight, and exerted all the activity, of a consummate politician. She took every possible measure for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, while she employed all her address to appease the resentment and to gain the friendship of England; (1) and a ray of comfort from that quarter soon broke in upon the French affairs.

Though Henry VIII. had not entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, he had always retained some imperfect idea of that balance of power necessary to be maintained between Charles and Francis, the preservation of which he boasted was his peculiar office. By his alliance with the emperor he hoped to recover some part of those territories on the continent which had belonged to his ancestors; and in that hope he willingly contributed to give Charles the ascendancy above his rival. But having never dreamed of any event so decisive and fatal as the victory at Pavia, which seemed not only to have broken but to have annihilated the power of Francis, Henry now became sensible of his own danger, as well as of that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage of the distressed condition of France, the English monarch therefore determined to assist her in her present calamities. Other causes conspired to enforce this resolution.

The elevation of the cardinal of Medicis to St. Peter's chair, on the death of Adrian VI., under the name of Clement VII., had made the English minister sensible of the insincerity of the emperor's promises, while it extinguished all his hopes of the papacy; and Wolsey resolved on revenge. His master too had ground of complaint. Charles had so ill supported the appearance of moderation which he assumed when first informed of his good fortune, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself "your affectionate son and cousin," he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself "Charles." Influenced by all these considerations, together with the glory of raising a fallen enemy, Henry listened to the flattering submissions of Louisa; entered into a defensive alliance with her, as regent of France; and engaged to use his best offices in order to procure a deliverance of her son from a state of captivity. (2)

Meanwhile, Francis was rigorously confined; and hard conditions being proposed to him, as the price of his liberty, he drew his dagger, and pointing it at his breast, cried, "I were better that a king should die thus!" But flattering himself, when he grew cool, that such propositions could not come directly from Charles, he desired that he might be removed to Spain, where the emperor then resided. His request was complied with; but he languished long before he could obtain a sight of his conqueror. At last he was favoured with a visit; and the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, or that Francis, if driven to despair, might, as he threatened, resign his crown to the dauphin, agreed to abate somewhat of his former demands. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Madrid, in consequence of which Francis obtained his liberty. The chief article in this treaty was, that Burgundy should be restored to Charles as the rightful inheritance of his ancestors, and that Francis's two eldest sons should be immediately delivered up as hostages for the performance of the conditions stipulated. The exchange of the captive monarch for his children was made on the frontiers of France and Spain. And the moment that Francis entered his own dominions, he mounted a Turkish horse, and putting it to its speed, waved his hand, and cried aloud several times, "I am yet a king! I am yet a king!" (3)

The reputation of the French monarch, however, would have stood in a fairer light had he died a captive; for the unhappy situation of his affairs,

(1) *Mem. de Bellay. Brantome. Guicciardini.*

(2) *Herbert. Mezeray. Mem. de Bellay. Fiddes, Life of Wolsey*

(3) *Guicciardini, lib. xvi.*

delicate as his notions of honour appear to have been, led him henceforth to act a part very disadvantageous to his moral character. He never meant to execute the treaty of Madrid: he had even left a protest in the hands of notaries before he signed it, that his consent should be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void.(1) Accordingly, as soon as he arrived in France, he assembled the states of Burgundy, who protested against the article relative to their province; and when the imperial ambassadors urged the immediate execution of the treaty, the king replied, that he would rigorously perform the articles relative to himself, but in those affecting the French monarchy he must be directed by the sense of the nation. He made the highest acknowledgments to the king of England for his friendly interposition, and offered to be entirely guided by his counsels.

Charles and his ministers now saw that they were overreached in those very arts of negotiation in which they so much excelled, while the Italian states observed with pleasure that Francis was resolved to evade the execution of a treaty, which they considered as dangerous to the liberties of Europe. Clement VII. absolved him from the oath which he had taken at Madrid; and the kings of France and England, the pope, the Swiss, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Milanese, entered into an alliance, to which they gave the name of the Holy League, because his holiness was at the head of it, in order to oblige the emperor to deliver up Francis's two sons on the payment of a reasonable ransom, and to re-establish Sforza in the quiet possession of the duchy of Milan.(2)

In consequence of this league, the confederate army took the field, and Italy became once more the scene of war. But Francis, who it was expected would infuse spirit and vigour into the whole body, had gone through such a scene of distress, that he was become diffident of his talents, and distrustful of his fortune. He had flattered himself, that the dread alone of such a confederacy would induce Charles to listen to what was equitable, and therefore neglected to send sufficient reinforcements to his allies in Italy. Meantime, the duke of Bourbon, who commanded the imperialists, overran the whole duchy of Milan, of which the emperor had promised him the investiture; and his troops beginning to mutiny for want of pay, he boldly led them to Rome, in spite of every obstacle, by offering to their avidity the rich spoils of that ancient capital. Nor did he deceive them; for although he himself was slain, while encouraging their efforts by his brave example, in planting with his own hands a scaling ladder against the walls, they, more enraged than discouraged by that misfortune, mounted to the assault with the greatest ardour; and entering the city sword in hand, pillaged it for many days, and made it a scene of horrid carnage and abominable lust.

Never did Rome experience in any age so many calamities, not even from the Barbarians by whom she was successively subdued—from the followers of Alaric, Genseric, or Odoacer, as now from the subjects of a Christian and Catholic monarch. Whatever was respectable in modesty or sacred in religion seemed only the more to provoke the rage of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their mothers, and upon those altars to which they had fled for safety. Venerable prelates, after being exposed to every indignity, not excepting the abuse of unnatural desire, and enduring every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the most cruel deaths, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures. Clement himself, who had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, was obliged to surrender at discretion; and found that his sacred character could neither procure him liberty nor respect. He was doomed to close confinement, until he should pay an enormous ransom, imposed by the victorious army, and surrender to the emperor all the places of strength belonging to the apostolic see.(3)

(1) *Recueil de Traitez*, tom. ii.

(2) Goldast. *Polit. Imperial.*

(3) *Jov. Vit. Colon.* Guicciardini, lib. xviii. *Mém. de Bellay.* Eight thousand young women, of all ranks, were found to be pregnant within five months after the taking of Rome (*ibid*); a circumstance not a little curious in itself, and which certain sportive writers have considered as a proof, by no means equivocal, that the Roman ladies reciprocated the transports of the rapacious and blood-thirsty, but brawny followers of Bourbon.

Charles received the news of this extraordinary event with equal surprise and pleasure; but in order to conceal his joy from his Spanish subjects, who were filled with horror at the insult offered to the sovereign pontiff, and to lessen the indignation of the other powers of Europe, he expressed the deepest sorrow for the success of his arms. He put himself and his whole court into mourning; stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip; and ordered prayers to be put up in all the churches of Spain for the liberation of the pope, which he could immediately have procured by a letter to his generals.⁽¹⁾

The concern expressed by Henry and Francis, for the calamity of their ally, was more sincere. Alarmed at the progress of the imperial arms, they had, even before the sacking of Rome, entered into a closer alliance, and proposed to invade the Low Countries with a powerful army; but no sooner did they hear of Clement's captivity than they changed, by a new treaty, the scene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy, and resolved to take the most vigorous measures for restoring his holiness to liberty. Henry, however, contributed only money. A French army crossed the Alps, under the command of marshal Lautrec; Clement obtained his freedom; and war was, for a time, carried on by the confederates with success. But the death of Lautrec, and the revolt of Andrew Doria, a celebrated Genoese admiral, at that time in the service of France, totally changed the face of affairs. He obliged the French garrison in Genoa to surrender, and restore the liberties of his country. The French army was utterly ruined before Naples; and Francis, discouraged, and almost exhausted by so many unsuccessful enterprises, began at length to think of peace, and of obtaining the release of his sons by concessions, instead of the terror of his arms.

At the same time, Charles, notwithstanding the advantages he had gained, had many reasons to wish for an accommodation. Solymán the Magnificent, having overrun Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Austrian territories with the whole force of the Ottoman empire; and the progress of the Reformation in Germany threatened the tranquillity of that country. In consequence of this situation of affairs, while pride made both parties conceal or dissemble their real sentiments, two ladies were permitted to restore peace to Europe. Margaret of Austria, Charles's aunt, and Louisa, Francis's mother, met at Cambray, and settled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Francis agreed to pay two millions of crowns, as the ransom of his two sons; to resign the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and forego all his Italian claims; and Charles ceased to demand the restitution of Burgundy.⁽²⁾

All the steps of this negotiation had been communicated to the king of England; and Henry was, on that occasion, so generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he sent him an acquittal of near six hundred thousand crowns, in order to enable him to fulfil his agreement with Charles. But Francis's Italian confederates were less satisfied with the treaty of Cambray. They were almost wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor, and seemed to have no other means of security left but his equity and moderation. Of these, from his past conduct, they had not formed the most advantageous idea. But Charles's present circumstances, more especially in regard to the Turks, obliged him to behave with a generosity inconsistent with his character. The Florentines alone, whom he reduced under the dominion of the family of Medicis, had reason to complain of his severity. Sforza obtained the investiture of the duchy of Milan and his pardon: and every other power experienced the lenity of the victor.

Charles, who, during this full tide of his fortune, having quieted all the discontents in Spain, had appeared in Italy with the pomp and power of a conqueror, and received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, now prepared to revisit Germany, where his presence was become highly necessary; for although the conduct and valour of his brother Ferdinand, on whom he had

(1) Muroc. *Hist. Venet.* lib. iii.

(2) Sandov *Hist. del Emp. Carl. V.* Robertson, book v

conferred the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, and who had been elected king of Hungary, had obliged Solyman to withdraw his forces, his return was to be feared, and the disorders of religion were daily increasing. But these disorders, and the future exploits of the emperor, must form the subject of another Letter.

LETTER LIX.

The general View of the Affairs of Europe, and of the Progress of the Reformation on the Continent, continued from the Peace of Cambray to that of Crepy, in 1544.

THE Reformation, my dear Philip, had gained much ground in Germany, during that long interval of tranquillity which the absence of the emperor, the contests between him and the pope, and his attention to the war with France, afforded its promoters. Most of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions had not only established in their territories that form of worship which he approved, but had entirely suppressed the rites of the Romish church. Many of the free cities had imitated their conduct. Almost one half of the Germanic body had revolted from the papal see; and its dominion, even in that part which had not yet shaken off the yoke of Rome, was considerably weakened by the example of the neighbouring states, or by the secret progress of those doctrines which had undermined it among them.

Whatever satisfaction the emperor, while at open enmity with the pope, might have felt in those events which tended to mortify and embarrass his holiness, he was at the same time sensible that the religious divisions in Germany would, in the end, prove hurtful to the imperial authority. Accordingly, the prospect of an accommodation with Clement no sooner opened, than Charles appointed a diet of the empire to be held at Spire, in order to take into consideration the state of religion. The diet, after much dispute, issued a decree confirming the edict published against Luther at Worms, and prohibiting any farther innovations in religion, but particularly the abolition of the mass, before the meeting of a general council. Against this decree, as unjust and impious, the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Lunenburg, the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial or free cities, entered into a solemn protest. On that account they were called PROTESTANTS; (1) an appellation which has since become common to all the sects, of whatever denomination, that have revolted from the church of Rome.

Such was the state of religious matters when Charles returned to Germany. He assisted in person at the diet of Augsburg; where the Protestants presented their system of opinions, composed by Melancthon, the most learned and moderate of all the reformers. This system, known by the name of the *Confession of Augsburg* from the place where it was presented, was publicly read in the diet. Some popish divines were appointed to examine it; they brought in their animadversions: a dispute ensued between them and Melancthon, seconded by some of his disciples; and, as in most cases of that kind, nothing was determined. Every one remained in his own way of thinking. From the Protestant divines Charles turned to the princes their patrons, but with no better success: they refused to abandon what they deemed the cause of God, for any earthly advantage. Coercive measures were resolved upon. A decree was issued condemning most of the peculiar tenets held by the Protestants, and prohibiting any one to tolerate those who taught them.

In consequence of this decree, which they considered as a prelude to the most violent persecution, the Protestant princes assembled at Smalkalde,

(1) Sleidan Father Paul. Seckend.

and concluded a league of mutual defence; and the emperor's ambition, which led him to get his brother elected king of the Romans, in order to continue the imperial crown in his family, furnished the confederates with a decent pretence for courting the alliance of foreign princes. The kings of France and England secretly agreed to support them. Meanwhile, many circumstances and reflections convinced Charles that this was not a proper season to attempt the extirpation of heresy by the sword. He saw Solyman ready to enter Hungary, with the whole force of the Turkish empire, in order to wipe off the disgrace which his arms had sustained in the former campaign: he felt the necessity of union, not only for the accomplishment of his future schemes, but for ascertaining his present safety. The peace with France was precarious; and he was afraid that the followers of Luther, if treated with severity, might forget that they were Christians, and join the Infidels. Policy made him drop the mask of zeal. By a treaty concluded at Nuremburg, and solemnly ratified in the diet at Ratisbon, the emperor granted the Protestants liberty of conscience until the meeting of a general council: and they agreed, on their part, to assist him powerfully against the Turks. (1)

This treaty was no sooner signed than Charles received information that Solyman had entered Hungary at the head of three hundred thousand men. The imperial army, consisting of ninety thousand disciplined foot, and thirty thousand horse, besides a prodigious swarm of irregulars, immediately assembled in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Of this vast body the emperor, for the first time, took the command in person; and Europe waited, in anxious suspense, the issue of a decisive battle between the two greatest potentates in the universe. But each dreading the other's power and good fortune, both conducted their operations with so much caution, that a campaign, from which the most important consequences had been expected, was closed without any memorable event. Solyman finding it impossible to take advantage of an enemy always on his guard, marched back to Constantinople; and Charles, freed from so dangerous an invader, set out for Spain. (2)

During the emperor's absence, great disorders prevailed in Germany, occasioned by the fanaticism of a sect of reformers distinguished by the name of Anabaptists; because they contended, that the sacrament of baptism should be administered only to persons grown up to years of understanding, and should be performed not by sprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it. This tenet was at least harmless; but they held others of a more enthusiastic, as well as dangerous, nature. They maintained, that, among Christians, who have the precepts of the Gospel to direct, and the spirit of God to guide them, the office of magistrate is unnecessary, and an encroachment on spiritual liberty; that all distinctions of birth or rank ought to be abolished; that a community of goods should be established, and that every man may lawfully marry as many wives as he thinks proper.

Tenets so flattering to human weakness and human pride naturally produced a number of converts, especially among the lower class of people. The peasants greedily embraced opinions which promised to place them on a level with their imperious masters. They assembled in great bodies, and spread devastation wherever they came. But being destitute of a skilful leader, they were soon dispersed; and Muncer, the first Anabaptist prophet, perished on a scaffold at Mulhausen in 1525. Several of his followers, however, lurked in different places, and secretly propagated the opinions of their sect. At last, two Anabaptist prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Harlem, and John Bocold, a journeyman tailor of Leyden, possessed with the rage of making proselytes, fixed their residence at Munster, an imperial city in Westphalia; and privately assembling their associates, from the neighbouring country, made themselves masters of the town, and expelled the inhabitants.

Here the Anabaptists formed a singular kind of republic, over which Matthias assumed absolute authority, and wrote to his brethren in the Low Countries, inviting them to assemble at Mount Sion, (so he termed Munster)

(1) Du Mont. *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. iv.

(2) Sandov. *Hist. del Emp. Carl. V.* vol II Robertson. book v

that they might thence set out in a body to reduce all nations under their dominion. Meanwhile, the bishop of Munster having assembled a considerable army, advanced to besiege the town. On his approach, Matthias sallied out, at the head of a chosen band, forced his camp, and returned to the city loaded with glory and spoil. But his success proved fatal to him. Thinking nothing now impossible for the favourites of heaven, he went out to meet the enemy, accompanied by no more than thirty of his followers; boasting, that, like Gideon, he would smite the host of the ungodly with a handful of men. The prophet and his thirty associates were slain.

The Anabaptists, however, did not despair: John of Leyden, their other light, still remained. This man, less bold, but more ambitious than Matthias, assumed the title of king: and being young, and of a complexion equally amorous and enthusiastic, he exercised, in their utmost latitude, those principles of his sect which favoured sensual gratification. He took, in a short time, no less than fourteen wives. His example was followed by his brethren: no man remained satisfied with a single wife. The houses were searched; and young women grown up to maturity were instantly seized, and compelled to marry. Notwithstanding this sensuality, Munster made a gallant defence: but the bishop's army being reinforced, and the besieged greatly distressed for want of provisions, one of their own body deserted, and betrayed them. The city was taken by surprise: most of the Anabaptists were slain; and their king was made prisoner, and put to death by the most exquisite and lingering tortures, all of which he bore with astonishing fortitude.(1)—So wonderful are the effects of enthusiasm in communicating courage, even to minds naturally the most timid and feeble! and so difficult is it, in such cases, to distinguish between the martyr and the visionary!

While these things were transacting in Germany, Charles undertook an expedition against the piratical states of Africa. Barbary, or that part of the African continent which lies along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, was then nearly in the same condition it is at present. Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis were its principal governments; and the two last were nests of pirates. Barbarossa, a famous corsair, had succeeded his brother in the kingdom of Algiers, which he formerly assisted him to usurp. He regulated with much prudence the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his piracies with great vigour, and extended his conquests on the continent of Africa; but perceiving that the natives submitted to his government with impatience, and fearing that his continual depredations might draw upon him a general combination of the Christian powers, he put his dominions under the protection of the Turkish emperor. Solyman, flattered by such an act of submission, and charmed with the boldness of the man, offered him the command of the Ottoman fleet. Proud of this distinction, Barbarossa repaired to Constantinople, and made use of his influence with his sultan to extend his own dominions. Partly by force, partly by treachery, he usurped the kingdom of Tunis; and being now possessed of greater power, he carried on his depredations against the Christian states with more destructive violence than ever.

Daily complaints of the piracies and ravages committed by the galleys of Barbarossa were brought to the emperor by his subjects, both in Spain and Italy; and all Christendom seemed to look up to Charles, as its greatest and most fortunate prince, for relief from this new and odious species of oppression. At the same time, Muley-Hascen, the exiled king of Tunis, finding none of the African princes able or willing to support him in recovering his throne, applied to the victorious Charles for assistance against the usurper. Equally desirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbarossa, of appearing as the protector of an unfortunate prince

(1) Ant. Lamb. Hortens. *Tumult. Anabaptist.* Jo. Bapt. Ottii, *Annal. Anabaptist.* Moshelm, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iv.

and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age to every expedition against the Mahometans, the emperor readily concluded a treaty with Muley-Hascen, and set sail for Tunis with a formidable armament.

The Goletta, a strong fortress on an island in the bay of Tunis, and the key of the capital, planted with three hundred pieces of cannon, was taken by storm, together with all Barbarossa's fleet. He was defeated in a pitched battle; and ten thousand Christian slaves having knocked off their fetters, and made themselves masters of the citadel, Tunis offered to surrender at discretion. But while Charles was deliberating on the means of preserving the lives of the inhabitants, his troops, fearing that they would be deprived of the booty which they had expected, broke suddenly into the town, and pillaged and massacred without distinction. Thirty thousand persons perished by the sword, and ten thousand were made prisoners. The sceptre, drenched in blood, was restored to Muley-Hascen, on condition that he should acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Spain, put into the emperor's hands all the fortified seaports in the kingdom of Tunis, and pay annually twelve thousand crowns for the subsistence of a Spanish garrison in the Goletta. These points being settled, and twenty thousand Christian slaves freed from bondage, either by arms or by treaty, Charles returned to Europe, where his presence was become necessary; while Barbarossa, who had retired to Bona, recovered new strength, and again became the tyrant of the ocean.⁽¹⁾

The king of France took advantage of the emperor's absence, to revive his claims in Italy. The treaty of Cambray had covered up, but not extinguished, the flames of discord. Francis in particular, who waited only for a favourable opportunity of recovering the territories and reputation which he had lost, continued to negotiate against his rival with different courts. But all his negotiations were disconcerted by unforeseen accidents. The death of Clement VII. (whom he had gained by marrying his son, the duke of Orleans, afterward Henry II., to Catharine of Medicis, the niece of that pontiff) deprived him of all the support which he hoped to receive from the court of Rome. The king of England, occupied with domestic cares and projects, declined engaging in the affairs of the continent; and the Protestant princes, associated by the league of Smalkalde, to whom also Francis had applied, and who seemed at first disposed to listen to him, filled with indignation and resentment at the cruelty with which some of their reformed brethren had been treated in France, refused to have any connexion with the enemy of their religion.

The particulars of this persecution it will be proper to relate, as they serve to illustrate the manners of the times. Francis was neither cruel nor bigoted. His levity and love of pleasure allowed him little leisure to concern himself about religious disputes; but his principles becoming suspected, at a time when the emperor was gaining immortal glory by his expedition against the infidels, he found it necessary to vindicate himself by some extraordinary demonstration of reverence for the established faith. The indiscreet zeal of some Protestant converts furnished him with the occasion. They had affixed to the gates of the Louvre, and other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the rites of the Romish church. Six of the persons concerned in this rash action were seized; and the king, pretending to be struck with horror at their blasphemies, appointed a solemn procession, in order to avert the wrath of Heaven. The Host was carried through the city of Paris in great pomp: Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand; the princes of the blood supported the canopy over it; the nobles walked behind. In presence of this numerous assembly, the king declared, that if one of his hands were infected with heresy, he would cut it off with the other: "and I would sacrifice," added he, "even my own children, if found guilty of that crime." As an awful

⁽¹⁾ Sandov. vol. ii. Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.*, book v.

proof of his sincerity, the six unhappy persons who had been seized were publicly burned, before the procession was finished, and in the most cruel manner. They were fixed upon a machine which descended into the flames and retired alternately, until they expired.(1)—Little wonder that the Protestant princes were incensed at such barbarity!

But Francis, though unsupported by any ally, commanded his army to advance towards the frontier of Italy, under pretence of chastising the duke of Milan for a breach of the law of nations, in putting to death his ambassador. The operations of war, however, soon took a new direction. Instead of marching directly to the duchy of Milan, Francis commenced hostilities against the duke of Savoy, with whom he had cause to be dissatisfied, and on whom he had some claims; and before the end of the campaign, that feeble prince saw himself stripped of all his dominions, except the province of Piedmont. To complete his misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the sovereignty of which he claimed, and where the reformed religion was already established, threw off his yoke: and its revolt drew along with it the loss of the adjacent territory. Geneva was then an imperial city, and now became the capital of an independent republic.

In this extremity the duke of Savoy saw no resource but in the emperor's protection; and as his misfortunes were chiefly occasioned by his attachment to the imperial interest, he had a title to immediate assistance. But Charles, who was just returned from his African expedition, was not able to lend him the necessary support. His treasury was entirely drained, and he was obliged to disband his army, until he could raise new supplies. So wasting is the continued practice, even of successful war, to the most opulent princes and states!

Meantime, the death of Sforza, duke of Milan, totally changed the nature of the war, and afforded the emperor full leisure to prepare for action. The French monarch's pretext for taking up arms was at once cut off; but as the duke had died without issue, all Francis's rights to the duchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his descendants, returned to him in full force. He accordingly renewed his claim to it: and if he had ordered his army immediately to advance, he might have made himself master of it. But he unfortunately wasted his time in fruitless negotiations, while his more politic rival took possession of the long-disputed territory, as a vacant fief of the empire. And although Charles seemed still to admit the equity of Francis's claim, he delayed granting the investiture under various pretences, and was secretly taking every possible measure to prevent his recovering footing in Italy.

During the time gained in this manner, Charles had recruited his finances, and of course his armies; and finding himself in a condition for war, he at last threw off the mask, under which he had so long concealed his designs from the court of France. Entering Rome with great pomp, he pronounced, before the pope and cardinals assembled in full consistory, a violent invective against Francis, by way of reply to his propositions concerning the investiture of Milan. Yet Francis, by an unaccountable fatality, continued to negotiate, as if it had still been possible to terminate their differences in an amicable manner; and Charles, finding him so eager to run into the snare, favoured the deception, and, by seeming to listen to his proposals, gained yet more time for the execution of his own ambitious projects.(2)

If misfortune had rendered Francis too diffident, success had made Charles too confident. He presumed on nothing less than the subversion of the French monarchy; nay, he considered it as an infallible event. Having chased the forces of his rival out of Piedmont and Savoy, he pushed forward at the head of fifty thousand men, contrary to the advice of his most experienced ministers and generals, to invade the southern provinces of France; while two other armies were ordered to enter that kingdom, the one on the side of Picardy, the other on the side of Champagne. He thought it impos

(1) Belcarri, *Comment. Rer. Gallie*. Steid. *Hist. Reformat.*

(2) *Mém. de Bellay.*

sible that Francis could resist so many unexpected attacks, on such different quarters; but he found himself mistaken.

The French monarch fixed upon the most effectual plan for defeating the invasion of a powerful enemy: and he prudently persevered in following it, though contrary to his own natural temper, and to the genius of his people. He determined to remain altogether upon the defensive, and to deprive the enemy of subsistence, by laying waste the country before them. The execution of this plan was committed to the *mareschal de Montmorency*, its author, a man happily fitted for such service, by the inflexible severity of his disposition. He made choice of a strong camp, under the walls of *Avignon*, at the confluence of the *Rhone* and *Durance*, where he assembled a considerable army; while the king, with another body of troops, encamped at *Valence*, higher up the *Rhone*. *Marseilles* and *Arles* were the only towns he thought it necessary to defend, and each of these he furnished with a numerous garrison of his best troops. The inhabitants of the other towns were compelled to abandon their habitations; the fortifications of such places as might have afforded shelter to the enemy were thrown down; corn, forage, and provisions of every kind, were carried off or destroyed; the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled or rendered useless.

This devastation extended from the *Alps* to *Marseilles*, and from the sea to the confines of *Dauphiny*; so that the emperor, when he arrived with the van of his army on the confines of *Provence*, instead of that rich and populous country which he expected to enter, beheld nothing but one vast and desert solitude. He did not, however, despair of success, though he saw that he would have many difficulties to encounter; and, as an encouragement to his officers, he made them liberal promises of lands and honours in France. But all the land which any of them obtained was a grave, and their master lost much honour by this rash and presumptuous enterprise. After unsuccessfully investing *Marseilles* and *Arles*; after attempting in vain to draw *Montmorency* from his camp at *Avignon*, and not daring to attack it; *Charles* having spent two inglorious months in *Provence*, and lost one half of his troops by famine or disease, was under the necessity of ordering a retreat; and although he was some time in motion before the enemy suspected his intention, his retreat was conducted with so much precipitation and disorder as to deserve the name of a flight, the light troops of France having turned his march into a perfect rout; the invasion of *Picardy* was not more effectual; the imperial forces were obliged to retire without effecting any conquest of importance.(1)

Charles had no sooner conducted the shattered remains of his army to the frontier of *Milan*, than he set out for *Genoa*; and, unwilling to expose himself to the scorn of the *Italians*, after such a reverse of fortune, he embarked directly for *Spain*.(2)

Meanwhile, *Francis* gave himself up to that vain resentment which had formerly disgraced the prosperity of his rival. They had frequently, in the course of their quarrels, given each other the lie, and mutual challenges had been sent; which, though productive of no serious consequences between the parties, had a powerful tendency to encourage the pernicious practice of duelling. *Charles*, in his invective pronounced at *Rome*, had publicly accused *Francis* of perfidy and breach of faith: *Francis* now exceeded *Charles* in the indecency of his accusations. The dauphin dying suddenly, his death was imputed to poison: *Montecuculi*, his cup-bearer, was put to the rack; and that unhappy nobleman, in the agonies of torture, accused the emperor's generals, *Gonzaga* and *de Leyva*, of instigating him to the detestable act. The emperor himself was suspected; nay, this extorted confession, and some obscure hints, were considered as incontestible proofs of his guilt; though it was evident to all mankind, that neither *Charles* nor his generals could have any inducement to perpetrate such a crime, as *Francis* was still in the vigour of life himself, and had two sons besides the dauphin.(3)

(1) *Sandev. Hist. del Emp. Carl. V* Robertson, book vi

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) *Sandev. ubi. sup*

But the incensed monarch's resentment did not stop here. Francis was not satisfied with endeavouring to blacken the character of his rival by an ambiguous testimony, which led to the most injurious suspicions, and upon which the most cruel constructions had been put: he was willing to add rebellion to murder. For this purpose he went to the parliament of Paris; where, being seated with the usual solemnities, the advocate-general appeared, and accused Charles of Austria (so he affected to call the emperor) of having violated the treaty of Cambray, by which he was freed from the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Artois and Flanders; adding, that this treaty being now void, he was still to be considered as a vassal of France, and consequently had been guilty of rebellion, in taking arms against his sovereign. The charge was sustained by the court, and Charles was summoned to appear before the parliament of Paris at a day fixed. The term expired; and no person appearing in the emperor's name, the parliament gave judgment, that Charles of Austria had forfeited, by rebellion and contumacy, the counties of Flanders and Artois, and declared these fiefs reunited to the crown of France.(1)

Francis soon after this vain display of his animosity, marched into the Low Countries, as if he had intended to execute the sentence pronounced by his parliament. But a suspension of arms took place, through the interposition of the queens of France and Hungary, before any thing of consequence was effected: and this cessation of hostilities was followed by a truce concluded at Nice, through the mediation of the reigning pontiff, Paul III., of the family of Farnese, a man of venerable character and pacific disposition.

Each of these rival princes had strong reasons to incline them to peace. The finances of both were exhausted; and the emperor, the most powerful of the two, was deeply impressed with the dread of the Turkish arms, which Francis had drawn upon him by a league with Solymán. In consequence of this league, Barbarossa, with a great fleet, appeared on the coast of Naples; filled that kingdom with consternation; landed without resistance near Taranto; obliged Castro, a place of some strength, to surrender; plundered the adjacent country, and was taking measures for securing and extending his conquest, when the unexpected arrival of Doria, the famous Genoese admiral, together with the pope's galleys and a squadron of the Venetian fleet, made it prudent for him to retire. The sultan's forces also invaded Hungary, where the Turkish general after gaining several inferior advantages, defeated the Germans in a great battle at Essek on the Drave.

Happily for Charles and for Europe, it was not in Francis's power, at this juncture, either to join the Turks, or to assemble an army strong enough to penetrate into the dutchy of Milan. The emperor however was sensible, that he could not long resist the efforts of two such powerful confederates, nor expect that the same fortunate circumstances would concur a second time in his favour. He therefore thought it necessary, both for his safety and reputation, to give his consent to a truce; and Francis chose rather to run the risk of disobliging his new ally the sultan, than to draw on his head the indignation, and perhaps the arms, of all Christendom, by obstinately obstructing the re-establishment of tranquillity, and contributing to the aggrandizement of the infidels.(2)

These considerations inclined the contending monarchs to listen to the arguments of the pope; but his holiness found it impossible to bring about a final accommodation between them, each inflexibly persisting in asserting his own claims. Nor could he prevail on them to see one another, though both came to the place of rendezvous; so great were the remains of distrust and rancour, or such the difficulty of adjusting the ceremonial! Yet, improbable as it may seem, a few days after signing the truce, the emperor, in his passage to Barcelona, being driven on the coast of Provence, Francis invited him to come ashore; frankly visited him on board his galley, and was

(1) *Mém. de Ribier.*(2) *Jovii. Hist. lib. xxxv.*

received and entertained with the warmest demonstrations of esteem and affection. Charles, with an equal degree of confidence, paid the king next day a visit at Aigues-mortes ; where these two hostile rivals, and vindictive enemies, who had accused one another of every kind of baseness, conversing together with all the cordiality of brothers, seemed to vie with each other in expressions of respect and friendship! (1)—Such sudden transitions from enmity to affection, and from suspicion to confidence, can only be accounted for from that spirit of chivalry, with which the manners of both princes were strongly tinctured.

Besides the glory of having restored tranquillity to Europe, Paul III. secured a point of much consequence to his family. He obtained in marriage, for his grandson, Margaret of Austria, the emperor's natural daughter, formerly wife to Alexander of Medicis, whom Charles had raised to the supreme power in Florence. Lorenzo of Medicis, the kinsman and intimate companion of Alexander, had assassinated him by one of the blackest treasons recorded in history. Under pretence of having secured him an assignation with a lady of great beauty, and of the highest rank, he drew him into a secret apartment of his palace, and there stabbed him, as he lay carelessly on a couch, expecting the presence of the lovely fair, whom he had often solicited in vain. Lorenzo, however, did not reap the fruits of his crime; for although some of his countrymen extolled him as a third Brutus, and endeavoured to seize this occasion for recovering their liberties, the government of Florence passed into the hands of Cosmo II., another kinsman of Alexander. (2) Cosmo was desirous of marrying the widow of his predecessor; but the emperor chose rather to oblige the pope, by bestowing his daughter upon Octavio Farnese, son of the duke of Parma, and grandson of his holiness.

Charles had soon farther cause to be sensible of his obligations to Paul III. for negotiating the truce of Nice. His troops, every where, mutinied for want of pay, and the abilities of his generals only could have prevented a total revolt. He had depended upon the subsidies which he expected from his Castilian subjects for discharging the arrears of his army. He accordingly assembled the Cortes of Castile at Toledo; and having represented to them the great expense of his military operations, he proposed to levy such supplies as the present exigency of his affairs demanded, by a general excise on commodities. But the Spaniards, who already felt themselves oppressed with a load of taxes unknown to their ancestors, and who had often complained, that their country was drained of its wealth and its inhabitants, in order to prosecute quarrels in which they had no interest, determined not to add voluntarily to their own burthens. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence against the measure proposed; as it would encroach on the most valuable and distinguished privilege of their order, that of being exempted from the payment of any tax. After employing arguments and promises in vain, Charles therefore dismissed the assembly with indignation: and from that period neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to the Cortes, on pretence that such as pay no part of the public taxes should not claim a vote in laying them on. These assemblies have since consisted merely of the procurators or representatives of eighteen cities, two from each; in all, thirty-six members, who are absolutely at the devotion of the crown. (3)

The citizens of Ghent, still more bold, broke out not long after into open rebellion against the emperor's government, on account of a tax which they judged contrary to their ancient privileges, and a decision of the council of Mechlin in favour of the imperial authority. Enraged at an unjust imposition, and rendered desperate on seeing their rights betrayed by that very court which was bound to protect them, they flew to arms; seized several of the emperor's officers, and drove such of the nobility as resided among

(1) Sand. *Hist. del. Emp. Carl. V.*

(2) *Lett. di Princip*

(3) *La Science du Gov. par M. de Real. Robertson, Hist. Charles V. book vi*

them out of the city. Sensible, however, of their inability to support what their zeal had prompted them to undertake, and desirous of securing a protector against the formidable forces with which they might expect soon to be attacked, they offered to acknowledge the king of France as their sovereign; to put him into immediate possession of their city, and to assist him in recovering those provinces in the Netherlands which had anciently belonged to his crown. True policy directed Francis to comply with this proposal. The counties of Flanders and Artois were more valuable than the dutchy of Milan, for which he had so long contended; and their situation in regard to France, made it more easy to conquer or to defend them. But we are apt to estimate the value of things by the trouble which they have cost us. Francis, computing in this manner, overrated the territory of Milan. He had lived in friendship with the emperor ever since their interview at Aigues-mortes, and Charles had promised him the investiture of that dutchy. Forgetting therefore all his past injuries, and the deceitful promises by which he had been so often duped, the credulous, generous, but unprincipled Francis, not only rejected the propositions of the citizens of Ghent, but communicated to the emperor his whole negotiation with the malecontents.(1)

Judging of Charles's heart by his own, Francis hoped, by this seemingly disinterested proceeding, to obtain at once the investiture of Milan: and the emperor, well acquainted with the weakness of his rival, flattered him in this hope, for his own selfish purposes. His presence being necessary in the Netherlands, he demanded a passage through France. It was immediately granted him; and Charles, to whom every moment was precious, set out, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his council, and fears of his Spanish subjects, with a small but splendid train of a hundred persons. He was met on the frontiers of France by the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, who offered to go into Spain, and remain there as hostages, till he should reach his own dominions; but Charles replied, that the king's honour was sufficient for his safety, and prosecuted his journey without any other security. The king entertained him with the utmost magnificence at Paris, and the two young princes did not take leave of him till he entered the Low Countries; yet he still found means to evade his promise, and Francis continued to believe his professions sincere.(2)

The citizens of Ghent, alarmed at the approach of the emperor, who was joined in the Netherlands by three armies, sent ambassadors to implore his mercy, and offered to throw open their gates. Charles only condescended to reply, that he would appear among them, "as a sovereign and a judge, with the sceptre and the sword." He accordingly entered the place of his nativity, on the anniversary of his birth; and, instead of that lenity which might have been expected, exhibited an awful example of his severity. Twenty-six of the principal citizens were put to death; a greater number were banished; the city was declared to have forfeited its privileges; a new system of laws and political administration was prescribed; and a large fine was imposed on the inhabitants, in order to defray the expense of erecting a citadel, together with an annual tax for the support of a garrison. They were not only despoiled of their ancient immunities, but made to pay, like conquered people, for the means of perpetuating their own slavery.(3)

Having thus re-established his authority in the Low Countries, and being now under no necessity of continuing that scene of falsehood and dissimulation with which he had amused the French monarch, Charles began gradually to throw aside the veil under which he had concealed his intentions with respect to the dutchy of Milan, and at last peremptorily refused to give up a territory of such value, or voluntarily to make such a liberal addition to the strength of an enemy, by diminishing his own power. He even denied, that he had ever made any promise which could bind him to an action so foolish, and so contrary to his own interest.(4)

(1) Sandov. ubi sup. *Mem. de Bellay.*(3) Harsel, *Annal. Brabantæ.*(2) *Mem. de Ribier.* Thuan. lib. 1 *Mem. de Bellay.*(4) *Mem. de Bellay.*

This transaction exposed the king of France to as much scorn as it did the emperor to censure. The blind credulity of Francis, after he had experienced so often the duplicity and artifices of his rival, seemed to merit no other return. He remonstrated, however, and exclaimed, as if this had been the first instance in which the emperor had deceived him. The insult offered to his understanding affected him even more sensibly than the injury done to his interest; and he discovered such resentment as made it obvious that he would seize on the first opportunity of revenge, and that a new war would soon desolate the European continent.

Meanwhile, Charles was obliged to turn his attention towards the affairs of Germany. The Protestants having in vain demanded a general council, pressed him earnestly to appoint a conference between a select number of divines of each party, in order to examine the points in dispute. For this purpose a diet was assembled at Ratisbon: and such a conference, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, was held with great solemnity in the presence of the emperor. But the divines chosen to manage the controversy, though men of learning and moderation, were only able to settle a few speculative opinions, all points relative to worship and jurisdiction serving only to inflame the minds of the disputants. Charles, therefore, finding his endeavours to bring about an accommodation ineffectual, and being impatient to close the diet, prevailed on a majority of the members to approve of the following edict of recess: That the articles concerning which the divines had agreed, should be held as points decided; that those about which they had differed should be referred to the determination of a general council, or, if that could not be obtained, to a national synod; and should it prove impracticable also to assemble a synod of Germany, that a general diet of the empire should be called within eighteen months, in order to give final judgment on the whole controversy; that, in the mean time, no innovations should be made, nor any means employed to gain proselytes.(1)

This edict gave great offence to the pope. The bare mention of allowing a diet, composed chiefly of laymen, to pass judgment in regard to articles of faith, appeared to him no less criminal and profane than the worst of those heresies which the emperor seemed so zealous to suppress. The Protestants also were dissatisfied with it, as it considerably abridged the liberty which they at that time enjoyed. They murmured loudly against it; and Charles, unwilling to leave any seeds of discontent in the empire, granted them a private declaration, exempting them from whatever they thought injurious or oppressive in the edict of recess, and ascertaining to them the full possession of all their former privileges.(2)

The situation of the emperor's affairs at this juncture made these extraordinary concessions necessary. He foresaw a rupture with France to be unavoidable, and he was alarmed at the rapid progress of the Turks in Hungary. A great revolution had happened in that kingdom. John Zapol Scæpius, by the assistance of Solyman, had wrested from the king of the Romans a considerable part of the country. John died, and left an infant son. Ferdinand attempted to take advantage of the minority, in order to repossess himself of the whole kingdom; but his ambition was disappointed by the activity and address of George Martinuzzi, bishop of Waradin, who shared the regency with the queen. Sensible that he was unable to oppose the king of the Romans in the field, Martinuzzi satisfied himself with holding out the fortified towns, all which he provided with every thing necessary for defence; and he at the same time sent ambassadors to Solyman, beseeching him to extend towards the son, that imperial protection which had so generously maintained the father on the throne. Ferdinand used his utmost endeavours to thwart this negotiation, and even meanly offered to hold the Hungarian crown on the same ignominious conditions by which John had obtained it, that of paying tribute to the Porte. But the sultan saw such advantages from espousing the interest of the young king, that he instantly marched into

(1) Father Paul, lib. i. Seckeng, lib. iii. Dumont, *Corps Diplom.* tom. iv

(2) *Id.* *Ibid.*

Hungary; and the Germans, having formed the siege of Buda, were defeated with great slaughter before that city. Solymán, however, instead of becoming the protector of the infant sovereign whom he had relieved, made use of this success to extend his own dominions: he sent the queen and her son into Transylvania, which province he allotted them, and added Hungary to the Ottoman empire.⁽¹⁾

Happily for the Protestants, Charles had received intelligence of this revolution before the close of the diet at Ratisbon; and in consequence of the concessions which he made them, he obtained such liberal supplies, both of men and money, in order to prosecute the war against the Turks, as left him little anxiety about the security of Germany. He therefore hastened to join his fleet and army in Italy, on purpose to carry into execution a great and favourite enterprise which he had concerted against Algiers; though it would certainly have been more consistent with his dignity to have conducted the whole force of the empire against Solymán, the common enemy of Christendom, who was preparing to enter his Austrian dominions. But many reasons induced Charles to prefer the African expedition. He wanted strength to combat the Turks in so distant a country as Hungary; and the glory which he had formerly acquired in Barbary led him to hope for like success, while the cries of his Spanish subjects roused him to take vengeance on their ravagers.

Algiers, since the taking of Tunis, was become the common receptacle of all the Barbary corsairs; and from the time that Barbarossa, as captain-basha, commanded the Turkish fleet, it had been governed by Hascen Aga, a renegade eunuch, who outdid, if possible, his master in boldness and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his galleys; and such frequent alarms were given to the coasts of Spain, that there was a necessity for erecting watch-towers at certain distances, and of keeping a guard constantly employed, in order to desery the approach of his squadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from the depredations of the rapacious ruffians, with which they were manned.

Charles, before he left Spain, had resolved to humble this daring corsair, and to exterminate the lawless crew who had so long infested the ocean. With this view he had ordered a fleet and army to assemble on the coast of Italy: and although the autumn was now far advanced, he obstinately persisted in his purpose, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Andrew Doria, who conjured him not to expose so noble an armament to almost inevitable destruction, by venturing, at so late a season, to approach the stormy coast of Algiers. Doria's words proved prophetic.

No sooner had the emperor landed in Barbary, than a frightful hurricane arose, scattered his fleet, and dashed great part of it in pieces; while he and his land forces were exposed to all the fury of the elements, in an enemy's country, without a hut or a tent to shelter them, or so much as a spot of firm ground on which they could rest their wearied bodies. In this calamitous situation, cold and wet, they continued during several days, harassed at the same time by the attacks of the Algerines. At last Doria, happily being able to assemble the remains of the fleet, Charles was glad to re-embark, after having lost the greater part of his army, by the inclemency of the weather, famine, or the sword of the enemy. And the men who yet survived were doomed to encounter new miseries in their return; the fleet being scattered by a fresh storm, and the ships obliged to take shelter, separately, in those parts of Spain or Italy they could first reach.⁽²⁾

Such, my dear Philip, was the result of the emperor's pompous expedition against Algiers, the most unfortunate enterprise of his reign, and that on which he built the highest hopes. But if Charles failed to acquire the glory which ever attends success, he secured that which is more essentially connected with merit. He never appeared greater than amid his misfortunes. His firmness and constancy of spirit, his magnanimity, fortitude, humanity,

(1) Istvanhaffé, *Hist. Hung.* lib. xiv.

(2) Nic. Villag. *Expedit. Car. V. ad Argyrium.* Sandov. vol. ii. Robertson, book vi.

and compassion were eminently conspicuous. He endured as severe hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person to whatever danger appeared; he encouraged the desponding, visited the sick and wounded, and animated all by his words and example.(1) He paid dearly for his obstinacy and presumption; but he made mankind sensible that he possessed many valuable qualities, which an almost uninterrupted flow of prosperity had hitherto afforded him little opportunity of showing.

The loss which the emperor suffered in this calamitous enterprise encouraged the king of France to begin hostilities, on which he had been for some time resolved; an action dishonourable to civil society having furnished him with too good a pretext for taking arms. The marquis del Guasto, governor of the dutchy of Milan, had got intelligence of the motions and destination of two ambassadors, Rincon and Fergoso, whom Francis had despatched, the one to the Ottoman Porte, the other to the republic of Venice; and knowing how much his master wished to discover the intentions of the French monarch, and of what consequence it was to retard the execution of his measures, he employed some soldiers belonging to the garrison of Pavia to lie in wait for these ambassadors as they sailed down the Po. The ambassadors and most of their attendants were murdered, and their papers seized.(2)

Francis immediately demanded reparation for that barbarous violence; and as Charles endeavoured to put him off with an evasive answer, he appealed to all the courts of Europe, setting forth the heinousness of the injury, the iniquity of the emperor in disregarding his just request, and the necessity of vengeance. But Charles, who was a more profound negotiator, defeated in a great measure the effects of these spirited representations. He secured the fidelity of the Protestant princes in Germany, by granting them new concessions; and he engaged the king of England to espouse his cause, under pretence of defending Europe against the infidels; while Francis was only able to form an alliance with the kings of Denmark and Sweden (who for the first time interested themselves in the quarrels of the sovereigns of the South), and to renew his treaty with Solyman, which drew on him the indignation of Christendom.

But the activity of Francis supplied all the defects in his negotiation. Five armies were soon ready to take the field, under different generals, and with different destinations. Nor was Charles wanting in his preparations. He and Henry, a second time, made an ideal division of the kingdom of France. But as the hostilities that ensued were followed by no important consequence, nor distinguished by any memorable event, except the battle of Cerisoles, gained by count d'Enguien over the imperialists, and in which ten thousand of the emperor's best troops fell, I shall not enter into particulars. It will be sufficient to observe, that, after France, Spain, Piedmont, and the Low Countries had been alternately, or at once, the scene of war; after the Turkish fleet, under Barbarossa, had ravaged the coasts of Italy, and the lilies of France and the crescent of Mahomet had appeared in conjunction before Nice, where the cross of Savoy was displayed, Francis and Charles, mutually tired of harassing each other, concluded at Crespy a treaty of peace, in which the king of England was not mentioned; and, from being implacable enemies, became once more, in appearance, cordial friends, and even allies by the ties of blood.(3)

The chief articles in this treaty were, that all the conquests which either party had made since the truce of Nice should be restored; that the emperor should give in marriage to the duke of Orleans, either his own eldest daughter, with the Low Countries, or the second daughter of his brother Ferdinand, with the investiture of the dutchy of Milan; that Francis should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, as well as to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and Charles gave up his claim to the dutchy of Burgundy and that both should unite in making war upon the Turks.(4)

(1) Nic. Villag. *Expedit Car. V. ad Argyræam* Sandov. vol. ii. Robertson, book vi.

(2) *Mém. de Bellay.*

(3) *Mém. de Moulin.* *Mém. de Bellay.*

(4) *Recueil des Traitez*, tom. I.

The emperor was chiefly induced to grant conditions so advantageous to France, by a desire of humbling the Protestant princes in Germany. With the papal jurisdiction, he foresaw they would endeavour to throw off the imperial authority; and he had determined to make his zeal for the former a pretence for enforcing and extending the latter. But before I speak of the wars in which that resolution involved him, I must carry forward the domestic history of England, the knowledge of which will throw light on many foreign transactions.

Meanwhile, I shall observe, for the sake of perspicuity, that the death of the duke of Orleans, before the consummation of his marriage, disentangled the emperor from the most troublesome stipulation in the treaty of Crespy; and that the French monarch, being still engaged in hostilities with England, was unable to obtain any reparation for the loss which he suffered by this unforeseen event. These hostilities, like those between Charles and Francis, terminated in nothing decisive. Equally tired of a struggle, attended with no glory or advantage to either, the contending parties concluded at Campe, near Ardres, a treaty of peace, in which it was stipulated, that France should pay the arrears due by former treaties to England. But these arrears did not amount to more than one-third of the sum expended by Henry on his military operations; and Francis being in no condition to discharge them. Boulogne (a chargeable pledge) was left in the hands of the English monarch as a security for the debt.⁽¹⁾ Such was the result of a war which had wasted the wealth and strength of both kingdoms, and threatened the final ruin of one of them.

LETTER LX.

The domestic History of England during the Reign of Henry VIII., with some Account of the Affairs of Scotland, and of the Rise of the Reformation in both Kingdoms.

No prince ever ascended the throne of England with more advantages than Henry VIII. You have already had occasion, my dear Philip, to observe his fortunate situation with respect to the great powers on the continent: he was no less happy in regard to the internal state of his kingdom, and other domestic circumstances. His title to the crown was undisputed; his treasury was full; his subjects were in tranquillity; and the vigour and comeliness of his person, his freedom of manners, his love of show, and his dexterity in every manly exercise, rendered his accession highly popular, while his proficiency in literature, and his reputation for talents, made his character respectable. Every thing seemed to prognosticate a happy and prosperous reign.

The first act of Henry's administration confirmed the public hopes: it was the prosecution of Empson and Dudley, the two unfeeling ministers whom his father had employed in his extortions. They insisted, and perhaps justly, that they had acted solely by royal authority; but the jury was so far moved by popular prejudices as to give a verdict against them; and Henry, at the earnest desire of the people, granted a warrant for their execution.⁽²⁾

Having punished the instruments of past oppression, the king's next concern was to fulfil his former engagements. He had been affianced during his father's lifetime to the infanta Catharine, his brother's widow; and, notwithstanding some scruples on that step, he now agreed that their nuptials should be celebrated. We shall afterward have occasion to observe the extraordinary effects of this marriage, and of the king's remorse, either real or pretended.

Some princes have been their own ministers, but almost every one has

(1) Heroert. Stowe.

(2) Holingshed

either had a minister or a favourite: Wolsey, whose character has already been delineated, was both to Henry. Being admitted to the youthful monarch's pleasures, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted, notwithstanding his religious habit, all that frolic and gayety which he found to be agreeable to the age and inclinations of the king. During the intervals of amusement, he introduced business and state affairs, and insinuated those maxims of conduct which he was desirous his master should pursue.(1) By these means he insensibly acquired that absolute ascendancy over Henry, which distinguished his administration; and the people saw with concern every day new instances of his uncontrolled authority.

The duke of Buckingham, lord high constable of England, the first nobleman in the kingdom, both in family and fortune, having wantonly given disgust to Wolsey, soon found reason to repent his imprudence. He was descended by a female from the duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III., and being infatuated with judicial astrology, he consulted with a Carthusian friar, named Hopkins, who flattered him with the hope of ascending one day the English throne. He had even been so unguarded as to utter some expressions against the king's life. The cardinal made these the grounds of an impeachment; and although Buckingham's threats seem to have proceeded more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, he was brought to trial, condemned, and executed.(2) The office of high constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, being forfeited by his attainder, was never afterward revived in England.

The next memorable event in the domestic history of this reign, is the divorce of queen Catharine. The king's scruples in regard to the lawfulness of his marriage increased with the decay of the queen's beauty. She had borne him several children; but they were all dead except the princess Mary; and Henry was passionately fond of male issue. He consulted his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, on the legality of marrying a brother's widow, and found that prelate possessed with some doubts and difficulties. He next proceeded to examine the question by his own learning and study, being himself a great divine and casuist: and having had recourse to the works of his oracle, Thomas Aquinas, he discovered that this celebrated doctor had expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages. The archbishop of Canterbury was now applied to, and desired to consult his brethren. All the prelates of England, except Fisher, bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared, under their hand and seal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful.(3) Wolsey also fortified his master's scruples; and the bright eyes of Anne Boleyn, maid of honour to the queen, carried home every argument to the heart of Henry, more forcibly than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite.

This young lady was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by Henry in several embassies, and was allied to all the chief nobility in the kingdom. She had been carried over to Paris in early youth, by the king's sister, when espoused to Lewis XII. of France; and the graces of her mind, no less than the beauty of her person, had distinguished her even in that polished court. The time at which she returned to England is not certainly known; but it appears to have been after the king had entertained doubts concerning the lawfulness of his marriage. She immediately caught the roving and amorous eye of Henry; and as her virtue and modesty left him no hope of licentious indulgences, he resolved to raise her to the throne, which her accomplishments, both natural and acquired, seemed equally fitted to adorn.

But many bars were yet in the way of Henry's wishes. It was not only necessary to obtain a divorce from the pope, but a revocation of the bull which had been granted for his marriage with Catharine, before he could marry Anne: and he had to combat all the interest of the emperor, whose aunt he was going to degrade. The king of England, however, did not despair of

(1) Cavendish

(2) Herbert

(3) Burnet, *Hist. Reformat.* book 1

success. He was in high favour with the court of Rome, and he deserved to be so. He had not only opposed the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him, but he had even written a book against them: a performance in itself not contemptible, and which gave so much pleasure to Leo X., that he conferred upon Henry the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Sensible therefore of his importance, as the chief pillar of the church, at a time when it stood in much need of support, he confidently applied to Clement VII., the reigning pontiff, for a dissolution of his marriage with Catharine.

The pope seemed at first favourable to Henry's inclinations; but his dread of displeasing the emperor, whose prisoner he had lately been, prevented him from coming to any fixed determination. He at last, however, empowered Campeggio and Wolsey, his two legates in England, to try the validity of the king's marriage. They accordingly opened their court at London, and proceeded to the examination of the matter. The first point which came before them, and that which Henry wanted chiefly to establish, was Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catharine; and although the queen protested that her virgin honour was yet untainted, when the king received her into his bed, and even appealed to his grace (the title then taken by our kings) for the truth of her asseveration, stronger proofs than were produced could not be expected of such a fact, after so long an interval. But when the business seemed drawing near to a close, and while Henry was in anxious expectation of a sentence in his favour, all his hopes were suddenly blasted. Campeggio, on the most frivolous pretences, prorogued the court; and Clement, at the intercession of the emperor, revoked the cause soon after to Rome. (1)

This finesse occasioned the fall of Wolsey. Anne Boleyn imputed to him the failure of her expectations; and Henry, who entertained the highest opinion of the cardinal's capacity, ascribed his miscarriage in the present undertaking not to misfortune or mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of that minister. The great seal was taken from him, and given to sir Thomas More, a man of learning, virtue, and capacity. He was indicted in the Star-Chamber; his lands and goods were declared forfeited; his houses and furniture were seized; he was pronounced without the protection of the laws, and his person liable to be committed to custody. (2) The king's heart, however, relented, and the prosecution was carried no further; but the cardinal was ordered to remove from court, and his final ruin was hanging over him.

The parliament laid hold of the present opportunity to pass several bills, restraining the impositions of the clergy; and Henry was not displeased, that the pope and his whole militia should be made sensible of their dependence upon him, and of the willingness of his subjects, if he was so disposed, to reduce the power and privileges of ecclesiastics. Amid the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexion with Rome: and Anne Boleyn used every insinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities with Clement; both as the readiest and surest means of her exaltation to the royal dignity, and of spreading the new doctrines, in which she had been initiated under the dutchess of Alençon, a warm friend to the Reformation. But Henry, notwithstanding these inducements, had still many reasons to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. Having been educated in a superstitious veneration for the holy see, he dreaded the reproach of heresy; and he abhorred all alliance with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power, because Luther, their apostle, had handled him roughly, in an answer to his book in defence of the Romish communion.

While Henry was fluctuating between these contrary opinions, two of his courtiers fell accidentally, one evening, into company with Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus college, in Cambridge, a man distinguished by his learning, but still more by his candour; and as the affair of the divorce became

(1) Herbert. Burnet, ubi sup.

(2) Strype. Cavendish. The richness of Wolsey's furniture was such as must astonish even the present age. The principal apartments of his palace were lined with cloth of gold or cloth of silver; he had a side-board of plate of massy gold: and every other article for domestic use or ornament was proportionably sumptuous. Ibid.

the subject of conversation, he observed that the best way, either to quiet the king's conscience or to obtain the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities in Europe with regard to that controverted point. When Henry was informed of this proposal, he was delighted with it, and swore with great violence, "By God! Cranmer has got the right sow by the ear." The doctor was immediately sent for, and taken into favour; the universities were consulted, according to his advice; and all of them declared the king's marriage invalid.(1)

Clement, however, lying still under the influence of the emperor, continued inflexible; and as Henry was sensible that the extremities to which he was pushed, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, must be disagreeable to Wolsey, whose opposition he dreaded, he renewed the prosecution against his ancient favourite.

The cardinal, after his disgrace, had remained for some time at Richmond; but being ordered to remove to his see of York, he took up his residence at Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood, by his affability and hospitality. In this retreat he lived, when the earl of Northumberland received orders to arrest him for high-treason, and conduct him to London, as a prelude to his trial. On his journey he was seized with a disorder, which turned into a dysentery: and it was with much difficulty that he was able to reach Leicester Abbey. "I am come to lay my bones among you," said Wolsey to the abbot and monks, who came out to receive him: and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. "O, had I but served my God," cried he, a little before he expired, "as diligently as I have served my king, he would not have deserted me in my gray hairs."(2) His treason, indeed, seems rather to have been against the people than the prince, or even the state; for although the violence and obstinacy of Henry's character ought perhaps to apologize for many of the cardinal's public measures, his continued extortions upon the subject, by the most iniquitous methods, in what he called his legantine court, admit of no alleviation.

Thus freed from a person whom he considered as an obstacle in the way of his inclinations, and supported by the opinion of the learned in the step which he intended to take, Henry ordered a parliament, together with a convocation, to meet; in which he was acknowledged, "the Protector and supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England." And being now fully determined in his own mind relative to a matter which had long engaged his thoughts, and resolved to administer ecclesiastical affairs without having further recourse to Rome, as well as to abide all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke.

Cranmer, now become archbishop of Canterbury, annulled soon after the king's marriage with Catharine (a step which ought to have preceded his second nuptials), and ratified that with Anne, who was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to such a ceremony.(3) And, to complete the satisfaction of Henry on the conclusion of this troublesome business, the queen was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and whom we shall afterward see swaying the English sceptre with equal glory to herself and happiness to her people.

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, the conclave was all in a rage, and the pope was urged by the cardinals of the imperial faction to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement was still unwilling to proceed to extremities: he only declared Cranmer's sentence null, and threatened the king with excommunication, if he did not put things in their former condition, before a day named. In the mean time, Henry was prevailed upon, by the mediation of the king of France, to submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the imperial faction were excluded from it. The pope consented; and promised, that if the

king would sign a written agreement to this purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. But on what slight incidents often depend the greatest events! The courier appointed to carry the king's written promise was detained beyond the day fixed; news arrived at Rome, that a libel had been published in London against the holy see, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the apostolic body.(1) The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory inflamed with rage; the marriage between Henry and Catharine was pronounced valid; the king was declared excommunicated, if he refused to adhere to it, and the rupture with England was rendered final.

The English parliament, assembled soon after this decision of the court of Rome, conferred on the king the title of "*The only supreme HEAD of the Church of England upon Earth,*" as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it; a measure of the utmost consequence to the kingdom, whether considered in a civil or ecclesiastical view, and which forms a memorable era in our constitution. The legislature, by thus acknowledging the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and uniting the spiritual with the civil power, introduced greater simplicity into government, and prevented all future disputes about the limits of contending jurisdictions. A door was also opened for checking the exorbitancies of superstition, and breaking those shackles by which human reason, policy, and industry had so long been circumscribed; for, as a profound historian has justly observed, the prince being head of the religious, as well as of the temporal, jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes be tempted to employ the former as an engine of government, could have no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in encouraging its usurpations.(2)

But England, though thus happily released from the oppressive jurisdiction of the pope, was far from enjoying religious freedom. Liberty of conscience was, if possible, more confined than ever. Henry not only retained his aversion against Luther and his doctrines, but so many of his early prejudices hung about him, that the idea of heresy still filled him with horror. Separate as he stood from the Catholic church, he continued to value himself on maintaining its dogmas, and on guarding with fire and sword the imaginary purity of his speculative opinions. All who denied the king's supremacy, the legitimacy of his daughter Elizabeth, or who embraced the tenets of the Reformers, were equally the objects of his vengeance. Among the latter were many unhappy persons, who had greedily imbibed the Lutheran doctrines, during Henry's quarrel with Rome, in hopes of a total change of worship; and who, having gone too far to recede, fell martyrs to their new faith. Among the former were Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, late chancellor, who refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and died upon the scaffold with heroic constancy. More, who was a man of a gay humour, retained even his facetiousness to the last. When he laid his head on the block, and saw the executioner ready with his weapon, "Stay, friend," said he, "till I put aside my beard; for," added he, "it never committed treason."(3) What pity, and what an instance of the inconsistency of human nature, that the man who could make a jest of death should make a matter of conscience of the pope's supremacy!

Although Henry thus punished both Protestants and Catholics, his most dangerous enemies, he was sensible, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, and more especially the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. The king, therefore, determined to suppress the monasteries, as so many nurseries of rebellion, as well as of idleness, superstition, and folly, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues. In order to effectuate this robbery with some colour of justice, he appointed commissioners to visit all religious houses; and these men, acquainted with the king's design, brought reports, whether true or false of such frightful disorders, lewdness, ignorance, priestcraft, and unnatural

(1) Father Paul, lib. i.

(2) Hume, *Hist. Eng.* chap. xii.(3) *Life of Sir Thomas More.* Fox. Herbert.

lusts, as filled the nation with horror against institutions held sacred by their ancestors, and lately objects of the most profound veneration. The less monasteries, said to have been the most corrupted, to the number of three hundred and seventy-six, were at once suppressed by parliament; and the revenues, goods, chattels, and plate were granted to the king.(1)

The convocation, which sat at the same time with the parliament, passed a vote for a new translation of the Bible, none being yet published, by authority, in the English language; and the Reformation seemed fast gaining ground in the kingdom, though the king still declared himself its enemy, when its promoters, Cranmer, Latimer, and others met with a severe mortification, which seemed to blast all their hopes, in the untimely fate of their patroness Anne Boleyn.

This lady now began to experience the decay of the king's affections, and the capriciousness of his temper. That heart, whose allegiance she had withdrawn from another, revolted at last against herself. Henry's passion, which had subsisted in full force during the six years that the prosecution of the divorce lasted, and seemed only to increase under difficulties, had scarcely attained possession of its object, when it sunk into languor, succeeded by disgust. His love was suddenly transferred to a new mistress. The charms of Jane Seymour, maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of exquisite beauty, had entirely captivated him; and as he appeared to have had little idea of any other connexion than that of marriage, he thought of nothing but how to raise her to his bed and throne.

This peculiarity in Henry's disposition, proceeding from an indolence of temper, or an aversion against the vice of gallantry, involved him in crimes of a blacker dye, and in greater anxieties, than those which he sought to avoid by forming a legal connexion. Before he could marry Jane, it was necessary to get rid of his once beloved Anne, now become a bar in the way of his felicity. That obstacle, however, was soon removed. The heart is not more ingenious in suggesting apologies for its deviations, than courtiers in finding expedients for gratifying the inclinations of their prince. The queen's enemies, among Henry's courtiers, immediately sensible of the alienation of the king's affections, accomplished her ruin by flattering his new passion. They represented that freedom of manner which Anne had acquired in France as a dissolute levity; they indirectly accused her of a criminal correspondence with several gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and even with her own brother! and they extolled the virtues of Jane Seymour.(2) Henry believed all, because he wished to be convinced. The queen was committed to the tower; impeached; brought to trial; condemned without evidence, and executed without remorse. History affords us no reason to call her innocence in question; and the king, by marrying her known rival the day after her execution, made the motives of his conduct sufficiently evident, and left the world in little doubt about the iniquity of her sentence.

If further arguments, my dear Philip, should be thought necessary in support of the innocence of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, her serenity, and even cheerfulness, while under confinement and sentence of death, ought to have its weight, as it is perhaps unexampled in a woman, and could not well be the associate of guilt. "Never prince," says she, in a letter to Henry, "had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God, and your grace's pleasure, had been so pleased: neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object." In another letter to the king, she says, "You have raised me from a private gentlewoman to a marchioness; from a marchioness to a queen; and since you can exalt me no higher, in this

(1) Burnet.

(2) Strype. Burnet.

world, you are resolved to send me to heaven, that I may become a saint!" This gayety continued to the last. The morning of her catastrophe, conversing with the lieutenant of the tower on what she was going to suffer, he endeavoured to comfort her by the shortness of its duration. "The executioner indeed," replied she, "I am told, is very expert; and I have but a slender neck:" grasping it with her hand and smiling.⁽¹⁾ The queen's brother, and three gentlemen of the bed-chamber, also fell victims to the king's suspicions; or rather were sacrificed to hallow his nuptials with Jane Seymour.

The Catholics, who had been the chief instruments of these tragical events, did not reap so much advantage from the fall of queen Anne as they expected. The friends of the Reformation still maintained their credit with the king; and articles of faith were drawn up by the convocation under Henry's eye, more favourable to the new than the old religion, but still more conformable to the ideas of the royal theologian than agreeable to the partisans of either. Prudence, however, taught the Protestants to be silent, and to rest satisfied with the ground which they had gained. The disappointed Catholics were less quiet. The late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which all the rest were exposed, had bred discontents among the people. The Romish religion, suited to vulgar capacity, took hold of the multitude by powerful motives: they were interested for the souls of their forefathers, which they believed must now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, encouraged these prejudices, to rouse the populace to rebellion; and they assembled in large bodies in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in Lincolnshire and the northern counties. But by the prudent conduct of the duke of Norfolk, who commanded the king's forces, and who secretly favoured the cause of the rebels, but not their rebellious measures, tranquillity was happily restored to the kingdom, with little effusion of blood.⁽²⁾

The suppression of these insurrections was followed by an event which completed Henry's domestic felicity; the birth of a son, who was baptized under the name of Edward. But this happiness was not without alloy: the queen died two days after. A son, however, had been so long, and so ardently desired by Henry, and was now become so necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, the two princesses being declared illegitimate, that the king's sorrow was drowned in his joy. And his authority being thus confirmed at home, and his consideration increased abroad, he carried into execution a measure on which he had been long resolved, the utter destruction of the monasteries.

The better to reconcile the minds of the people to this great innovation, the impostures of the monks were zealously brought to light. Among the sacred repositories of convents were found the parings of St. Edmund's toes; some coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the blessed Virgin, shown in eleven different places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; and part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered by big-bellied women. Some impostures of a more artificial nature also were discovered; particularly a miraculous crucifix, which had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*, the eyes, lips, and head of which moved on the approach of its votaries. The crucifix was publicly broke at St. Paul's Cross, and the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved were shown to the whole people. The shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury, was likewise destroyed, and seemingly deservedly, though much to the regret of the populace. So superstitious was the veneration for this saint, that it appeared in one year, not a penny had been offered at God's altar; at the Virgin's only four pounds one shilling and eightpence; but at that of St. Thomas, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and threepence.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ Strype. Burnet.⁽²⁾ Herbert.⁽³⁾ Burnet. Herbert. Godwin. Stowe.

The exposure of such enormous absurdities and impieties took off much of the odium from a measure in itself rapacious, violent, and unjust. The acquiescence of the nobility and clergy was farther procured by grants of the revenues of convents, or leases of them at a reduced rent: and the minds of the people were quieted by being told, that the king would have no farther occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, during war as well as peace, to bear from the abbey-lands the whole expense of government.(1) Henry also settled pensions on the ejected monks, and erected six new bishopricks; which silenced the murmurs of such of the secular clergy as were not altogether wedded to the Romish communion.

After renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, the spirit of opposition, it was thought, would lead the king to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline, of the church of Rome. But although Henry, since he came to the years of maturity, had been gradually changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, he was no less dogmatical in the few which yet remained to him, than if the whole fabric had been preserved entire; and so great was his scholastic arrogance, though he stood alone in his belief, that he thought himself entitled to regulate by his own particular standard the religious faith of the nation. The chancellor was accordingly ordered to open the parliament with informing them, that it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion. In consequence of this desire, a bill, consisting of six articles, called by the Protestants the *Bloody Bill*, was drawn up according to the king's ideas; and, having passed through both houses, received the royal assent. In the statute was established the doctrine of the real presence, or transubstantiation; the communion in one kind, or with bread only; the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity; the utility of private masses; the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The violation of either of these articles was made punishable with death; and a denial of the real presence, to the disgrace of common sense, could not be atoned for by the most humble recantation(2)—an instance of severity unknown even to the inquisition!

The affairs of religion being thus settled, the king began to think of a new wife; and as the duke of Cleves had great interest with the princes of the Smalkaldic league, whose alliance was considered as advantageous to England, Henry solicited in marriage Anne, daughter of that duke. A flattering picture of this princess, drawn by Hans Holbein, co-operated with these political motives to determine the king in his choice; and Anne was sent over to England. But Henry, though fond of large women, no sooner saw her, than (so devoid was she of beauty and grace!) he swore she was a great Flanders mare, and declared he never could bear her any affection. He resolved however to consummate his marriage, notwithstanding his dislike, sensible that a contrary conduct would be highly resented by her friends and family. He therefore told Cromwell, his minister since the death of Wolsey, and who had been instrumental in forming the match, that "as matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke."

But although political considerations had induced Henry to consummate, at least in appearance, his marriage with Anne of Cleves, they could not save him from disgust. His aversion against her increased every day; and Cromwell, though still seemingly in favour, saw his own ruin and the queen's disgrace fast approaching. An unforeseen cause accelerated both. The king had fixed his affections on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and, as usual, he determined to gratify his passion, by making her his royal consort. The duke, who had long been at enmity with Cromwell, made use of his niece's insinuations against that minister, who was a promoter of the Reformation, as he formerly had of those of Anne Boleyn against Wolsey. Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason, committed

(1) Coke, *Inst.* fol. 44.

(2) Stat. 31 Henry VIII. cap. xiv.

to the tower, condemned, and executed.(1) He was a man of low birth, but worthy, by his integrity and abilities, of the high station to which he was raised; worthy of a better master and a better fate.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried forward at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. Henry pleaded, that when he espoused Anne, he had not *inwardly* given his consent; and that, notwithstanding the near approach he had made, he had not thought proper to *consummate* the marriage. The convocation sustained these reasons, and solemnly annulled the engagements between the king and queen. The parliament, ever obsequious to Henry's will, ratified the decision of the church.

The marriage of the king with Catharine Howard, which followed soon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was regarded as a favourable incident by the Catholic party; and the subsequent events corresponded with their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by the duke of Norfolk and bishop Gardiner, a furious persecution was begun against the Protestants. The *Law of the Six Articles*, which Cromwell had, on all occasions, taken care to soften, was executed with rigour; and Dr. Barnes, and several other clergymen, were prosecuted and brought to the stake.

But Henry's attention was soon turned to prosecutions of a very different kind, and on a subject which affected him still more sensibly than even the violation of his favourite theological statute. He had thought himself extremely happy in his new consort. The elegant person and agreeable manners of Catharine had entirely captivated his heart; and he had publicly, in his chapel, returned thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him. This happiness, however, was of short duration. It disappeared like a gaudy meteor, almost as soon as perceived; and its loss afflicted the king the more keenly, by reason of the circumstances with which it was accompanied. It not only vanished on a point which intimately concerned his peace, but on which he peculiarly valued himself, his skill in distinguishing a true maid. It at once wounded his pride and his passion. The queen had led a dissolute life before marriage. She had abandoned herself to the footmen of her grandmother, the old dutchess of Norfolk, while her maid was in the same chamber, and even along with her in the same bed. The proofs of this licentiousness were positive. There was also room to believe, notwithstanding her declaration to the contrary, that she had not been faithful to the king's bed; for it appeared, that one Colepepper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage, and that she had taken Derham, one of her old paramours, into her service.(2)

When these proofs of Catharine's incontinence were laid before Henry, he was so deeply affected, that he remained for some moments speechless, and at last burst into tears. The natural ferocity of his temper, however, soon returned; and he assembled a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny, in order to satiate his vengeance. A bill of attainder was voted against the queen and the viscountess of Rochford, who had conducted her criminal amours. A singular bill was also passed at the same time, making it treason in any person to conceal the incontinence of a queen of England; and farther enacting, that if a king of England should marry any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she likewise should be deemed guilty of treason, in case she did not previously reveal her shame to him.—And the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-hill, though their guilt had preceded the framing of that statute.(3)

Having got over this troublesome business, Henry again turned his attention to the affairs of religion; altering several times the national creed, according to his own capricious humour. And he turned his arms against his nephew, James V., of Scotland, because that prince had refused to imitate his conduct, in throwing off the jurisdiction of the pope.

The principles of the Reformation had already found their way into Scot-

(1) Burnet, vol. I.

(2) *Id. ibid.*(3) *Id. ubi sup.*

land. Several persons there had fallen martyrs to the new faith: and the nobility, invited by the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the ecclesiastical revenues; hoping, if a change in religion should take place, to enrich themselves with the plunder of the church. But the king, though very poor, not superstitious, and somewhat inclined to magnificence, fortified by the arguments of the clergy, and guided by the inclinations of his queen, a daughter of the duke of Guise, resisted every temptation to such robbery, and continued faithful to the see of Rome. This respect for the rights of the church proved fatal to James, and brought many miseries on his kingdom, both before and after his death.

Had the king of Scotland flattered the pride of Henry, by following his example in ecclesiastical affairs, he would have been supported in his measures with the whole force of England; whereas he now had that force to oppose, and a dissatisfied people to rule. Flushed, however, with an advantage gained over a detachment from the English army by lord Hume, he marched at the head of thirty thousand men to meet their main body, commanded by the duke of Norfolk, who had advanced as far as Kelso; and as that nobleman retreated on the approach of the Scottish army, the king resolved to enter England, and take vengeance on the invaders. But his nobility, dissatisfied on account of the preference shown to the clergy, opposed his resolution, and refused to attend him. Equally enraged and surprised at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, he threatened punishment; and still determined to make some impression on the enemy's country with the forces that adhered to him, he despatched ten thousand men to ravage the western border. They entered England near Solway Frith, while he himself followed, at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion.

But this expedition also proved unsuccessful, and even highly unfortunate, and from a cause allied to that which had ruined the former enterprise. The king of Scotland, become peevish by disappointment, and diffident of all his nobility, deprived lord Maxwell of the command of the army, and conferred it on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman. The Scots, displeased with this alteration, were preparing to disband; when a small body of English forces appearing, they suddenly took to flight, and were all either killed or made prisoners.⁽¹⁾

This disaster had such an effect on the haughty mind of James, that he would admit of no counsel or consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. All the passions that are inimical to human life, shame, rage, and despondency, took hold of him at once. His body wasted daily by sympathizing with his anxious mind; and he was brought to the verge of the grave, when his queen was safely delivered of the celebrated and unfortunate Mary Stuart. Having no former issue living, he anxiously inquired whether his consort had brought him a son or a daughter; and being told a daughter, he turned himself in his bed, said, "The crown came with a woman, and it will go with a woman! Many woes await this unhappy kingdom: Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms or by marriage." He expired soon after uttering these sorrowful words.

What James had foretold came in part to pass. Henry was no sooner informed of the victory at Solway, and the death of his nephew, than he formed the project of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying prince Edward, his only son, to the heiress of that kingdom. For this purpose he called together such of the Scottish nobility as were his prisoners, and offered them their liberty without ransom, provided they would second his views. They readily agreed to a proposal so favourable to themselves, and which seemed so natural and so advantageous to both kingdoms; and by their means, notwithstanding the opposition of cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, who had placed himself at the head of the regency, by forging a will in the name of the late king, the parliament of Scotland con-

(1, Buchanan, lib. xiv. Hume, chap. cxxlii

sented to a treaty of marriage and union with England.(1) The stipulations in that treaty it would be of little consequence to enumerate, as they were never executed.

Henry now finding himself at peace with all his neighbours, began to look out for another wife; and by espousing Catharine Parr, relict of lord Latimer, he confirmed what had been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to marry a widow, as no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of his statute respecting virginity. Catharine was a woman of virtue and good sense: and though somewhat inclined to promote the Reformation, a circumstance which gave great joy to the Protestant party, she delivered her sentiments with much caution in regard to the new doctrines. Henry, however, whose favourite topic of conversation was theology, by engaging her frequently in religious disputes, found means to discover her real principles; and his unwieldy corpulence and ill health having soured his temper, and increased the severity of his naturally passionate and tyrannical disposition, he ordered an impeachment to be drawn up against her: and the greatest prudence and address only could have saved her from the block.

Having happily got information of the king's displeasure, Catharine replied, when he next offered to converse with her on theological subjects, that such profound speculations were little suited to the natural imbecility of her sex; observing, at the same time, that though she declined not discourse on any topic, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew that her conceptions could serve no other purpose than to afford him a momentary amusement; that she found conversation apt to languish when not revived by some opposition, and had ventured, at times, to feign a contrariety of sentiment, in order to afford him the pleasure of refuting her. And she ingeniously added, that she also proposed by this innocent artifice to engage the king in arguments, whence she had observed, by frequent experience, that she reaped much profit and instruction. "And is it so, sweetheart?" said Henry; "then we are friends again!" embracing her tenderly, and assuring her of his affection. The chancellor, however, ignorant of this reconciliation, came next day to arrest Catharine, pursuant to the king's warrant, but was dismissed by Henry with the opprobrious appellations of *knave, fool, and beast*.(2) So violent and capricious was the temper of that prince!

But although the queen was so fortunate as to appease Henry's resentment against herself, she could not save those whom she most respected. Catharine and Cranmer excepted, the king punished with unfeeling rigour all others who presumed to differ from him in religious opinions; but more especially in the capital tenet, transubstantiation. Among the unhappy victims committed to the flames for denying that absurd doctrine, was Anne Ascue, a young woman of singular beauty and merit, connected with the principal ladies at court, and even with the queen. She died with great tranquillity and fortitude, refusing to earn, by recantation, a pardon, though offered her at the stake.(3)

Nor did Henry's tyrannical and persecuting spirit confine its vengeance to religious offenders: it was no less severe against such as excited his political jealousy. Among these were the duke of Norfolk, and his gallant son the earl of Surry. The duke had rendered considerable services to the crown; and although understood to be the head of the Catholic party, he had always conformed to the religion of the court. He had acquired an immense fortune in consequence of the favours bestowed upon him by Henry, and was confessedly the first subject in England. That eminence drew upon him the king's jealousy. As Henry found his death approaching, he was afraid that Norfolk might disturb the government during his son's minority, or alter his religious system.

The earl of Surry was a young nobleman of the most promising hopes, distinguished by every accomplishment which could adorn a scholar, a

(1) Buchanan, lib. xiv. Hume, chap. xxxiii. See also sir Ralph Sadler's *Letters*.

(2) Burnet, vol. i. Herbert, p. 560. Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

courtier, or a soldier of that age. But he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reserve which his situation required: and as he had declined all proposals of marriage among the nobility, Henry imagined that he entertained hopes of espousing his eldest daughter, the princess Mary. The suspicion of such a dangerous ambition was enough. Both he and his father, the duke of Norfolk, were committed to the tower; tried for high-treason, and condemned to suffer death, without any evidence of guilt being produced against either of them; unless that the earl had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his scutcheon, which was considered as a proof of his aspiring to the crown, although the practice and privilege of so doing had been openly avowed by himself, and maintained by his ancestors. Surry was immediately executed, and an order was issued for the execution of Norfolk; but the king's death happening in the interval, nothing further was done in the matter.⁽¹⁾

Henry's health had long been declining, and his approaching dissolution had been foreseen by all around him for some days; but as it had been declared treason to foretell the king's death, no one durst inform him of his condition, lest he should, in the first transports of his fury, order the author of such intelligence to immediate punishment. Sir Anthony Denny, however, at last ventured to make known to him the awful truth. He signified his resignation, and desired that Cranmer might be sent for. The primate came, though not before the king was speechless; but as he still seemed to retain his senses, Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ. He squeezed the primate's hand, and immediately expired, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign;⁽²⁾ affording, in his end, a striking example, that composure in the hour of death is not the inseparable characteristic of a life well spent, nor vengeance in this world the universal fate of blood-thirsty tyrants. Happily, we know that there is a state beyond the grave, where all accounts will be settled, and a tribunal before which every one must answer for the deeds done in the flesh; otherwise we should be apt to conclude, from seeing the same things happen to the just and to the unjust, to the cruel and the merciful, that there was no eye in heaven that regarded the actions of man, nor any arm to punish.

But the history of this reign, my dear Philip, yields other lessons than those of a speculative morality; lessons which come home to the breast of every Englishman, and which he ought to remember every moment of his existence. It teaches us the most alarming of all political truths; "That absolute despotism may prevail in a state, and yet the form of a free constitution remain." Nay, it even leads us to a conjecture still more interesting to Britons, "That in this country, an ambitious prince may most successfully exercise his tyrannies under the shelter of those barriers which the constitution has placed as the security of national freedom—of our lives, our liberty, and our property."

Henry changed the national religion, and, in a great measure, the spirit of the laws of England. He perpetrated the most enormous violences against the first men in the kingdom; he loaded the people with oppressive taxes, and he pillaged them by loans which it was known he never meant to repay; but he never attempted to abolish the parliament, or even to retrench any of its doubtful privileges. The parliament was the prime minister of his tyrannical administration: it authorized his oppressive taxes, and absolved him from the payment of his debts: it gave its sanction to his most despotic and sanguinary measures; to measures, which, of himself, he durst not have carried into execution; or which, if supposed to be merely the result of his own arbitrary will, would have roused the spirit of the nation to assert the rights of humanity, and the privileges of a free people; and law would have been given to the tyrant's power, or some arm would have been found bold enough to rid the world of such a scourge, by carrying vengeance to his heart.

(1) Burnet, vol. i. Fox, vol. i.

(2) Burnet. Herbert. Fuller

The conclusion which I mean to draw from these facts and reasonings is, and it deserves our most serious attention, that the British constitution, though so happily poised, that no one part of it seems to preponderate; though so admirably constructed that every one of the three estates is a check upon each of the other two, and both houses of parliament upon the crown; though the most rational and perfect system of freedom that human wisdom has framed, it is no positive security against the despotism of an artful or tyrannical prince; and that, if Britons should ever become slaves, such an event is not likely to happen, as in France, by the abolition of our national assembly, but by the corruption of its members; by making that proud bulwark of our liberty, as in ancient Rome, the means of our slavery. Our admirable constitution is but a gay curtain to conceal our shame, and the iniquity of our oppressors, unless our senators are animated by the same spirit which gave it birth. If they can be overawed by threats, seduced from their duty by bribes, or allured by promises, another Henry may rule us with a rod of iron, and drench once more the scaffold with the best blood of the nation: the parliament will be the humble and secure instrument of his tyrannies.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to the continent, where we left Charles V. attempting that despotism which Henry VIII. had accomplished.

LETTER LXI.

A general View of the Continent of Europe, including the Progress of the Reformation in Germany, from the first Meeting of the Council of Trent, in 1546, to the Peace of Religion concluded at Passau, in 1552.

IN consequence of the resolution of the emperor Charles V. to humble the Protestant princes, his chief motive, as has been observed, for concluding a disadvantageous peace with Francis I., he sent ambassadors to Constantinople, and concluded a dishonourable truce with Solymán II. He stipulated that his brother Ferdinand should pay an annual tribute to the Porte for that part of Hungary which still acknowledged his sway, and that the sultan should retain the imperial and undisturbed possession of the other. (1) Charles at the same time entered into an alliance with Paul III., the reigning pontiff, for the extirpation of heresy; or, in other words, for oppressing the liberties of Germany, under pretence of maintaining the jurisdiction of the holy see.

Meanwhile, a general council had been assembled at Trent, by the authority of the pope, in order to regulate the affairs of religion. But the Protestants, though they had appealed to a general council, refused to acknowledge the legality of this, which they were sensible was convoked to condemn, not to examine, their opinions. The proceedings of the council confirmed them in this resolution; they therefore renounced all connexion with it; and as they had discovered the emperor's ambitious views, they began to prepare for their own defence.

The emperor, whose schemes were not yet ripe for execution, though much chagrined at this obstinacy, smothered his resentment; and, in order to gain time, he attempted anew that dissimulation which he had so often practised with success. He assured, and endeavoured to persuade, the princes of the Smalkaldic league, that he had no design to abridge their spiritual liberty. It being impossible, however, to conceal his military preparations, he declared, that he took arms, not in a religious, but in a civil quarrel; not to oppress those who continued to behave as quiet and dutiful subjects, but to humble the arrogance of such as had thrown off all sense of that subordina-

tion in which they were placed under him, as the head of the Germanic body. But the substance of his treaty with the pope coming to light, these artifices did not long impose on the greater and sounder part of the Protestant confederacy. Its more intelligent members saw, that not only the suppression of the reformed religion, but the extinction of the German liberties was intended; and as they determined neither to renounce those sacred truths, the knowledge of which they had attained by means so wonderful, nor to abandon those civil rights which had been transmitted to them from their ancestors, they had immediately recourse to arms.(1)

In the mean time, the death of Luther, their great apostle, threw the German Protestants into much consternation, and filled the Catholics with excessive and even indecent joy; neither party reflecting that his opinions were now so firmly rooted as to stand in no further need of his fostering hand. The members of the Smalkaldic league were also discouraged by the little success of their negotiations with foreign courts; having applied in vain for assistance, not only to the republic of Venice, and to the Swiss cantons, but to the kings of France and England. But they found at home no difficulty in bringing a sufficient force into the field.

Germany abounded at that time in inhabitants. The feudal institutions subsisted in full force, and enabled the nobles to call out their numerous vassals, and to put them in motion on the shortest warning. The martial spirit of the people, not broken or enervated by the introduction of commerce and arts, had acquired additional vigour during the continual wars in which they had been employed, for half a century, either by the emperors or the kings of France. On every opportunity of entering upon action, they were accustomed to run eagerly to arms; and to every standard that was erected, volunteers flocked from all quarters. Zeal seconded on this occasion their native ardour. Men, on whom the doctrines of the Reformation had made that deep impression which accompanies truth when first discovered, prepared to maintain it with proportional courage; and, among a warlike people, it appeared infamous to remain inactive, when the defence of religion and liberty were the motives for drawing the sword. The confederates were therefore able, in a few weeks, to assemble an army of seventy thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, provided with every thing necessary for the operations of war.(2)

The emperor was in no condition to resist such a force: and had the Protestants immediately proceeded to hostilities, they might have dictated their own terms. But they imprudently negotiated instead of acting, till Charles received supplies from Italy and the Low Countries. He still, however, cautiously declined a battle, trusting that discord and the want of money would oblige the confederates to disperse. Meantime, he himself began to suffer from the want of forage and provisions. Great numbers of his foreign troops, unaccustomed to the climate or the food of Germany, were become unfit for service; and it still remained a doubtful point, whether his steadiness was most likely to fail, or the zeal of the confederates to be exhausted, when an unexpected event decided the contest, and occasioned a fatal reverse in their affairs.

Several of the Protestant princes, overawed by the emperor's power, had remained neutral: while others, allured by the prospect of advantage, had voluntarily entered into his service. Among the latter was Maurice, marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, of the house of Saxony; a man of bold ambition, extensive views, and profound political talents. After many conferences with Charles and his ministers, he concluded a treaty, by which he engaged to concur in assisting the emperor as a faithful subject; and Charles, in return, stipulated to bestow on him all the spoils of his relation and benefactor, the elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories.

These engagements, however, so contradictory to all that is just and honourable among men, Maurice was able to conceal, as they had been formed

(1) Meid. Thuan. Father Paul. (2) Seckend. lib. iii. Thuan. i.

with the most mysterious secrecy. And so perfect a master was he in the art of dissimulation, that the confederates, notwithstanding his declining all connexion with them, and his singular assiduity in paying court to the emperor, seem to have entertained no suspicion of his designs!—The elector of Saxony, when he marched to join his associates, even committed his dominions to the protection of Maurice, who undertook the charge with an insidious appearance of friendship. But scarce had the confederates taken the field, when he began to consult with the king of the Romans, how to invade those dominions he had engaged to defend; and no sooner did he receive a copy of the imperial ban denounced against his cousin and his father-in-law, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, as leaders of the confederacy, than he suddenly entered one part of the electoral territories, at the head of twelve thousand men; while Ferdinand, with an army of Bohemians and Hungarians, overran the other.(1)

The news of this violent invasion, and the success of Maurice, who in a short time made himself master of the whole electorate of Saxony, except Wittemberg, Gotha, and Eisenach, no sooner reached the camp of the confederates than they were filled with astonishment and terror. The elector immediately proposed to return home with his troops, in order to recover his hereditary dominions; and his associates, forgetting that it was the union of their forces which had hitherto rendered the confederacy formidable, and more than once obliged the imperialists to think of quitting the field, consented to his proposal of dividing the army.

Ulm, one of the chief cities of Suabia, highly distinguished by its zeal for the Smalkaldic league, submitted to the emperor. An example once set for deserting the common cause, the rest of the members became instantly impatient to follow it, and seemed afraid lest others, by getting the start of them in returning to their allegiance, should on that account obtain more favourable terms. All the terms, however, were sufficiently severe. Charles, being in great want of money, not only imposed heavy fines upon the princes and cities that had taken arms against him, but obliged them to deliver up their artillery and warlike stores, and to admit garrisons into their principal towns and places of strength.(2) Thus a confederacy, so powerful lately as to shake the imperial throne, fell to pieces, and was dissolved in the space of a few weeks; scarce any of the associates now remaining in arms, except the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, whom the emperor was at no pains to reconcile, having marked them out as the victims of his vengeance.

Meanwhile, the elector having expelled the invaders from Saxony, not only recovered in a short time possession of his own territories, but overran Misnia, and stripped his rival of all that belonged to him, except Dresden and Leipsic; while Maurice, obliged to abandon the field to superior force, and to shut himself up in his capital, despatched courier after courier to the emperor, representing his dangerous situation, and soliciting him with the most earnest importunity to march immediately to his relief.

But many causes conspired to prevent the emperor from instantly taking any effectual step in favour of his ally. His army was diminished by the departure of the Flemings, and by the number of garrisons which he had been obliged to throw into the towns that had capitulated; and the pope now perceiving that ambition, not religion, was the chief motive of Charles's hostilities, had weakened the imperial army still farther, by unexpectedly recalling his troops.

Alarmed at the rapid progress of Charles, Paul began to tremble, and not without reason, for the liberties of Italy. Francis also, the emperor's ancient rival, had observed with deep concern the humiliation of Germany, and was become sensible, that if some vigorous and timely effort was not made, Charles must soon acquire such a degree of power as would enable him to give law to the rest of Europe. He therefore resolved to form such a com

(1) Seckend. lib. iii. Thuan. 1

(2) Sleidan. Thuan. *Mém. de Ribier*.

bination against the emperor as should put a stop to his dangerous career. He accordingly negotiated for this purpose with Solymán II., with the pope, the Venetians, and with England. He encouraged the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, by remitting them considerable sums, to continue the struggle for their liberties: he levied troops in all parts of his dominions, and he contracted for a considerable body of Swiss mercenaries. (1)

Measures so complicated could not escape the emperor's observation, nor fail to alarm him: and the news of a conspiracy at Genoa, where Fiesco, count of Lavigna, an ambitious young nobleman, had almost overturned the government in one night, contributed yet farther to divert Charles from marching immediately into Saxony, as he was uncertain how soon he might be obliged to lead his forces into Italy. The politic Maurice, however, found means to save himself during this delay, by a pretended negotiation with his injured kinsman; while the death of Francis I., which happened before he was able to carry any of his schemes into execution, together with the final extinction of Fiesco's conspiracy, by the vigilance of the celebrated Andrew Doria, equally a friend to the emperor and republic, encouraged Charles to act with vigour in Germany; more especially as he foresaw that Henry II., who had succeeded his father in the throne of France, though a prince of vigour and ability, would be so much occupied at home in forming his new ministry, that he had nothing to fear for some time, either from the negotiations or personal efforts of that young monarch.

This interval of security the emperor seized to take vengeance on the elector and the landgrave: and as he was uncertain how long the calm might continue, he instantly marched into Saxony, at the head of sixteen thousand veterans. The elector's forces were more numerous, but they were divided. Charles did not allow them time to assemble. He attacked the main body at Mulhausen, near Mulberg; defeated it after an obstinate dispute, and took the elector prisoner. The captive prince was immediately conducted to the emperor, whom he found standing on the field of battle, in the full exultation of victory. The elector's behaviour, even in his present unfortunate and humbling condition, was alike equal, magnanimous, and decent. It was worthy of his gallant resistance. He alike avoided a sullen pride and a mean submission. "The fortune of war," said he, "most gracious emperor, has made me your prisoner, and I hope to be treated"—Here Charles rudely interrupted him:—"And am I then, at last, acknowledged to be emperor? Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately allowed me. You shall be treated as you deserve!" turning from him with a haughty air. To this cruel repulse the king of the Romans added reproaches in his own name, using expressions still more harsh and insulting. The elector made no reply; but with an unaltered countenance, which discovered neither astonishment nor dejection, accompanied the Spanish soldiers appointed to guard him. (2)

The emperor speedily marched towards Wittemberg (the capital, in that age, of the electoral branch of the Saxon family) hoping that, while the consternation occasioned by his victory was still recent, the inhabitants would submit as soon as he appeared before their walls. But Sybilla of Cleves, the elector's wife, a woman equally distinguished by her virtue and abilities, instead of obeying the imperial summons, or abandoning herself to tears and lamentation on account of her husband's misfortunes, animated the citizens by her example, as well as exhortation, to a vigorous defence; and Charles, finding that he could not suddenly reduce the place by force, had recourse to means at once ungenerous and unwarlike, but more expeditious and certain. He summoned Sybilla a second time to open the gates; informing her, that in case of refusal, the elector should answer with his head for her obstinacy. And, in order to convince her that he was in earnest, he brought his prisoner to an immediate trial, subjecting the greatest prince in the empire to the

(1) Sleidan. Thuan. *Mem. de Ribier*.

(2) Hortens. de Bell. Germ. Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.*, book ix.

jurisdiction of a court-martial, composed of Spanish and Italian officers; who, founding their charge against him upon the imperial ban, a sentence pronounced by the sole authority of Charles, and destitute of every legal formality which could render it valid, presumed the elector convicted of treason and rebellion, and condemned him to suffer death by being beheaded. (1)

Frederic was amusing himself in playing at chess with his fellow-prisoner, Ernest of Brunswick, when this decree was intimated to him. He paused for a moment, though without any symptom of surprise or terror; and after taking notice of the irregularity as well as injustice of the proceedings against him, "It is easy," said he, "to comprehend the emperor's scheme. I must die because Wittemberg refuses to surrender: and I will lay down my life with pleasure, if by that sacrifice I can preserve the dignity of my house, and transmit to my posterity the inheritance which I received from my ancestors. Heaven grant," continued he, "that this sentence may affect my wife and children no more than it does me! that they may not, for the sake of adding a few years to a life already too long, renounce honours and territories which they were born to possess!" He then turned to his antagonist, challenged him to continue the game, and played with his usual attention and ingenuity. (2)

It happened as the elector had feared: the account of his condemnation was not received with the same indifference at Wittemberg. Sybilla, who had supported with such undaunted fortitude her husband's misfortunes, while she imagined his person was free from danger, felt all her resolution fail the moment his life was threatened. Anxious for his safety, she despised every other consideration; and was willing to make any sacrifice in order to appease the rage of an incensed conqueror. Meantime, Charles, perceiving that the expedient he had tried began to produce the intended effect, fell by degrees from his former firmness, and allowed himself to soften into promises of clemency and forgiveness, if the elector would show himself worthy of favour, by submitting to certain conditions. Frederic, on whom the consideration of what he himself might suffer had made no impression, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved. He could not resist the entreaties of his family. In compliance with their repeated solicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation, which he would otherwise have rejected with disdain;—to resign the electoral dignity, to put the imperial troops immediately in possession of his capital, and to remain the emperor's prisoner. In return for these important concessions, the emperor promised not only to spare his life, but to settle on him and his posterity the city of Gotha and its territory, together with a revenue of fifty thousand florins. (3) The Saxon electorate was instantly bestowed upon Maurice. This sacrifice, though with no small reluctance, Charles was obliged to make: as it would neither have been safe nor prudent to violate his engagements with a warlike prince, whom he had seduced by ambitious hopes to abandon his natural allies, and whose friendship was still necessary.

The landgrave of Hesse, Maurice's father-in-law, was still in arms, but he thought no more of resistance. Alarmed at the fate of the elector of Saxony, his only care was how to procure favourable terms from the emperor, whom he now viewed as a conqueror, to whose will there was a necessity of submitting. Maurice encouraged this tame spirit, by magnifying Charles's power, and boasting of his own interest with his victorious ally. The landgrave accordingly threw himself at the emperor's feet, after ratifying what terms he was pleased to impose, Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg being sureties for his personal freedom. But his submission was no sooner made, than Charles ordered him to be arrested, and detained prisoner under the custody of a Spanish guard; and when the elector and Maurice, filled with indignation at being made the instruments of deceiving and ruining their friend, represented the infamy to which they would be exposed, unless

(1) *Hortens. de Bell. Germ.* Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* book ix.
(3) *Du Mont, Corps Diplom.* tom. iv.

(2) *Thuanus. lib i*

the landgrave was set at liberty; that they were bound to procure his release, having pledged their faith to that effect, and even engaged their own persons as sureties for his, the emperor, who no longer stood in need of their services, coolly replied, that he was ignorant of their particular or private transactions with the landgrave, nor was his conduct to be regulated by theirs. "I know," added he, in a decisive tone, "what I myself have promised; for that alone I am answerable."⁽¹⁾ These words put an end to the conference, and all future entreaties proved ineffectual.

Charles having now in his power the two greatest princes of the empire, carried them about with him in triumph; and having humbled all whom he had not attached to his interest, proceeded to exercise the rights of a conqueror. He ordered his troops to seize the artillery and military stores of all who had been members of the Smalkaldic league; and he levied, by his sole authority, large sums, as well upon those who had served him with fidelity, as upon such as had appeared in arms against him. Upon the former, as their contingent towards a war undertaking, as he pretended, for the common benefit; upon the latter, as a fine, by way of punishment, for their rebellion. His brother Ferdinand tyrannized with still more severity over his Bohemian subjects, who had taken arms in support of their civil and religious liberties: he stripped them of all their ancient privileges, and loaded them with oppressive taxes.⁽²⁾

The good fortune, or, as it has been called, the STAR of the house of Austria, was now at its height. The emperor having humbled, and, as he imagined, subdued the independent spirit of the Germans, summoned a diet to meet at Augsburg, "in order to compose finally the controversies with regard to religion, which had so long disturbed the empire;" or, in other words, to enslave the minds of those whose persons and properties were already at his disposal. He durst not, however, commit to the free suffrage of the Germans, broken as their spirit was by subjection, the determination of a matter so interesting. He therefore entered the city at the head of his Spanish troops, and assigned them quarters there. He cantoned the rest of his army in the adjacent villages; and he took possession by force of the cathedral, together with one of the principal churches, where his priests re-established with great pomp the rites of the Romish worship. These preliminary steps being taken, in order to intimidate the members, and to make them acquainted with the emperor's pleasure, he opened the diet with a speech, in which he pointed out the fatal effects of the religious dissensions which had arisen in Germany; exhorted them to recognise the authority of the general council, which he had taken so much pains to procure; and to stand the award of an assembly to which they had originally appealed, as having the sole right of judgment in the case.

But the council, to which Charles wished to refer all controversies, had undergone by this time a violent change. The same jealousy, which had made the pope recall his troops, had also made him translate the council to Bologna, a city subject to his own jurisdiction. The diet of Augsburg, overawed by threats, and influenced by promises, petitioned the pope, at the emperor's desire, in the name of the whole Germanic body, to enjoin the prelates who had retired to Bologna to return again to Trent, and renew their deliberations in that place. But Paul eluded the demand. He made the fathers at Bologna, to whom he referred the petition of the diet, put a direct negative upon the request; and Charles, as he could no longer hope to acquire such an ascendant in the council as to render it subservient to his ambitious aim, and to prevent the authority of so venerable an assembly from being turned against him, sent two Spanish lawyers to Bologna, who, in presence of the legates, protested, that the translation of the council to that place had been unnecessary, and founded on false or frivolous pretexts; that while it continued to meet there, it ought to be deemed an unlawful and schismatical conventicle, and all its decisions held null and void; and that as the pope,

(1) Thuanus, lib. iv. Struv. *Corps. Hist. Germ.* tom. ii.

(2) Id. *ibid.*

together with the corrupt ecclesiastics who depended upon him (those who depended upon Charles having remained at Trent), had abandoned the care of the church, the emperor, as its protector, would employ all the power which God had committed to him, in order to preserve it from those calamities with which it was threatened.

In consequence of this resolution, Charles employed some divines of known abilities and learning, to prepare a system of doctrine, which he presented to the diet, as what all should conform to, "until a council, such as they wished for, could be called." Hence the name *Interim*, by which this system is known. It was conformable in almost every article to the tenets of the Romish church, and the Romish rites were enjoined; but all disputed doctrines were expressed in the softest words, in Scripture phrases, or in terms of studied ambiguity. In regard to two points only, some relaxation of popish rigour was granted, and some latitude in practice admitted. Such ecclesiastics as had married, and did not choose to part from their wives, were allowed nevertheless to perform their sacred functions; and those provinces which had been accustomed to partake of the cup as well as of the bread in the communion were still indulged the privilege of receiving both. (1)

This treatise being read in presence of the members, according to form, the archbishop of Mentz, president of the electoral college, rose up hastily, as soon as it was finished, and having thanked the emperor for his unwearied endeavours to restore peace to the church, signified, in the name of the diet, their approbation of the system of doctrine which his imperial majesty had prepared, together with their resolution of conforming to it in every particular. And although the whole assembly was amazed at a declaration so unprecedented and unconstitutional, as well as at the elector's presumption, in pretending to deliver the sense of the diet upon a point which had not hitherto been the subject of consultation or debate, not one member had the courage to contradict what he had said. Charles therefore held the archbishop's declaration to be a ratification of the *Interim*, and prepared to enforce the observance of it as a decree of the empire. (2)

The *Interim* was accordingly published, immediately after the dissolution of the diet, in the German as well as in the Latin language; but, like all conciliating schemes proposed to men heated by disputation, it pleased neither party. The Protestants thought it granted too little indulgence; the Catholics, too much; both were dissatisfied. The emperor, however, fond of his plan, adhered to his resolution of carrying it into execution. But this proved one of the most difficult and dangerous undertakings in his reign; for although three Protestant princes, Maurice, the elector Palatine, and the elector of Brandenburg, agreed to receive the *Interim*, several others remonstrated against it: and the free cities, with one voice, joined in refusing to admit it, till force taught them submission. Augsburg and Ulm being barbarously stripped of their privileges, on account of their opposition, many other cities feigned compliance. But this obedience, extorted by the rigour of authority, produced no change in the sentiments of the Germans. They submitted with reluctance to the power that oppressed them; and although for a time they concealed their resentment, it was daily gathering force, and soon broke forth with a violence that shook the imperial throne.

In this moment of general submission it is worthy of remark, that the elector of Saxony, though the emperor's prisoner, and tempted both by threats and promises, refused to lend his sanction to the *Interim*. His reasons were those of a philosopher, not of a bigot. After declaring his fixed belief in the doctrines of the Reformation, "I cannot now," said he, "in my old age, abandon the principles for which I early contended; nor, in order to procure freedom during a few declining years, will I betray that good cause, on account of which I have suffered so much, and am still willing to suffer better for me to enjoy, in this solitude, the esteem of virtuous men, together with the approbation of my own conscience, than to return into the world

(1) Father Paul, lib. iii. Goldast. *Const. Imp.* vol. i.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

with the imputation and guilt of apostacy, to disgrace and imbitter the remainder of my days.”(1)

The contents of the Interim were no sooner known at Rome than the members of the sacred college were filled with rage and indignation. They exclaimed against the emperor's profane encroachment on the sacerdotal function, in presuming with the concurrence of an assembly of laymen, to define articles of faith, and regulate modes of worship. They compared this rash deed to that of Uzziah, who, with an unhallowed hand, had touched the ark of God. But the pope, whose judgment was improved by longer experience in great transactions, and more extensive observation of human affairs, though displeased at the emperor's encroachment on his jurisdiction, viewed the matter with more indifference. He perceived that Charles, by joining any one of the contending parties in Germany, might have had it in his power to have crushed the other, but that the presumption of success had now inspired him with the vain thought of being able to domineer over both; and he foresaw that a system, which all attacked and none defended, could not be of long duration.(2) He was more sensibly affected by the emperor's political measures, and his own domestic concerns.

Charles, as I have already had occasion to notice, had married Margaret of Austria, his natural daughter, to Octavio Farnese, the pope's grandson. On his own son Lewis, Octavio's father, whose aggrandizement he had sincerely at heart, Paul bestowed the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, then part of St. Peter's patrimony. But the emperor less fond of aggrandizing his daughter, whose children were to succeed to the inheritance, refused to grant to Lewis the investiture of those territories, under pretence that they were appendages of the dutchy of Milan. Enraged at such ungenerous conduct, the pope undertook to bestow himself that investiture which he craved, and the emperor persisted in refusing to confirm the deed. Hence a secret enmity took place between Paul and Charles, but one still stronger between Charles and Lewis. To complete the pope's misfortunes, Lewis became one of the most detestable tyrants that ever disgraced human nature, and justly fell a sacrifice to his own crimes, and to the injuries of his oppressed subjects. Gonzaga, governor of Milan, who had watched for such an opportunity, and even abetted the conspirators, immediately took possession of Placentia in the emperor's name, and reinstated the inhabitants in their ancient privileges. The imperialists likewise attempted to surprise Parma, but were disappointed by the vigilance and fidelity of the garrison.(3)

Paul was deeply afflicted for the loss of a son, whom, notwithstanding his vices, he loved with an excess of parental affection, and immediately demanded of the emperor the punishment of Gonzaga, and the restitution of Placentia to his grandson Octavio, its rightful heir. But Charles evaded both demands; he chose rather to bear the infamy of defrauding his own son-in-law of his patrimonial inheritance, and even to expose himself to the imputation of being accessary to the crime which had given an opportunity of seizing it, than quit a possession of such value. An ambition so rapacious and which no consideration either of decency or justice could restrain, transported Paul beyond his usual moderation. Eager to take arms against the emperor, but conscious of his own inability to contend with such an enemy, he warmly solicited the king of France and the republic of Venice to take part in his quarrel; but finding all his negotiations ineffectual, he endeavoured to acquire by policy what he could not recover by force. Upon a supposition that Charles would not dare to detain the possessions of the holy see, he proposed to reunite to it Parma and Placentia, by recalling his grant of Parma from Octavio, whom he could indemnify in the mean time for the loss, by a new establishment in the ecclesiastical state; and by demanding Placentia from the emperor, as part of the patrimony of the church. But while Paul was priding himself in this happy device, Octavio, an ambi-

(1) Sleid. p. 462. Robertson, *Charles V.*, book ix

(3) Thuanus, lib. iv. *Mem. de Ribier.*

(2) Father Paul, lib. iii. Palavicini, lib. ii

tious and high-spirited young man, having little faith in such a refinement in policy, and not choosing to abandon certainty for hope, applied to the emperor to protect him in his dutchy.(1)

This unexpected defection of one of his own family, of the grandson whose fortune it had been the care of his declining years to build, to an enemy whom he hated, agitated the venerable pontiff beyond his strength, and is said to have occasioned that illness of which he soon after died.(2)—An historian more sprightly than profound, and more keen than candid, has here affected to raise a smile, that “any other cause than *old age* should be assigned for the death of a *man of fourscore* ;”(3) and a more respectable historian, one equally elegant and learned, and no less intelligent than judicious, has taken much pains to prove that the pope’s “disease was the *natural effect of old age*, not one of those occasioned by *violence of passion*.”(4) But both allow that Paul was *violently* affected when informed of Octavio’s undutiful conduct ; and the latter informs us, that “he was seized with such a *transport of passion*, and *cried so bitterly*, that his voice was heard in several apartments of the palace ;” that “his mind was *irritated almost to madness*.”(5) And *weak and credulous* as some historians may be, and fond of “attributing the death of illustrious persons to *extraordinary causes*,”—there is surely nothing extraordinary in supposing that *mental irritation* and *bitter crying* might occasion a *catarrh*, the distemper of which the pope died, or a *violent transport of passion* increase the *natural imbecility of old age*, and hasten a *man of fourscore* to the grave. It is more extraordinary, how violently some great men, from a desire of being thought superior to vulgar prejudices, will struggle against common sense.

Paul was succeeded in the papacy by the cardinal de Monte, who had been employed as principal legate in the council of Trent, and owed his election to the Farnese party. He assumed the name of Julius III., and in order to express his gratitude towards his benefactors, he put Octavio Farnese in possession of Parma, which had been delivered up to his predecessor. “I would rather,” replied he, when told what injury he did the holy see by alienating a territory of such value, “be a poor pope with the reputation of a gentleman, than a rich one with the infamy of having forgot the obligations conferred upon me, and the promises I made.”(6) He discovered less inclination, however, to observe the oath which each cardinal had taken when he entered the conclave, that if the choice should fall on him, he would immediately call the general council to resume its deliberations. He knew, by experience, how difficult it was to confine the inquiries, or even the decisions of such a body of men, within the narrow limits which it was the interest of the court of Rome to prescribe. But as the emperor persisted in his resolution of forcing the Protestants to return into the bosom of the church, and earnestly solicited that a council might be called, in order to combat their prejudices, and to support his pious intentions, Julius could not with decency reject his request ; and, willing to assume to himself the merit of a measure become necessary, and also to ingratiate himself more particularly with Charles, he pretended to move, and to deliberate on the matter, and afterward issued a bull for the council to reassemble at Trent.(7)

Meanwhile, the emperor held a diet at Augsburg, in order to enforce the observation of the Interim, and to procure a more authentic act of the empire, acknowledging the jurisdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promise of conforming to its decrees. And such absolute ascendancy had Charles acquired over the members of the Germanic body, that he procured a recess, in which the authority of the council was recognised, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which afflicted the church. The observation of the Interim was more strictly enjoined than ever ; and the emperor threatened all who had hitherto neglected or refused to conform to

(1) Thuanus, lib. vi. Palav. lib. ii.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Voltaire, *Hist. Gen.*(4) Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* book x.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) *Mem. de Ribier*

(7) Father Paul, lib. iii.

it with the severest effects of his vengeance, if they persisted in their disobedience.

During the meeting of this diet, a new attempt was made to procure liberty to the landgrave. Nowise reconciled by time to his condition, he grew every day more impatient of restraint; and having often applied to his sureties, Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg, who took every opportunity of soliciting the emperor in his behalf, though without effect, he now commanded his sons to summon them, with legal formality, to perform their engagements, by surrendering themselves to be treated as the emperor had treated him. Thus pushed to extremity, the sureties renewed their application to Charles. Resolved not to grant their request, but anxious to get rid of their incessant importunity, the emperor endeavoured to prevail on the landgrave to give up the obligation which he had received from them; and when that prince refused to part with a security which he deemed essential to his safety, Charles, by a singular act of despotism, cut the knot which he could not untie. As if faith, honour, and conscience had been subjected to his sway, he, by a public deed, annulled the bond which Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg had granted, and absolved them from all their obligations to the landgrave! (1) A power of cancelling those solemn contracts, which are the foundation of that mutual confidence whereby men are held together in social union, was never claimed by the most despotic princes or arrogating priests of heathen antiquity: that enormous usurpation was reserved for the Roman pontiffs, who had rendered themselves odious by the exercise of such a pernicious prerogative. All Germany was therefore filled with astonishment when Charles assumed the same right. The princes who had hitherto contributed to his aggrandizement began to tremble for their own safety, and to take measures for preventing the danger.

The first check which Charles met with in his ambitious projects, and which convinced him that the Germans were not yet slaves, was in his attempt to transmit the empire, as well as the kingdom of Spain, and his dominions in the Low Countries, to his son Philip. He had formerly assisted his brother Ferdinand in obtaining the dignity of king of the Romans; and that prince had not only studied to render himself acceptable to the people, but had a son, who was born in Germany, grown up to the years of manhood, and who possessed in an eminent degree such qualities as rendered him the darling of his countrymen. The emperor, however, warmed with contemplating this vast design, flattered himself that it was not impossible to prevail on the electors to cancel their former choice of Ferdinand, or at least to elect Philip a second king of the Romans, substituting him as next in succession to his uncle. With this view he took Philip, who had been educated in Spain, along with him to the diet at Augsburg, that the Germans might have an opportunity to observe and become acquainted with the prince in whose behalf he solicited their interest; but no sooner was the proposal made known, than all the electors, the ecclesiastical as well as secular, concurred in expressing such strong disapprobation of the measure, that Charles was obliged to drop his project as impracticable. (2) They foresaw, that by continuing the imperial crown, like an hereditary dignity, in the same family, they should give the son an opportunity of carrying on that system of oppression which the father had begun, and put it in his power to overturn whatever was yet left entire in the ancient and venerable fabric of the German constitution.

This plan of domestic ambition, which had long engrossed his thoughts, being laid aside, Charles imagined he should now have leisure to turn all his attention towards his grand scheme of establishing uniformity of religion in the empire, by forcing all the contending parties to acquiesce in the decisions of the council of Trent. But the machine which he had to conduct was so great and complicated, that an unforeseen irregularity, or obstruction in one of the inferior wheels, often disconcerted the motion of the whole, and disappointed him of the effect which he depended upon with most confidence.

(1) Thuanus, lib. vi.

(2) Thuanus, lib. vi. *Mem. de Ribier*

Such an unlooked-for occurrence now happened, and created new obstacles against the execution of his plan in regard to religion.

Though Julius III. during the first effusions of joy and gratitude on his promotion to the papal throne, had confirmed Octavio Farnese in the possession of the duchy of Parma, he soon began to repent of his generosity. The emperor still retained possession of Placentia; and Gonzaga, governor of Milan, a sworn enemy to the family of Farnese, was preparing, by Charles's permission, to make himself master of Parma. Octavio saw his danger; and, sensible of his inability to defend himself against the imperial troops, he applied to the pope for protection, as a vassal of the holy see. But the imperial minister having already preoccupied the ear of Julius, Octavio's petition met with a cold reception. Despairing, therefore, of support from his holiness, he began to look elsewhere for assistance: and Henry II. of France, the only prince powerful enough to protect him, was fortunately in a situation to lend him that assistance.

Having not only settled his own domestic concerns, but brought his transactions with the two British kingdoms, which had hitherto diverted his attention from the affairs of the continent, to such an issue as he desired, Henry was at full leisure to pursue the measures which his hereditary jealousy of the emperor's power naturally suggested. He accordingly listened to the overtures of Octavio; and, glad of an opportunity of regaining footing in Italy, furnished him with what assistance he desired.

The war of Parma, where the French took the field as the allies of the duke, and the imperialists as the protectors of the holy see, the pope having declared Octavio's fief forfeited, was distinguished by no memorable event; but the alarm which it occasioned in Italy prevented most of the Italian prelates from repairing to Trent on the day appointed for reassembling the council; so that the legate and nuncios found it necessary to adjourn to a future day, hoping that such a number might then assemble as would enable them in decency to begin their deliberations. When that day came, the French ambassador demanded audience, and protested, in his master's name, against an assembly called at such an improper juncture; when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, made it impossible for the deputies from the Gallican church to resort to Trent in safety, or to deliberate concerning articles of faith and discipline with the requisite tranquillity. He declared, that Henry did not acknowledge this to be a general œcumenic council, but must consider and would treat it as a particular and partial convention. (1)

That declaration gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the commencement of its deliberations. The legate, however, affected to despise Henry's protest; the prelates proceeded to determine the great points in controversy concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, penance, and extreme unction; and the emperor strained his authority to the utmost, in order to establish the reputation and jurisdiction of that assembly. The Protestants were prohibited to teach any doctrine contrary to its decrees, or to the tenets of the Romish church; and on their refusing compliance, their pastors were ejected and exiled; such magistrates as had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the new opinions were dismissed; their offices were filled with the most bigoted of their adversaries; and the people were compelled to attend the ministration of priests, whom they regarded as idolaters, and to submit to the authority of rulers, whom they detested as usurpers. (2)

These tyrannical measures fully opened the eyes of Maurice of Saxony and other Lutheran princes, who, allured by the promise of liberty of conscience, and the prospect of farther advantages, had assisted the emperor in the war against the confederates of Smalkalde. Maurice, in particular, who had long beheld with jealous concern the usurpations of Charles, now saw the necessity of setting bounds to them; and he who had perfidiously stripped his nearest relation and benefactor of his hereditary possessions, and been chiefly instru-

(1) Father Paul, lib. iv. Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.*, book x.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

mental in bringing to the brink of ruin the civil and religious liberties of his country, became the deliverer of Germany.

The policy with which Maurice conducted himself in the execution of his design was truly admirable. He was so perfect a master of address and dissimulation, that he retained the emperor's confidence, while he recovered the good opinion of the Protestants. As he knew Charles to be inflexible with respect to the submission which he required to the Interim, he did not hesitate a moment whether he should establish that form of doctrine and worship in his dominions: he even undertook to reduce to obedience the citizens of Magdeburg, who persisted in rejecting it; and he was chosen general, by a diet assembled at Augsburg, of the imperial army levied for that purpose. But he at the same time issued a declaration, containing professions of his zealous attachment to the reformed religion, as well as of his resolution to guard against all the errors and encroachments of the papal see; and he entered his protest against the authority of the council of Trent, unless the Protestant divines had a full hearing granted them, and were allowed a decisive voice in that assembly; unless the pope renounced his pretensions to preside in it, should engage to submit to its decrees, and to absolve the bishops from their oath of obedience, that they might deliver their sentiments with greater freedom. He reduced Magdeburg, after a siege of twelve months, protracted by design, in order that his schemes might be ripened before his army was disbanded.⁽¹⁾ The public articles of capitulation were perfectly conformable to the emperor's views, and sufficiently severe. But Maurice gave the magistrates secret assurances that their city should not be dismantled, and that the inhabitants should neither be disturbed in the exercise of their religion, nor deprived of any of their ancient privileges; and they, in their turn, elected him their burgrave—a dignity which had formerly belonged to the electoral house of Saxony, and which entitled its possessor to very ample jurisdiction both in the city and its dependencies.

Far from suspecting any thing fraudulent or collusive in the terms of accommodation, the emperor ratified them without hesitation, freely absolving the Magdeburgers from the sentence of ban denounced against them; and Maurice, under various pretences, kept his veteran troops in pay; while Charles, engaged in directing the affairs of the council, entertained no apprehension of his designs. But, previous to the unfolding of these designs, some account must be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little towards the extraordinary success of Maurice's operations.

When Solyman deprived the young king of Hungary of the dominions which his father had left him, he granted that unfortunate prince, as has been already related, the country of Transylvania, a province of his paternal kingdom. The government of this province, together with the care of educating the infant king (for the sultan still allowed him to retain that title,) was committed to Isabella the queen-mother, and Martinuzzi, bishop of Waradin, whom the late king of Hungary had appointed his son's guardians, and regents of his dominions. This co-ordinate jurisdiction occasioned the same dissensions in a small principality which it would have excited in a great monarchy. The queen and bishop grew jealous of each other's authority: both had their partisans among the nobility; but as Martinuzzi by his superior talents, began to acquire the ascendant, Isabella courted the protection of the Turks. The politic prelate saw his danger, and, through the mediation of some of the nobles, who were solicitous to save their country from the calamities of civil war, he concluded an agreement with the queen. But he, at the same time, secretly despatched one of his confidants to Vienna, and entered into a negotiation with the king of the Romans, whom he offered to assist in expelling the Turks, and in recovering possession of the Hungarian throne.

Allured by such a flattering prospect, Ferdinand agreed, notwithstanding his truce with Solyman, to invade the principality of Transylvania. The

⁽¹⁾ Sebast. Besselm. *Obsid. Magdeb.* Arnoldi, *Vit. Mauri*

troops destined for that service, consisted of veteran Spanish and German soldiers, were commanded by Castaldo marquis de Piadena, an officer of great knowledge in the art of war, who was powerfully seconded by Martinuzzi and his faction among the Hungarians; and the sultan being then at the head of his forces on the borders of Persia, the Turkish bashaws could not afford the queen such immediate or effectual assistance as the exigency of her affairs required. She was, therefore, obliged to listen to such conditions as she would at any other time have rejected with disdain. She agreed to give up Transylvania to Ferdinand, and to make over to him her son's title to the crown of Hungary, in exchange for the principalities of Oppelen and Ratibor in Silesia, for which she immediately set out.

Martinuzzi, as the reward of his services, was appointed governor of Transylvania, with almost unlimited authority: and he proved himself worthy of it. He conducted the war against the Turks with equal ability and success: he recovered some places of which they had taken possession; he rendered their attempts to reduce others abortive; and he established the dominion of the king of the Romans, not only in Transylvania, but in several of the adjacent countries. Always, however, afraid of the talents of Martinuzzi, Ferdinand now became jealous of his power; and Castaldo, by imputing to the governor designs which he never formed, and charging him with actions of which he was not guilty, at last convinced the king of the Romans that, in order to preserve his Hungarian crown, he must cut off that ambitious prelate. The fatal mandate was accordingly issued: Castaldo willingly undertook to execute it: Martinuzzi was assassinated. But Ferdinand, instead of the security which he expected from that barbarous measure, found his Hungarian territories only exposed to more certain danger. The nobles, detesting such jealous and cruel policy, either retired to their own estates, or grew cold in the service, if they continued with the Austrian army; while the Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whose vigour and abilities they dreaded, prepared to renew hostilities with fresh vigour.(1)

Maurice, in the mean time, having almost finished his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of taking the field against the emperor. He had concluded a treaty with Henry II. of France, who wished to distinguish himself, by trying his strength against the same enemy whom it had been the glory of his father's reign to oppose. But as it would have been indecent in a popish prince to undertake the defence of the Protestant church, the interests of religion, how much soever they might be affected by the treaty, were not once mentioned in any of the articles. The only motives assigned for now leaguering against Charles were to procure the landgrave's liberty, and to prevent the subversion of the ancient constitution and laws of the German empire. Religious concerns the confederates pretended to commit entirely to the care of Providence.

Having secured the protection of the French monarch, Maurice proceeded with great confidence, but equal caution, to execute his plan. As he judged it necessary to demand once more, before he took off the mask, that the landgrave should be set at liberty, he sent a solemn embassy, in which most of the German princes joined, to the emperor at Inspruck, in order to enforce his request. Constant to his system with regard to the captive prince, Charles eluded the demand, though urged by such powerful intercessors. But this application, though of no benefit to the landgrave, was of infinite service to Maurice. It served to justify his subsequent proceedings, and to demonstrate the necessity of taking arms, in order to extort that equitable concession which his mediation or entreaty could not obtain. He accordingly despatched Albert of Brandenburg to Paris, to hasten the march of the French army: he took measures to bring his own troops together on the first summons; and he provided for the security of Saxony, while he should be absent.

All these complicated operations were carried on with so much secrecy, as to elude the observation of Charles, whose sagacity in observing the conduct of all around him commonly led him to excess of distrust. He remained in perfect tranquillity at Inspruck, solely occupied in counteracting the intrigues of the pope's legate at Trent, and in settling the conditions on which the Protestant divines should be admitted into the council. Even Granville, bishop of Arras, his prime minister, though one of the most subtle statesmen of that, or perhaps of any age, was deceived by the exquisite address with which Maurice concealed his designs. "A drunken German head," replied he to the duke of Alva's suspicions, concerning the elector's sincerity, "is too gross to form any scheme which I cannot easily penetrate and baffle." Granville was on this occasion, however, the dupe of his own artifice. He had bribed two of Maurice's ministers, on whose information he depended for their master's intentions; but that prince having fortunately discovered their perfidy, instead of punishing them for their crime, dexterously availed himself of the fraud. He affected to treat these ministers with greater confidence than ever: he admitted them into his consultations, and seemed to lay open his heart to them; but he took care all the while to make them acquainted with nothing but what it was his interest should be known, and they transmitted to Inspruck such accounts as lulled the crafty Granville in security.(1)

At last, Maurice's preparations were completed: and he had the satisfaction to find, that his intrigues and designs were still unknown. But although ready to take the field, he did not yet lay aside the arts he had hitherto employed. Pretending to be indisposed, he despatched one of the ministers whom Granville had bribed to inform the emperor that he meant soon to wait upon him at Inspruck, and to apologize for his delay.(2) In the mean time, he assembled his army, which amounted to twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, publishing at the same time a manifesto, containing his reasons for taking arms; namely, to secure the Protestant religion, to maintain the German constitution, and deliver the landgrave of Hesse from the miseries of a long and unjust imprisonment. To this the king of France, in his own name, added a manifesto, in which he assumed the extraordinary appellation of *Protector of the Liberties of Germany and its captive Princes*.(3)

No words can express the emperor's astonishment at events so unexpected. He was not in a condition to oppose such formidable enemies. His embarrassment increased their confidence: their operations were equally bold and successful. The king of France immediately entered Lorrain, made himself master of Toul, Verdun, and Metz; while Maurice, no less intrepid and enterprising in the field than cautious and crafty in the cabinet, traversed all Upper Germany, every where reinstating the magistrates whom Charles had deposed, and putting the ejected Protestant ministers in possession of the churches.

The emperor had recourse to negotiation, the only recourse of the weak, and Maurice, conscious of his own political talents, and willing to manifest a pacific disposition, agreed to an interview with the king of the Romans, in the town of Lintz, in Austria, leaving his army to proceed on its march, under the command of the duke of Mecklenburg. Nothing was determined in the conference at Lintz, except that another should be held at Passau. Meanwhile, Maurice continued his operations with vigour. He marched directly towards Inspruck; and hoping to surprise the emperor in that open town, he advanced with the most rapid motion that could be given to so great a body of men, forcing several strong passes, and bearing down all resistance.

Charles was happily informed of his danger a few hours before the enemy's arrival; and although the night was far advanced, dark, and rainy, he immediately fled over the Alps in a litter, being so much afflicted with the gout as to be incapable of any other mode of travelling. Enraged that his prey should escape him, when he was just on the point of seizing it, Maurice pur-

(1) Melvil's *Memoirs*.(2) *Id. Ibid.*(3) *Mém. de Ribier*, tom. II.

sued the emperor and his attendants some miles : but finding it impossible to overtake men whose flight was hastened by fear, he returned to Inspruck, and abandoned the emperor's baggage to the pillage of his soldiers.(1) Meantime, Charles pursued his journey, and arrived in safety at Villach in Carinthia, where he continued till matters were finally settled with the Protestant princes.

In consequence of Maurice's operations, the council of Trent broke up. The German prelates, anxious for the safety of their territories, returned home; the rest were extremely impatient to be gone; and the legate, who had hitherto disappointed all the endeavours of the imperial ambassadors to procure the Protestant divines an audience in the council, gladly laid hold on such a plausible pretext for dismissing an assembly, which he had found it so difficult to govern.(2) The breach which had unhappily been made in the church, instead of being closed, was widened; and all mankind were made sensible of the inefficacy of a general council for reconciling the contending parties.

The victorious Maurice repaired to Passau, on the day appointed for the second conference with the king of the Romans; and as matters of the greatest consequence to the future peace and independency of the empire were then to be agitated, thither resorted the ministers of all the electors, together with deputies from most of the considerable princes and free cities. The elector limited his demand to three articles set forth in his manifesto; namely, the liberty of the landgrave, the public exercise of the Protestant religion, and the re-establishment of the ancient constitution of Germany.

These demands appearing extravagant to the imperial ambassadors, they were presented by Ferdinand to the emperor in person, at Villach, in the name of all the princes of the empire, Popish as well as Protestant; in the name of such as had assisted in forwarding his ambitious schemes, as well as those who had viewed the progress of his power with jealousy and dread. Unwilling, however, to forego at once objects, which he had long pursued with ardour and hope, Charles, notwithstanding his need of peace, was deaf to the united voice of Germany. He rejected the proffered terms with disdain; and Maurice, well acquainted with the emperor's arts, suspecting that he meant only to amuse and deceive by a show of negotiation, immediately rejoined his troops, and laid siege to Frankfort on the Maine. This measure had the desired effect. Firm and haughty as his nature was, Charles found it necessary to make concessions; and Maurice thought it more prudent to accept of conditions less advantageous than those he had proposed, than again commit all to the doubtful issue of war.(3) He therefore repaired once more to Passau, renewed the congress, and concluded a peace on the following terms:—"The confederates shall lay down their arms before the 12th day of August; the landgrave shall be set at liberty, on or before that day; a diet shall be held within six months, in order to deliberate concerning the most effectual method of preventing for the future all dissensions concerning religion; in the mean time, no injury shall be offered to such as adhere to the Confession of Augsburg, nor shall the Catholics be molested in the exercise of their religion; the imperial chamber shall administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and Protestants be admitted indiscriminately with Catholics to sit as judges in that court; the encroachments, said to have been made upon the constitution and liberties of Germany, shall be remitted to the consideration of the approaching diet of the empire; and if that diet should not be able to terminate the disputes respecting religion, the stipulations in the present treaty, in behalf of the Protestants, shall continue for ever in full force."(4)

Such, my dear Philip, was the memorable treaty of Passau, which set limits to the authority of Charles V., overturned the vast fabric which he had employed so many years in erecting, and established the Protestant church

(1) Arnoldi, *Vit. Mauriti*.

(2) Father Paul, lib. iv.

(3) Thuanus, lib. 1

(4) *Recueil de Traitez*, tom. ii.

in Germany, upon a firm and secure basis. It is singular, that in this treaty no article was inserted in favour of the king of France, to whom the confederates had been so much indebted for their success. But Henry II. experienced only the treatment which every prince, who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war, may expect.⁽¹⁾ As soon as the rage of faction began to subside, and any prospect of accommodation to open, his services were forgotten, and his associates made a merit with their sovereign of the ingratitude with which they had abandoned their protector.

The French monarch, however, sensible that it was more his interest to keep on good terms with the Germanic body than to resent the indignities offered him by any particular member of it, concealed his displeasure at the perfidy of Maurice and his associates. He even affected to talk, in the same strain as formerly, of his zeal for maintaining the ancient constitution and liberties of the empire. And he prepared to defend, by force of arms, his conquest in Lorrain, which he foresaw Charles would take the first opportunity of wresting from him. But before I relate the events of the new wars to which those conquests gave birth, we must take a view of the affairs of our own island; a more contracted but not less turbulent scene, and discoloured by more horrors and cruelties than the continent, during the dark and changeable period that followed the death of Henry VIII., and terminated in the steady government of Elizabeth.

LETTER LXII.

England, from the Death of Henry VIII. until the Accession of Elizabeth, in 1558, together with an Account of the Affairs of Scotland, during that Period, and of the Progress of the Reformation in both the British Kingdoms.

HENRY VIII. by his will, made near a month before his death, left the crown, first to prince Edward, his son by Jane Seymour; then to the princess Mary, his daughter by Catharine of Arragon; and lastly to the princess Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn, though both princesses had been declared illegitimate by parliament. These particulars, my dear Philip, are necessary to be mentioned here, in order to the better understanding of the disputes which afterward arose in regard to the succession.

Edward VI. being only nine years of age at the time of his father's death, the government of the kingdom was committed to sixteen executors, among whom was Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, chamberlain, and all the great officers of state. They chose one of their number, namely, the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle, instantly created duke of Somerset, to represent the royal majesty, under the title of Protector; to whom despatches from English ministers abroad should be directed, and whose name should be employed in all orders and proclamations. Him they invested with all the exterior symbols of regal dignity; and he procured a patent from the young king, investing him also with regal power.⁽²⁾

This patent, in which the executors are not so much as mentioned, being surreptitiously obtained from a minor, the protectorship of Somerset was a palpable usurpation; but as the executors acquiesced in the new establishment, and the king discovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was a man of moderation and probity, few objections were made to his power or title. Other causes conspired to confirm both. Somerset had long been regarded as the secret partisan of the Reformers, become by far the most numerous and respectable body of men in the kingdom; and, being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to discover his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more of the Protestant innovations. He also took care that the king should be educated in the

(1) Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.*, book x.

(2) Burnet, *Hist. Reformat.* vol. ii.

same principles. To these Edward soon discovered a zealous attachment and all men foreseeing, in the course of his reign, the total abolition of the Catholic faith in England, they began early and very generally to declare themselves in favour of those tenets, which were likely to become in the end triumphant, and of that authority by which they were propagated.

In his schemes for advancing the progress of the Reformation, the protector had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, whose moderation and prudence made him averse against all violent changes, and determined him to draw over the people, by insensible gradations, to that system of doctrine and discipline which he esteemed the most pure and perfect.⁽¹⁾ And to these moderate counsels we are indebted, not only for the full establishment of the Protestant religion in England, but also for that happy medium between superstition and enthusiasm observable in the constitution of the English church. The fabric of the secular hierarchy was left and maintained entire; the ancient liturgy was preserved, as far as was thought consistent with the new principles; many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding use, were retained; and the distinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued. No innovation was admitted merely from a spirit of opposition, or a fanatical love of novelty. The establishment of the Church of England was a work of reason.

As soon as the English government was brought to some degree of composure, Somerset made preparations for a war with Scotland; determined to execute, if possible, that project of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent, and which seemed once so near a happy issue, but which had been defeated by the intrigues of cardinal Beaton. This politic and powerful prelate, though not able to prevent the parliament of Scotland from agreeing to the treaty of marriage and union with England, being then in the hands of the Protestant party, afterward regained his authority, and acquired sufficient influence, not only to oblige the earl of Arran, who had succeeded him in the regency, to renounce his alliance with Henry VIII., but also to abjure the principles of the Reformation, to which he seemed zealously attached, and to reconcile himself in 1543, to the Romish communion, in the Franciscan church at Stirling.⁽²⁾

The fatal effects of this change in the religious and political sentiments of the regent were long felt in Scotland. Arran's apostacy may even perhaps be considered as the remote cause of all the civil broils which afflicted both kingdoms in the subsequent century, and which terminated in the final expulsion of the house of Stuart, of which the infant queen of Scots was now the sole representative. The southern and most fertile parts of the kingdom were suddenly laid waste by an English army. Various hostilities ensued with various success, but without any decisive event. At last an end was put to that ruinous and inglorious warfare, by the peace concluded between Henry VIII. and Francis I., at Campe, in 1546; the French monarch generously stipulating, that his Scottish allies should be included in the treaty. The religious consequences were more serious and lasting, and their political influence was great.

The Scottish regent consented to every thing that the zeal of the cardinal thought necessary for the preservation of the established religion. The Reformers were every where cruelly persecuted, and many were condemned to that dreadful punishment which the church has appointed for its enemies. Among those committed to the flames was a popular preacher named George Wishart; a man of honourable birth, and of primitive sanctity, who possessed in an eminent degree the talent of seizing the attention and engaging the affections of the multitude. Wishart suffered with the patience of a martyr; but he could not forbear remarking the barbarous triumph of his insulting adversary, who beheld, from a window of his sumptuous palace, the inhuman spectacle:—and he foretold, that in a few days the cardinal should,

(1) Burnet, *Hist. Reformat.* vol. ii.

(2) Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* book ii

in the same palace, lie as low as now he was exalted high, in opposition to true piety and religion.(1)

This prophecy, like many others, was probably the cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of Wishart, enraged at his cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against Beatoun; and having associated with them Norman Lesley, eldest son of the earl of Rothes, who was instigated by revenge on account of private injuries, they surprised the cardinal in his palace or castle at St. Andrews, and instantly put him to death. One of the assassins, named James Melvil, before he struck the fatal blow, turned the point of his sword towards Beatoun, and in a tone of pious exhortation called to him, "repent thee, thou wicked cardinal! of all thy sins and iniquities; but especially of the murder of George Wishart, that instrument of Christ for the conversion of these lands. It is his death which now cries for vengeance. We are sent by God to inflict the deserved punishment upon thee."(2)

The conspirators, though only sixteen in number, took possession of the castle, after turning out one by one the cardinal's formidable retinue; and being reinforced by their friends, they prepared themselves for a vigorous defence, and sent a messenger to London, craving assistance from Henry VIII. The death of that prince, which happened soon after, blasted all their hopes. They received, however, during the siege, supplies both of money and provisions from England; and if they had been able to hold out only a few weeks longer, they would have escaped that severe capitulation to which they were reduced, not by the regent alone, but by a body of troops sent to his assistance from France.

Somerset entered Scotland at the head of eighteen thousand men; while a fleet of sixty sail, one half of which consisted of ships of war, and the other of vessels laden with provisions and military stores, appeared on the coast, in order to second his operations, and supply his army. The earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, had for some time observed this storm gathering, and was prepared to meet it. He had summoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the enemy, was posted to the greatest advantage on a rising ground, guarded by the banks of the river Eske, a little above Musselburgh, when the protector came in view. Alarmed at the sight of a force so formidable, and so happily disposed, Somerset made an overture of peace to the earl of Arran, on conditions very admissible. He offered to withdraw his troops, and compensate the damage he had done by his inroad, provided the Scottish regency would engage to keep their young queen at home, and not to contract her to any foreign prince, until she should arrive to the age of maturity, when she might choose a husband without the consent of her council. But this moderate demand was rejected by the Scottish regent with disdain, and merely on account of its moderation. It was imputed to fear; and Arran, confident of success, was afraid of nothing but the escape of the English army. He therefore left his strong camp, as soon as he saw the protector begin to move towards the sea, suspecting that he intended to embark on board his fleet; and passing the river Eske, advanced into the plain, and attacked the English army near the village of Pinkey, with no better success than his rashness deserved.

Having drawn up his troops on an eminence, Somerset had now the advantage of ground on his side. The Scottish army consisted chiefly of infantry, whose principal weapon was a long spear, and whose files for that reason were deep, and their ranks close. A body so compact and firm easily resisted the attack of the English cavalry, broke them, and drove them off the field. Lord Grey, their commander, was dangerously wounded; lord Edward Seymour, son of the protector, had his horse killed under him, and the royal standard was near falling into the hands of the enemy. But the Scots being galled by the protector's artillery in front, and by the fire from the ships in flank, while the English archers, and a body of foreign fusileers

(1) Spotswood. Buchanan.

(2) Knox. Keith.

poured in volleys of shot upon them from all quarters, they at last began to give way: the rout became general, and the whole field was soon a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The pursuit was long and bloody. Ten thousand of the Scots are said to have fallen, and but a very inconsiderable number of the conquering enemy.(1)

This victory, however, which seemed to threaten Scotland with final subjection, was of no real utility to England. It served only to make the Scots throw themselves inconsiderately into the arms of France, and send their young queen to be educated in that kingdom; a measure universally regarded as a prelude to her marriage with the dauphin, and which effectually disappointed the views of Somerset, and proved the source of Mary's accomplishments as a woman, and of her misfortunes as a queen. The Scottish nobles, in taking this step, hurried away by the violence of resentment, seem to have forgot that zeal for the independency of their crown which had made them violate their engagements with Henry VIII., and oppose with so much ardour the arms of the protector.

The cabals of the English court obliged the duke of Somerset to return before he could take any effectual measures for the subjection of Scotland; and the supplies which the Scots received from France enabled them, in a great measure, to expel their invaders, while the protector was employed in re-establishing his authority, and in quelling domestic insurrections. His brother, lord Seymour, a man of insatiable ambition, had married the queen-dowager, and openly aspired at the government of the kingdom. In order to attain this object, he endeavoured to seduce the young king to his interests; found means to hold a private correspondence with him, and publicly decried the protector's administration. He had brought over to his party many of the principal nobility, together with some of the most popular persons of inferior rank; and he had provided arms for ten thousand men, whom it was computed he could muster from among his own domestics and retainers.(2)

Though apprized of all these alarming circumstances, Somerset showed no inclination to proceed to extremities. He endeavoured by the most friendly expedients, by reason, entreaty, and even by loading Seymour with new favours, to make him desist from such dangerous politics. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more serious remedies; and the earl of Warwick, who hoped to raise his own fortune on the ruin of both, inflamed the quarrel between the brothers. By his advice lord Seymour was committed to the tower, attainted of high-treason, condemned, and executed.(3)

The protector had now leisure to complete the Reformation, the great work which he had so successfully begun, in conjunction with Cranmer, the primate, and which was now the chief object of concern throughout the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the privy-council to compose a liturgy: they had executed the work committed to them, as already observed, with judgment and moderation; and they not unreasonably flattered themselves, that they had framed a service in which every denomination of Christians might concur. This form of worship, which was nearly the same with that at present authorized by law, was established by parliament in all the churches, and uniformity was ordered to be observed in all the rites and ceremonies.(4)

Thus, my dear Philip, in the course of a few years, was the Reformation happily completed in England; and its civil and religious consequences have since been deservedly valued. But there is no abuse in society so great as not to be attended with some advantages; and in the beginnings of innovation the loss of those advantages is always sensibly felt by the bulk of a nation, before it can perceive the benefits resulting from the desirable change.

No institution can be imagined less favourable to the interests of mankind than that of the monastic life; yet was it followed by many effects, which having ceased with the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by

(1) Patten. Holingshed.
(4) 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. i.

(2) Haynes, p. 105, 106

(3) Burnet, vol. ii.

the people of England. The monks, by always residing at their convents, in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the country, and afforded a ready market for commodities. They were also acknowledged to have been in England, what they still are in kingdoms where the Romish religion is established, the best and most indulgent landlords; being limited by the rules of their order to a certain mode of living, and consequently having fewer motives for extortion than other men. The abbots and priors were besides accustomed to grant leases at an undervalue, and to receive a present in return. But the abbey-lands fell under different management, when distributed among the principal nobility and gentry; the rents of farms were raised, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce. The money was often spent in the capital; and, to increase the evil, pasturage in that age being found more profitable than tillage, whole estates were laid waste by enclosure. The farmers, regarded as a useless burden, were expelled their habitations: and the cottagers, deprived even of the commons, on which they had formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to beggary.(1)

These grievances of the common people occasioned insurrections in several parts of England; and Somerset, who loved popularity, imprudently encouraged them, by endeavouring to afford that redress which was not in his power. Tranquillity, however, was soon restored to the kingdom by the vigilance of lord Russel and the earl Warwick, who cut many of the unhappy malecontents in pieces, and dispersed the rest. But the protector never recovered his authority. The nobility and gentry were in general displeased with the preference which he seemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed all the insults to which they had been lately exposed to his procrastination, and to the countenance shown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his passion for popular fame. His enemies even attempted to turn the rage of the populace against him, by working upon the lower class among the Catholics; and having gained over to their party the lord-mayor of London, the lieutenant of the tower, and many of the great officers of state, they obliged Somerset to resign the protectorship, and committed him to custody. A council of regency was formed, in which the earl of Warwick, who had conducted this revolution, bore the chief sway, and who actually governed the kingdom without the invidious title of protector.(2)

The first act of Warwick's administration was the negotiation of a treaty of peace with France and with Scotland. Henry II. had taken advantage of the disturbances in England to recover several places in the Boulonnois, and even to lay siege, though without effect, to Boulogne itself. He now took advantage, in treating, of the state of the English court. Sensible of the importance of peace to Warwick and his party, the French monarch absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of former stipulations. He would never consent, he said, to render himself tributary to any prince, alluding to the reversion of annual payments demanded; but he offered a large sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne and its territory. Four hundred thousand crowns were agreed on as the equivalent. Scotland was comprehended in this treaty. The English stipulated to restore some fortresses, which they still held in that kingdom.(3)

Having thus established his administration, freed the kingdom from all foreign danger, and gained partisans, who were disposed to second him in every domestic enterprise, the earl of Warwick began to think of carrying into execution those vast projects which he had formed for his own aggrandizement. The last earl of Northumberland had died without issue; and as his brother, sir Thomas Percy, had been attainted on account of the share which he took in the Yorkshire insurrection during the late reign, the title was at present extinct, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwick

(1) Strype vol. II.

(2) Stowe. Burnet. Holingahed.

(3) Burnet, vol. II. Rymer, vol. xv

procured for himself a grant of that large estate, which lay chiefly in the North, the most warlike part of the kingdom, and was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. This was a great step; but there was yet a strong bar in the way of his ambition. Somerset, though degraded, and lessened in the public esteem in consequence of his spiritless conduct, continued to possess a considerable share of popularity. Northumberland, therefore, resolved to ruin the man he had injured, and whom he still regarded as the chief obstacle against the full attainment of his views. For that purpose, he employed his emissaries to suggest desperate projects to this unguarded nobleman, and afterward accused him of high-treason for seeming to acquiesce in them. Somerset was tried, condemned, and executed on Tower-hill; and four of his friends shared the same unjust and unhappy fate. His death was sincerely lamented by the people, to whom he had been peculiarly indulgent, and who regarded him as a martyr in their cause. Many of them dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relic.(1)

Northumberland might seem to have now attained the highest point of elevation to which a subject could aspire, and the greatest degree of power. His rank was second only to the royal family, his estate was one of the largest in the kingdom, and the government was entirely under his direction. But he aspired after yet greater power and consequence: his ambition knew no bounds. Having procured a parliament, which ratified his most despotic measures, and regulated its proceedings according to his will, he next endeavoured to ingratiate himself, particularly with the young king, by manifesting an uncommon zeal for the reformed religion; to which the opening mind of Edward was warmly devoted, and the interests of which more sensibly touched him than all other objects.

In his frequent conversations on this subject, Northumberland took occasion to represent to that pious prince, whose health began visibly to decline, the danger to which the Reformation would be exposed, should his sister Mary, a bigoted Catholic, succeed to the throne of England; that although no such objection lay against the princess Elizabeth, he could not, with any degree of propriety, exclude one sister, without also excluding the other: that both had been declared illegitimate by parliament; that the queen of Scots stood excluded by the late king's will, and was besides attached to the church of Rome; that these three princesses being set aside for such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, eldest daughter of the duke of Suffolk and the French queen, his father's youngest sister; that the apparent successor to the marchioness was her daughter, lady Jane Gray, who was every way worthy of a crown.

These arguments made a deep impression upon the mind of Edward. He had long lamented the obstinacy of his sister Mary, in adhering to the Romish communion, and seemed to foresee all the horrors of her reign. He respected, and even loved, Elizabeth. But lady Jane Gray, being of the same age, had been educated along with him, and had commanded his esteem and admiration, by the progress which she made in every branch of literature. He had enjoyed full opportunity of becoming acquainted with the purity of her religious principles, a circumstance that weighed with him above every other consideration in the choice of a successor; and it seems besides probable, that her elegant person and amiable disposition had inspired his heart with a tender affection. He therefore listened to the proposal of disinheriting his sisters, with a patience which would otherwise have been highly criminal.

Meanwhile, Northumberland, finding he was likely to carry his principal point with the king, began to propose the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk, by a marriage subsequent to the death of the French queen, having died this season of the sweating sickness (an epidemical malady which raged all over the kingdom), that title was become

(1) Hayward, p. 324, 325. Holingshed, i. 1068.

extinct. Northumberland persuaded the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset; and by means of this and other favours, he obtained from the new duke and dutchess of Suffolk their eldest daughter lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, lord Guilford Dudley.(1)

In order to complete his plan of ambition, it now only remained for Northumberland to procure the desired change in the succession; and, in the present languishing state of the king's health, after all the arguments that had been used, it was no difficult matter to obtain a deed to that effect from Edward. He met with more opposition from the judges, and other persons necessary to the execution of such a deed. But they, at last, were all silenced, either by threats or promises; and the great seal was affixed to the king's letters patent, settling the crown on the heirs of the dutchess of Suffolk, she herself being content to give place to her daughters, or, in other words, to lady Jane, for whom she was sensible the change in the succession had been projected.

The king died soon after this singular transaction; and so much the sooner by being put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook to restore him, in a little time, to his former state of health.—Most of our historians but especially such as were well affected to the Reformation, dwell with peculiar pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince, whom (as an elegant writer observes) the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of fond regard to the public: and making allowance for the delicacy of his frame, and the manners of the age in which he lived, he seems to have possessed all the accomplishments that could be expected in a youth of sixteen.

Aware of the opposition that would be made to the concerted change in the succession, Northumberland had carefully concealed the destination of the crown signed by Edward. He even kept that prince's death secret for a while, in hopes of getting the two princesses into his power. With this view, he engaged the council to desire their attendance at court, under pretence that the king's infirm state of health required the assistance of their advice, and the consolation of their company. All obedience or anxiety, they instantly left their several retreats in the country, and set out for London; but happily, before their arrival, they both got intelligence of their brother's death, and of the conspiracy formed against themselves. Mary, who had advanced as far as Hodsdon, when she received this notice, made haste to retire, and wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county of England, commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person.(2)

Farther dissimulation, Northumberland now saw, would be fruitless; he therefore went to Sion-house, where lady Jane Gray resided, accompanied by a body of the nobility, and, approaching her with the respect usually paid to the sovereign, informed her of her elevation to the throne. Lady Jane, who was in a great measure ignorant of the intrigues of her father-in-law, received this information with equal grief and surprise. She even refused to accept the crown; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the consequences attending an enterprise so dangerous, nay, so criminal, and begged to remain in that private station in which she was born. Her heart, full of the passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of affection for her husband, who was worthy of all her regard, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition. Overcome, however, at last, by the entreaties rather than the reasons of her relations, she submitted to their will; and Northumberland immediately conveyed her to London, where she was proclaimed queen, but without one applauding voice.

The people heard the proclamation with silence and concern; the very preachers employed their eloquence in vain to convince their auditors of the justice of lady Jane's title. Respect for the royal line, and indignation

(1) Strype. Heylin. Stowe.

(2) Burnet Fox. Heylin.

against the Dudleys, was stronger, even in the breasts of the Protestants, than the dread of popery.(1)

Meantime, the inhabitants of Suffolk, whither the princess Mary had fled, resorted to her in crowds; and when she assured them, that she never meant to alter the laws of Edward VI. concerning religion, they zealously enlisted themselves in her cause. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her with reinforcements. Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, carried over to her four thousand men, levied for the support of her rival. The fleet declared for her. Even the earl of Suffolk, who commanded in the tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates of that fortress: and lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned without a sigh to the privacy of domestic life. The council ordered Mary to be proclaimed; and Northumberland, deserted by his followers, and despairing of success, complied with that order with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction. He was brought to trial, however, and condemned and executed for high-treason. Sentence was also pronounced against lady Jane Gray and lord Guilford Dudley; but they were respited on account of their youth, neither of them having attained the age of seventeen.(2)

No sooner was Mary seated on the throne than a total change took place both in men and measures. They who had languished in confinement were lifted to the helm of power, and intrusted with the government of the church as well as of the state. Gardiner, Bonner, and other Catholic bishops were restored to their sees, and admitted to the queen's favour and confidence; while the most eminent Protestant prelates and zealous reformers, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Coverdale, and Cranmer, were thrown into prison. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, because they presumed to plead the queen's promise of maintaining the reformed religion; and one, more bold than the rest, in recalling to her memory the engagements into which she had entered, when they enlisted themselves in her service, was set in the pillory. A parliament was procured entirely conformable to the sentiments of the court, and a bill passed declaring the queen to be legitimate; ratifying the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catharine of Arragon, and annulling the divorce pronounced by Cranmer. All the statutes of Edward VI. respecting religion were repealed; and the queen sent assurances to the pope of her earnest desire of reconciling herself and her kingdoms to the holy see, and requesting that cardinal Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office.(3)

Reginald Pole was descended from the royal family of England, being fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave early indications of that fine genius, and generous disposition, by which he was so much distinguished during his more advanced age; and Henry VIII., having conceived great friendship for him, proposed to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities. As a pledge of future favours, Henry conferred on him the deanery of Exeter, the better to support him in his education. But when the king of England broke with the court of Rome, Pole not only refused to second his measures, but wrote against him in a treatise on the *Unity of the Church*. This performance produced an irreparable breach between the young ecclesiastic and his sovereign, and blasted all Pole's hopes of rising in the English church. He was not, however, allowed to sink. The pope and the emperor thought themselves bound to provide for a man of so much eminence; who, in support of their cause, had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. Pole was created a cardinal, and sent legate into Flanders. But he took no higher than deacon's orders, which did not condemn him to celibacy; and he was suspected of having aspired to the English crown, by means of a marriage with the princess Mary, during the life of her father. The marquis of Exeter, lord Montacute, the cardinal's brother, and several other persons of rank, suffered for this conspiracy, whether real or pretended. To hold a correspondence with that obnoxious

(1) Burnet. Fox. Heylin.

(2) Heylin Burnet

(3) Burnet, vol. ii

fugitive was deemed perhaps sufficient guilt. It was enough at least to expose them to the indignation of Henry; and his will, on many occasions, is known to have usurped the place of both law and equity.

But whatever doubt may remain of Pole's intrigues for obtaining the crown of England, through an alliance with Mary, it is certain she was no sooner seated upon the throne than she thought of making him the partner of her sway. The cardinal, however, being now in the decline of life, was represented to the queen as unqualified for the bustle of a court, and the fatigue of business. She therefore laid aside all thoughts of him as a husband: but as she entertained a high esteem for his wisdom and virtue, she still proposed to reap the benefits of his counsels in the administration of her government;—and hence her request to the pope.

This alliance, and one with the earl of Devonshire, being rejected for various reasons, the queen turned her eye towards the house of Austria, and there found a ready correspondence with her views. Charles V. whose ambition was boundless, no sooner had heard of the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the scheme of obtaining the kingdom for his son Philip; hoping by that acquisition to balance the losses he had sustained in Germany: and Philip, although eleven years younger than Mary, who was destitute of every external beauty or grace, gave his consent without hesitation, to the match proposed by his father. The emperor, therefore, immediately sent over an agent to signify his intentions to the queen of England; who, flattered with the prospect of marrying the presumptive heir of the greatest monarch in Europe, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and happy to unite herself more closely to her mother's family, to which she had always been warmly attached, gladly embraced the proposal. The earls of Norfolk and Arundel, lord Paget, whom she had promoted, and bishop Gardiner, now become prime minister, finding how Mary's inclinations leaned, gave their opinion in favour of the Spanish alliance; but as they were sensible the prospect of it diffused universal apprehension and terror, for the liberty and independency of the kingdom, the marriage articles were drawn up with all possible attention to the interest and security, and even to the grandeur, of England. The emperor agreed to whatever was thought necessary to sooth the fears of the people or quiet the jealousies of the nobility. The chief articles were, that Philip, during his marriage with Mary, should bear the title of king, but that the administration should be vested solely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of holding any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, or privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that the male issue of the marriage should inherit, together with England, Burgundy and the Low Countries; that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by a former marriage, should die without issue, Mary's issue whether male or female, should succeed to the crown of Spain, and all the emperor's hereditary dominions; and that Philip, if the queen should die before him, without issue, should leave the crown of England to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of administration whatsoever.⁽¹⁾

But this treaty, though framed with so much caution and skill, was far from reconciling the English nation to the Spanish alliance. It was universally said, that the emperor, in order to get possession of England, would agree to any terms; and that the more favourable the conditions which he had granted, the more certainly might it be concluded he had no serious intention of observing them. His general character was urged in support of these observations; and it was added that Philip, while he inherited his father's vices, fraud and ambition, united to them more dangerous vices of his own, sullen pride and barbarity. England seemed already a province of Spain, groaning under the load of despotism, and subjected to all the horrors

(1) Rymer vol. xv. Burnet vol. "

of the inquisition. The people were every where ripe for rebellion, and wanted only an able leader to have subverted the queen's authority. No such leader appeared. The more prudent part of the nobility thought it would be soon enough to correct ills when they began to be felt. Some turbulent spirits, however, judged it safer to prevent than to redress grievances. They accordingly formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyatt proposed to raise Kent; sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and the duke of Suffolk was engaged, by the hopes of recovering the crown for lady Jane Gray, to attempt raising the midland counties. But these conspirators imprudently breaking concert, and rising at different times, were soon humbled. Wyatt and Suffolk lost their heads, as did lady Jane Gray and her husband lord Guilford Dudley, to whom the duke's guilt was imputed.

This fond and unfortunate couple died with much piety and fortitude. It had been intended to execute them on the same scaffold on Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, and innocence, changed its orders, and gave directions that lady Jane should be beheaded within the verge of the tower. She refused to take leave of her husband on the day of their execution; assigning as a reason, that the tenderness of parting might unbend their minds from that firmness which their approaching doom required of them. "Our separation," added she, "will be but for a moment, we shall soon rejoin each other in a scene where our affections will be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortune can no longer disturb our felicity."⁽¹⁾ She saw lord Guilford led to execution, without discovering any sign of weakness; she even calmly met his headless body, as she was going to execution herself, returning to be interred in the chapel of the tower, and intrepidly desired to proceed to the fatal spot, emboldened by the reports which she had received of the magnanimity of his behaviour. On that occasion she wrote in her table-book three sentences; one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in English.

The meaning of them was, that although human justice was against her husband's body, divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth and inexperience ought to plead her excuse; and that God and posterity, she trusted, would show her favour. On the scaffold she behaved with great mildness and composure, and submitted herself to the stroke of the executioner with a steady and serene countenance.⁽²⁾

The queen's authority was much strengthened by the suppression of this rebellion, commonly called Wyatt's from the figure which he made in it; and the arrival of Philip in England gave still more stability to her government. For although that prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him, being distant in his address, and so intrenched in form and ceremony as to be in a manner inaccessible, his liberality, if money disbursed for the purposes of corruption can deserve that name, made him many friends among the nobility and gentry. Cardinal Pole also arrived in England about the same time, with legantine powers from the pope; and both houses of parliament voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that the nation had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the Romish religion; and praying their majesties, happily uninfected with that criminal schism! to intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was readily granted. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all ecclesiastical censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church.⁽³⁾

In consequence of this reconciliation with the see of Rome, the punishment by fire, that frightful expedient of superstition for extending her empire,

(1) Heylin, p. 167. Fox *et* al. iii.

(2) Id. *ibid.*
D d 2

(3) Burnet vol. ii. Fox, vol. iii

and preserving her dominion, was rigorously employed against the most eminent Reformers. The mild councils of cardinal Pole, who was inclined to toleration, were overruled by Gardiner and Bonner, and many persons, of all conditions, ages, and sexes, were committed to the flames. The persecutors made their first attack upon Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's; a man equally distinguished by his piety and learning, but whose domestic situation, it was hoped, would bring him to compliance. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children: yet did he continue firm in his principles; and such was his serenity after condemnation, that the jailers, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He suffered in Smithfield. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was condemned at the same time with Rogers, but sent to his own diocess to be punished, in order to strike the greater terror into his flock. The constancy of his death, however, had a very contrary effect. It was a scene of consolation to Hooper to die in their sight, bearing testimony to that doctrine which he had formerly taught among them. He continued to exhort them, till his tongue, swollen by the violence of his agony, denied him utterance: and his words were long remembered.(1)

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, also suffered this terrible punishment in his own diocess. And Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates venerable by their years, their learning, and their piety, perished together in the same fire at Oxford, supporting each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, my brother! We shall this day kindle such a flame in England, as, I trust in God, will never be extinguished."(2)

Sanders, a respectable clergyman, was committed to the flames at Coventry. A pardon was offered him if he would recant: but he rejected it with disdain, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome, cross of Christ! welcome, everlasting life!" Cranmer had less courage at first. Overawed by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, or overcome by the fond love of life, and by the flattery of artful men, who pompously represented the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation, he agreed, in an unguarded hour, to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and the real presence. But Mary and her council, no less perfidious than cruel, determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; that he should acknowledge his errors in the church before the people, and afterward be led to execution. Whether Cranmer received secret intelligence of their design, or repented of his weakness, or both, is uncertain, but he surprised the audience by a declaration very different from that which was expected from him. After explaining his sense of what he owed to God and his sovereign, "There is one miscarriage in my life," said he, "of which, above all others, I severely repent—the insincere declaration of faith to which I had the weakness to subscribe; but I take this opportunity of atoning for my error by a sincere and open recantation, and am willing to seal with my blood that doctrine which I firmly believe to have been communicated from Heaven."

As his hand, he added, had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished by a severe but just doom. He accordingly stretched out his arm, as soon as he came to the stake, to which he was instantly led; and without discovering, either by his looks or motions, the least sign of compunction, or even of feeling, he held his right hand in the flames, till it was utterly consumed. His thoughts appeared to be totally occupied in reflecting on his former fault; and he called aloud several times, "This hand has offended!" When it dropped off, he discovered a serenity in his countenance, as if satisfied with sacrificing to divine justice the instrument of his crime; and when the fire attacked his body, his soul, wholly collected within

(1) Burnet, vol. ii. Fox, vol. iii.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

itself, seemed fortified against every external accident, and altogether inaccessible to pain.(1)

It would be endless, my dear Philip, to enumerate all the cruelties practised in England during this bigoted reign, near three hundred persons having been brought to the stake in the first rage of persecution. Besides, the savage barbarity on one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar, in all those martyrdoms, that a narration, very little agreeable in itself, would become altogether disgusting by its uniformity. It is sufficient to have mentioned the sufferings of our most eminent Reformers, whose character and condition make such notice necessary. I shall therefore conclude this subject with observing, that human nature appears on no occasion so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious horrors, which sink mankind below infernal spirits in wickedness, and beneath the brutes in folly. Bishop Bonner seemed to rejoice in the torments of the victims of persecution. He sometimes whipped the Protestant prisoners, with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion; and, in order to give the obstinate heretic a more sensible idea of burning, he held his finger to the candle, till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst.(2) All these examples prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, inflamed by theological hate.

But the members of the English parliament, though so obsequious to the queen's will in reuniting the kingdom to the see of Rome, and in authorizing the butchery of their fellow-subjects who rejected the Catholic faith, had still some regard left both to their own and the national interest. They refused to restore the possessions of the church. And Mary failed, not only in an attempt to get her husband declared presumptive heir to the crown, and to obtain the consent of parliament for vesting the administration in his hands, but in all her political hopes. She could not so much as obtain a parliamentary consent to his coronation.

The queen likewise met with much and long^a opposition from parliament in another favourite measure; namely, in an attempt to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain. The motion was for a time laid aside; and Philip, disgusted with Mary's importunate love, which was equal to that of a girl of eighteen, and with her jealousy and spleen, which increased with her declining years and her despair of having issue, had gone over to his father Charles V. in Flanders. The voluntary resignation of the emperor, soon after this visit, put Philip in possession of all the wealth of America, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe. He did not, however, lay aside his attention to the affairs of England, of which he still hoped to have the direction; and he came over to London, in order to support his parliamentary friends in a new motion for a French war. This measure was zealously opposed by several of the queen's most able counsellors, and particularly by cardinal Pole, who, having taken priest's orders, had been installed in the see of Canterbury, on the death of Cranmer. But hostilities having been begun in France, as was pretended, war was at last denounced against that kingdom; and an army of ten thousand men was sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke.(3)

A like attempt was made in Scotland by the French monarch to engage that kingdom in a war with England. Mary of Guise, the queen dowager, had obtained the regency through the intrigues of the court of France, and Henry II. now requested her to take part in the common quarrel. She accordingly summoned a convention of the states, and asked their concurrence for commencing hostilities against England. But the Scottish nobles, who were become as jealous of the French as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent; and the regent had in vain recourse to stratagem in order to accomplish her purpose.

(1) Fox, vol. iii. Burnet, vol. ii.

(2) *Id.* *ibid.*

(3) Burnet, vol. ii. Strype, vol. ii.

The French monarch, however, without the assistance of his ancient allies, and notwithstanding the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, of which I shall afterward have occasion to speak, made himself master of Calais, which the English had held upwards of two hundred years; and which, as it opened to them an easy and secure entry into the heart of France, was regarded as the most valuable foreign possession belonging to the crown. This important place was recovered by the vigilance and valour of the duke of Guise; who, informed that the English, trusting to the strength of the town, deemed in that age impregnable, were accustomed to recall, towards the close of summer, great part of the garrison, and to replace it in the spring, undertook, in the depth of winter, and succeeded in an enterprise that surprised his own countrymen no less than his enemies. As he knew that success depended upon celerity, he pushed his attacks with such vigour, that the governor was obliged to surrender on the eighth day of the siege.(1)

The joy of the French on that occasion was extreme. Their vanity indulged itself in the utmost exultation of triumph, while the English gave vent to all the passions which agitate a high-spirited people, when any great national misfortune is evidently the consequence of the misconduct of their rulers. They murmured loudly against the queen and her council, who, after engaging the nation in a fruitless war, for the sake of foreign interest, had thus exposed it, by their negligence, to so severe a disgrace.

This event, together with the consciousness of being hated by her subjects, and despised by her husband, so much affected the queen of England, whose health had long been declining, that she fell into a low fever, which put an end to her short and inglorious reign. "When I am dead," said she to her attendants, "you will find Calais at my heart." Mary possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable. Her person was as little engaging as her manners; and amid that complication of vices which entered into her composition, namely, obstinacy, bigotry, violence, and cruelty, we scarcely find any virtue but sincerity.

Before the queen's death, negotiations had been opened for a general peace. Among other conditions, the king of France demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; the king of Spain, that of Calais and its territory to England. But the death of Mary somewhat altered the firmness of the Spanish monarch in regard to that capital article. And before I speak of the treaty which was afterward signed at Château Cambresis, and which restored tranquillity to Europe, I must carry forward the affairs of the continent. Meantime, it will be proper to say a few words of the princess Elizabeth, who now succeeded to the throne of England.

The English nation was under great apprehensions for the life of this princess, during her sister's whole reign. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and menaces had been employed to bring her to a recantation. The violent hatred which the queen entertained against her broke out on every occasion; and all her own distinguished prudence was necessary, in order to prevent the fatal effects of it. She retired into the country; and knowing that she was surrounded with spies, she passed her time wholly in reading and study. She complied with the established mode of worship, and eluded all questions in regard to religion. When asked, on purpose to gather her opinion of the *real presence*, what she thought of these words of Christ, "This is my body?"—and whether she believed it the *true* body of Christ that was in the sacrament of the Lords' Supper? she replied thus:

"Christ was the Word that spake it;
He took the bread and brake it;
And what the Word did make it,
That I believe and take it."(2)

After the death of her sister, Elizabeth delivered her sentiments more freely: and the first act of her administration was the re-establishment of the Protestant religion. The liturgy was again introduced in the English tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of bishops had been reduced to fourteen, by a sickly season which preceded this change; and all these, except the bishop of Landaff, having refused compliance, were deprived of their sees. But of the great body of the English clergy, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed their livings for their theological opinions.(1)

This change in religion completed the joy of the people, on account of the accession of Elizabeth; the auspicious commencement of whose reign may be said to have prognosticated that felicity and glory which uniformly attended it. These particulars, my dear Philip, will make all retrospect in the affairs of England unnecessary, beyond the treaty of Château Cambresis.

LETTER LXIII.

The Continent of Europe, from the Peace of Passau, in 1552, to the Peace of Château Cambresis, in 1559.

THE treaty of Passau was no sooner signed, than Maurice, the deliverer of Germany, marched into Hungary against the Turks, at the head of twenty thousand men, in consequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, whom the hopes of such assistance had made the most zealous advocate of the confederates. But the vast superiority of the Turkish armies, together with the dissensions between Maurice and Castaldo, the Austrian general, who was piqued at being superseded in the command, prevented the elector from performing any thing in the country worthy of his former fame, or of much benefit to the king of the Romans.

In the mean time, Charles V., deeply affected for the loss of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had formed the barrier of the empire on the side of France, and would now secure the frontier of Champagne, left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and put himself at the head of those forces which he had assembled against the confederates, determined to recover the three bishopricks. In order to conceal the destination of his army, he circulated a report that he intended to lead it into Hungary, to second Maurice in his operations against the infidels; and as that pretext failed him when he began to approach the Rhine, he pretended that he was marching first to chastise Albert of Brandenburg, who had refused to be included in the treaty of Passau, and whose cruel exactions in that part of Germany called loudly for redress.

The French, however, were not deceived by these artifices. Henry II. immediately guessed the true object of the emperor's armament, and resolved to defend his conquests with vigour. The defence of Metz, against which it was foreseen the whole weight of the war would be turned, was committed to Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, who possessed in an eminent degree all the qualities that render men great in military command. To courage, sagacity, and presence of mind, he added that magnanimity of soul which delights in bold enterprises, and aspires after fame by splendid and extraordinary actions. He repaired with joy to the dangerous station; and many of the French nobility, and even princes of the blood, eager to distinguish themselves under such a leader, entered Metz as volunteers. They were all necessary. The city was of great extent, ill fortified, and the suburbs large. For all these defects the duke endeavoured to provide a remedy. He repaired the old fortifications with all possible expedition, labouring with his own hands: the officers imitated his example; and the soldiers, thus encouraged,

cheerfully submitted to the most severe toils. He erected new works, and he levelled the suburbs with the ground. At the same time he filled the magazines with provisions and military stores, compelled all useless persons to leave the place, and laid waste the neighbouring country; yet such were his popular talents, and his power of acquiring an ascendant over the minds of men, that the citizens not only refrained from murmuring, but seconded him with no less ardour than the soldiers, in all his operations—in the ruin of their estates, and in the havoc of their public and private buildings.(1)

Meanwhile, the emperor continued his march towards Lorraine at the head of sixty thousand men. On his approach, Albert of Brandenburg, whose army did not exceed twenty thousand, withdrew into that duchy, as if he intended to join the French king; and Charles, notwithstanding the declining season, it being the month of October, laid siege to Metz, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers.

The attention of both the besiegers and the besieged was turned for a time to the motions of Albert, who still hovered in the neighbourhood, undetermined which side to take, though resolved to sell his services. Charles at last came up to his price, and he joined the imperial army. The emperor now flattered himself that nothing could resist his force; but he found himself deceived. After a siege of almost sixty days, during which he had attempted all that was thought possible for art or valour to effect, and had lost upward of thirty thousand men by the inclemency of the weather, diseases, or the sword of the enemy, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise. "Fortune," said Charles, "I now perceive, like other fine ladies, chooses to confer her favours on young men, and forsake those advanced in years."(2)

This saying has been thought gallant, and perhaps it is so; but the occasion merited more serious reflections. When the French sallied out to attack the enemy's rear, a spectacle presented itself to their view which extinguished at once all hostile rage, and melted them into compassion. The imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. All the roads by which the army retired were strewed with the same miserable objects; who having made an effort beyond their strength to escape, and not being able to proceed, were left to perish without assistance. Happily, that, and all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform, they received from their enemies. The duke of Guise ordered them all to be taken care of, and supplied with every necessary. He appointed physicians to attend, and direct what treatment was proper for the sick and wounded, and what refreshments for the feeble; and such as recovered he sent home, under a safe escort, and with money to bear their charges.(3) By these acts of humanity, less common in that age than the present, the duke of Guise completed that heroic character which he had justly acquired by his brave and successful defence of Metz.

The emperor's misfortunes were not confined to Germany. During his residence at Villach he had been obliged to borrow two hundred thousand crowns from Cosmo of Medicis; and so low was his credit, that he was obliged to put that prince in possession of the territory of Piombino, as a security for the repayment of the money. By this step he lost the footing he had hitherto maintained in Tuscany, and nearly at the same time he lost Sienna. The Siennese, who had long enjoyed a republican government, rose against the Spanish garrison, which they had admitted as a check upon the tyranny of the nobility, but which they now found was meant to enslave them. Forgetting their domestic animosities, they recalled the exiled nobles, demolished the citadel, and put themselves under the protection of France.(4)

These unfortunate events were followed by the most alarming dangers. The severe administration of the viceroy of Naples had filled that kingdom

(1) Thuan. lib. xi.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Thuan. lib. vi. P. Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. iv. Father Daniel's account of this siege is copied from the Journal of the Sieur de Salignac, who was present at it.

(4) *Mém. de Ribier.*

with murmuring and dissatisfaction. The prince of Salerno, the head of the malecontents, fled to the court of France. The French monarch, after the example of his father, had formed an alliance with the grand-seignior; and Solymán, at that time highly incensed against the house of Austria, on account of the proceedings in Hungary, sent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under the command of the corsair Dragut, an officer trained up under Barbarossa, and little inferior to his master in courage, talents, or in good fortune. Dragut appeared on the coast of Calabria, where he expected to be joined by a French squadron; but not meeting with it according to concert, he returned to Constantinople, after plundering and burning several places, and filling Naples with consternation.(1)

Highly chagrined by so many disasters, Charles retired into the Low Countries, breathing vengeance against France. Meantime, Germany was still disturbed by the restless ambition of Albert of Brandenburg; and as that prince obstinately continued his violences, notwithstanding a decree of the imperial chamber, a league was formed against him by the most powerful princes in the empire, of which Maurice was declared the head. This confederacy, however, wrought no change in the sentiments of Albert. But as he knew that he could not resist so many princes, if they had leisure to unite their forces, he marched directly against Maurice, whom he dreaded most, and hoped to crush before he could receive support from his allies; though in that he was deceived. Maurice was ready to oppose him.

These hostile chiefs, whose armies were nearly equal in numbers, each consisting of twenty-four thousand men, met at Siverhausen, in the dutchy of Lunenburg. There an obstinate battle was fought, in which the combat long remained doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately; but at last victory declared for Maurice, who was superior in cavalry. Albert's army fled in confusion, leaving four thousand men dead on the field, and their baggage and artillery in the hands of the enemy. But the allies bought their victory dear. Their best troops suffered greatly; several persons of distinction fell; and Maurice himself received a wound of which he died two days after, in the thirty-second year of his age. No prince, ancient or modern, ever perhaps discovered such deep political sagacity at so early a period of life. As he left only one daughter, afterward married to the famous William prince of Orange, John Frederic, the degraded elector, claimed the electoral dignity, and that part of his patrimonial estate of which he had been stripped during the Smalkaldic war; but the states of Saxony, forgetting the merits and sufferings of their former master, declared in favour of Augustus, Maurice's brother. The unfortunate, but magnanimous, John Frederic died soon after this disappointment, which he bore with his usual firmness;(2) and the electoral dignity is still possessed by the descendants of Augustus.

The consternation which Maurice's death occasioned among his troops prevented them from making a proper use of their victory; so that Albert, having reassembled his broken forces, and made fresh levies, renewed his depredations with additional fury. But being defeated in a second battle, scarce less bloody than the former, by Henry of Brunswick, who had taken the command of the allied army, he was driven from all his hereditary dominions, as well as from those he had usurped; was laid under the ban of the empire, and obliged to take refuge in France, where he lingered out a few years in an indigent and dependent state of exile.(3)

During these transactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low Countries with considerable vigour. Impatient to efface the stain which his military reputation had received before Metz, Charles laid siege to Terouane, and the fortifications being out of repair, that important place was carried by assault. Hesden also was invested, and carried in the same manner. The king of France was too late in assembling his forces, to afford relief to either of these places; and the emperor afterward cautiously avoided an engagement, during the remainder of the campaign.

(1) *Mem. de Ribier.*(2) *Arnoldi, Vit. Mauriti. Robertson, Hist. Charles V. book x.*(3) *Id. ibid.*

The imperial arms were less successful in Italy. The viceroy of Naples failed in an attempt to recover Sienna; and the French not only established themselves more firmly in Tuscany, but conquered part of the island of Corsica. Nor did the affairs of the house of Austria wear a better aspect in Hungary during the course of this year. Isabella and her son appeared once more in Transylvania, at a time when the people were ready for revolt, in order to revenge the death of Martinuzzi, whose loss they had severely felt. Some noblemen of eminence declared in favour of the young king: and the bashaw of Belgrade, by Solyman's order, espousing his cause, Castaldo, the Austrian general, was obliged to abandon Transylvania to Isabella and the Turks.(1)

In order to counterbalance these and other losses, the emperor, as has been already related, concerted a marriage between his son Philip and Mary of England, in hopes of adding this kingdom to his other dominions. Meanwhile, the war between Henry and Charles was carried on with various success in the Low Countries, and in Italy much to the disadvantage of France. The French, under the command of Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, were defeated in the battle of Marciano; Sienna was reduced by Medicino, the imperial general, after a siege of ten months, and the gallant Siennese were again subjected to the Spanish yoke. Nearly at the same time a plot was formed by the Franciscans, but happily discovered before it could be carried into execution, for betraying Metz to the imperialists. The father guardian and twenty other monks received sentence of death on account of this conspiracy; but the guardian, before the time appointed for his execution, was murdered by his incensed accomplices, whom he had seduced from their allegiance, and six of the youngest were pardoned.(2)

While war thus raged in Italy and the Low Countries, accompanied with all its train of miseries, and all the crimes to which ambition gives birth, Germany enjoyed such profound tranquillity, as afforded the diet full leisure to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification agreed upon at Passau, and referred to the consideration of the next meeting of the Germanic body. For this purpose a diet had been summoned to meet at Augsburg, soon after the conclusion of the treaty; but the commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburg, and the attention which Ferdinand was obliged to pay to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto obstructed its deliberations. The following stipulations were at last settled, and formally published; namely, "That such princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the Concession of Augsburg shall be permitted to profess and exercise, without molestation, the doctrine and worship which it authorizes; that the popish ecclesiastics shall claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such cities or principalities, nor shall the Protestants molest the princes and states that adhere to the church of Rome; that no attempt shall be made for the future towards terminating religious differences, except by the gentle and pacific methods of persuasion and conference; that the supreme civil power in every state may establish what form of doctrine and worship it shall deem proper, but shall permit those who refuse to conform to remove their effects; that such as had seized the benefices or revenues of the church, previous to the treaty of Passau, shall retain possession of them, and be subject to no prosecution in the imperial chamber on that account; but if any prelate or ecclesiastic shall hereafter abandon the Romish religion, he shall instantly relinquish his diocese or benefice, and that it shall be lawful for those in whom the right of nomination is vested to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office was vacant by death or translation."(3)

These, my dear Philip, are the principal articles in the famous recess of Augsburg, which is the basis of religious peace in Germany. The followers of Luther were highly pleased with that security which it afforded them, and the Catholics seemed to have had no less reason to be satisfied. That article which preserved entire to the Romish church the benefices of such eccle-

(1) Thuanus, lib. xv.

(2) *Id.* *ibid.*

(3) Father Paul, lib. v. Pallavicini, lib. xlii.

siastics as should hereafter renounce its doctrines, at once placed a hedge around its patrimony, and effectually guarded against the defection of its dignitaries. But cardinal Caraffa, who was now raised to the papal throne, under the name of Paul IV., full of high ideas of his apostolic jurisdiction, and animated with the fiercest zeal against heresy, regarded the indulgence given to the Protestants, by an assembly composed of laymen, as an impious act of that power which the diet had usurped. He therefore threatened the emperor and the king of the Romans with the severest effects of his vengeance, if they did not immediately declare the recess of Augsburg illegal and void; and as Charles showed no disposition to comply with this demand, the pope entered into an alliance with the French king, in order to ruin the imperial power in Italy.

During the negotiation of that treaty, an event happened which astonished all Europe, and confounded the reasonings of the wisest politicians. The emperor Charles V., though no more than fifty-six, an age when objects of ambition operate with full force on the mind, and are generally pursued with the greatest ardour, had for some time formed the resolution of resigning his hereditary dominions to his son Philip. He now determined to put it in execution. Various have been the opinions of historians concerning a resolution so singular and unexpected; but the most probable seem to be, the disappointments which Charles had met with in his ambitious hopes, and the daily decline of his health. He had early in life been attacked with the gout; and the fits were now become so frequent and severe, that not only the vigour of his constitution was broken, but the faculties of his mind were sensibly impaired. He therefore judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in some solitude, than to expose them any longer to the public eye: and as he was unwilling to forfeit the fame, or lose the acquisitions of his better years, by attempting to guide the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness, he prudently determined to seek in the tranquillity of retirement that happiness which he had in vain pursued amid the tumults of war and the intrigues of state.

In consequence of this resolution, Charles, who had already ceded to his son Philip the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, assembled the states of the Low Countries at Brussels: and seating himself, for the last time, in the chair of state, he explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, and solemnly devolved his authority upon Philip. He recounted with dignity, but without ostentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed since the commencement of his administration: and that enumeration gives us the highest idea of his activity and industry. "I have dedicated," observed he, "from the seventeenth year of my age, all my thoughts and attention to public objects, reserving no portion of my time for the indulgence of ease, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure. Either in a pacific or hostile manner, I have visited Germany nine times; Spain six times; France four times; Italy seven times; the Low Countries ten times; England twice; Africa as often: and while my health permitted me to discharge the duties of a sovereign, and the vigour of my constitution was equal in any degree to the arduous office of governing such extensive dominions, I never shunned labour, nor repined under fatigue; but now, when my health is broken, and my vigour exhausted by the rage of an incurable distemper, my growing infirmities admonish me to retire; nor am I so fond of reigning as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which is no longer able to protect my subjects."

"Instead of a sovereign worn out with diseases," continued he, "and scarce half alive, I give you one in the prime of life, already accustomed to govern, and who adds to the vigour of youth all the attention and sagacity of maturer years." Then turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kissed his father's hand, "It is in your power," said Charles, "by a wise and virtuous administration, to justify the extraordinary proof which I give this day of my paternal affection, and to demonstrate that you are worthy of the confidence which I repose in you. Preserve," added he, "an inviolable regard for reli-

gion; maintain the Catholic faith in its purity; let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes; encroach not on the rights of your people: and if the time should ever come, when you shall wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son to whom you can resign your sceptre with as much satisfaction as I give mine to you." A few weeks after the emperor also resigned to Philip the Spanish crown, with all the dominions depending upon it, in the Old as well as in the New World; reserving nothing to himself, out of all those vast possessions, but an annual pension of one hundred thousand ducats.(1)

Charles was now impatient to embark for Spain, where he had fixed on a place of retreat. But, by the advice of his physicians, he put off his voyage for some months, on account of the severity of the season: and by yielding to their judgment, he had the satisfaction, before he left the Low Countries, of taking a considerable step towards a peace with France. This he ardently longed for; not only on his son's account, whose administration he wished to commence in quietness, but that he might have the glory, when quitting the world, of restoring to Europe that tranquillity which his ambition had banished from it, almost since the day that he assumed the reins of government.

The great bar against such a pacification, on the part of France, was the treaty which Henry II. had concluded with the court of Rome; and the emperor's claims were too numerous to admit any hope of adjusting them suddenly. A truce of five years was therefore proposed by Charles, during which term, without discussing their respective pretensions, each should retain what was in his possession; and Henry, through the persuasion of the constable Montmorency, who represented the imprudence of sacrificing the true interests of his kingdom to the rash engagements he had come under with the pope, authorized his ambassadors to sign at Vaucelles a treaty which would ensure to him, for so considerable a period, the important conquests which he had made on the German frontier, together with the greater part of the duke of Savoy's dominions.

Paul IV., when informed of this transaction, was filled no less with terror and astonishment than with rage and indignation. But he took equal care to conceal his fear and his anger. He affected to approve highly of the truce; and he offered his mediation, as the common father of Christendom, in order to bring about a permanent peace. Under this pretext he despatched cardinal Rebiba, as his nuncio, to the court of Brussels; and his nephew, cardinal Caraffa, to that of Paris. The public instructions of both were the same; but Caraffa, besides these, received a private commission, to spare neither entreaties, promises, nor bribes, in order to induce the French monarch to renounce the truce, and renew his engagements with the court of Rome. He flattered Henry with the conquest of Naples: he gained, by his address, the Guises, the queen, and even the famous Diana of Poitiers, dutchess of Valentinois, the king's mistress: and they easily swayed the king himself, who already leaned to that side, towards which they wished to incline him. All Montmorency's prudent remonstrances were disregarded. The nuncio, by powers from Rome, absolved Henry from his oath of truce; and that rash prince signed a new treaty with the pope, which rekindled with fresh violence the flames of war, both in Italy and the Low Countries.

No sooner was Paul made acquainted with the success of this negotiation, than he proceeded to the most indecent extremities against Philip II. He ordered the Spanish ambassador to be imprisoned: he excommunicated the Colonnas, because of their attachment to the imperial house; and he considered Philip as guilty of high-treason, and to have forfeited his right to the kingdom of Naples, which he was supposed to hold of the holy see, for afterward affording them a retreat in his dominions.(2)

Alarmed at a quarrel with the pope, whom he had been taught to regard with the most superstitious veneration, as the vicegerent of Christ, and the

(1) Godlev. *Relat. Abdicat. Car. V.* Thuan. lib. xvi. Sandov. vol. ii. Robertson, book ix.
(2) Pallav. lib. xiii.

common father of Christendom, Philip tried every gentle method before he made use of force. He even consulted some Spanish divines on the lawfulness of taking arms against a person so sacred. They decided in his favour; and Paul continuing inexorable, the duke of Alva, to whom the conduct of the negotiation as well as of the war had been committed, entered the ecclesiastical state at the head of ten thousand veterans, and carried terror to the gates of Rome.

The haughty pontiff, though still obstinate and undaunted himself, was forced to give way to the fears of the cardinals, and a truce was concluded for forty days. Meantime, the duke of Guise arriving with an army of twenty thousand French troops, Paul became more arrogant than ever, and banished from his mind all thoughts but those of war and revenge. The duke of Guise, however, who is supposed to have given his voice for this war, chiefly from a desire of acquiring a field where he might display his military talents, was able to perform nothing in Italy worthy of his former fame. He was obliged to abandon the siege of Civetella; he could not bring the duke of Alva to a general engagement; his army perished by diseases, and the pope neglected to furnish the necessary reinforcements. He begged to be recalled: and France stood in need of his abilities.

Philip II., though willing to have avoided a rupture, was no sooner informed that Henry had violated the truce of Vaucelles, than he determined to act with such vigour as should convince all Europe that his father had not erred in resigning to him the reins of government. He immediately assembled in the Low Countries a body of fifty thousand men: he obtained a supply of ten thousand from England, which he had engaged, as we have seen, in this quarrel; and not being ambitious of military fame, he gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest generals of that warlike age.

The duke of Savoy kept the enemy for a time in utter ignorance of his destination. At length he seemed to threaten Champagne, towards which the French drew all their troops; a motion which he no sooner perceived, than, turning suddenly to the right, he advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and laid siege to St. Quintin. It was deemed in that age a place of considerable strength, but the fortifications had been much neglected, and the garrison did not amount to a fifth part of the number requisite for its defence; it must therefore have surrendered in a few days, if the admiral de Coligny had not taken the gallant resolution of throwing himself into it with such a body of men as could be suddenly collected for that purpose. He effected his design in spite of the enemy, breaking through their main body with seven hundred horse and two hundred foot. The town, however, was closely invested; and the constable Montmorency, anxious to extricate his nephew out of that perilous situation, in which his zeal for the public good had engaged him, as well as to save a place of great importance, rashly advanced to its relief with forces one half inferior to those of the enemy. His army was cut in pieces, and he himself made prisoner. (1)

The cautious temper of Philip, on this occasion, saved France from devastation, if not ruin. The duke of Savoy proposed to overlook all inferior objects, and march directly to Paris—of which, in its present consternation, he could not have failed to make himself master. But the Spanish monarch, afraid of the consequences of such a bold enterprise, desired him to continue the siege of St. Quintin, in order to secure a safe retreat, in case of any disastrous event. The town, long and gallantly defended by Coligny, was at last taken by storm; but not before France was in a state of defence.

Philip was now sensible he had lost an opportunity, that could never be recalled, of distressing his enemy, and contenting himself with reducing Horn and Catelet, two petty towns, which, together with St. Quintin, were the sole fruits of one of the most decisive victories gained in the sixteenth century. The Catholic king, however, continued in high exultation, on

account of his success; and as all his passions were tinged with superstition, he vowed to build a church, a monastery, and a palace in honour of St. Lawrence, on the day sacred to whose memory the battle of St. Quintin had been fought. He accordingly laid the foundation of an edifice, in which all these buildings were included, and which he continued to forward at a vast expense, for twenty-two years. The same principle that dictated the vow directed the construction of the fabric. It was so formed as to resemble a gridiron!—on which culinary instrument, according to the legendary tale, St. Lawrence had suffered martyrdom.(1) Such, my dear Philip, is the origin of the famous Escorial, near Madrid, the royal residence of the kings of Spain.

The earliest account of that fatal blow which France had received at St. Quintin was carried to Rome by the courier whom Henry had sent to recall the duke of Guise. Paul remonstrated warmly against the departure of the French army; but Guise's orders were peremptory. The arrogant pontiff therefore found it necessary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians, and of Cosmo of Medicis, in order to obtain peace from Spain. The first overtures to this purpose were easily listened to by the Catholic king, who still doubted the justice of his cause, and considered it as his greatest misfortune to be obliged to contend with the pope. Paul agreed to renounce his league with France; and Philip stipulated, on his part, that the duke of Alva should repair in person to Rome; and after asking pardon of the holy father, in his own name, and in that of his master, for having invaded the patrimony of the church, should receive absolution from that crime!—Thus the pope, through the superstitious timidity of Philip, not only finished an unpropitious war without any detriment to the apostolic see, but saw his conqueror humbled at his feet: and so excessive was the veneration of the Spaniards in that age for the papal character, that the duke of Alva, the proudest man perhaps of his time, and accustomed from his infancy to converse with princes, acknowledged, that, when he approached Paul, he was so much overawed, that his voice failed, and his presence of mind forsook him.(2)

But although this war, which at its commencement threatened mighty revolutions, was terminated without occasioning any alteration in those states which were its immediate object, it produced effects of considerable consequence in other parts of Italy. In order to detach Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, from the French interest, Philip restored to him the city of Placentia and its territory, which had been seized, as we have seen, by Charles V.; and he granted to Cosmo of Medicis the investiture of Sienna, as an equivalent for the sums due to him.(3) By these treaties the balance of power among the Italian states was poised more equally, and rendered less variable, than it had been since it received the first violent shock from the invasion of Charles VIII., and Italy henceforth ceased to be the theatre on which the sovereigns of Spain, France, and Germany contended for fame and dominion. Their hostilities, excited by new objects, stained other regions of Europe with blood, and made other states feel, in their turn, the calamities of war.

The duke of Guise, who left Rome the same day that his adversary the duke of Alva made his humiliating submission to the pope, was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. He was appointed commander-in-chief, with a jurisdiction almost unlimited; and, eager to justify the extraordinary confidence which the king had reposed in him, as well as to perform something suitable to the high expectations of his countrymen, he undertook the siege of Calais. The extraordinary success of that enterprise, and its different effects upon the English and French nations, we have already had occasion to observe. Guise next invested Thionville, in the dutchy of Luxembourg, one of the strongest towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and forced it to capitulate after a siege of three weeks. But

(1) Colmenar. *Annal. d'Espagn.* tom. ii.

(2) Pallav. lib. xlii.

(3) Thuan. lib. xviii.

the advantages in this quarter were more than balanced by an event which happened in another part of the Low Countries. The mareschal de Termes, governor of Calais, who had penetrated into Flanders, and taken Dunkirk, was totally routed near Gravelines, and taken prisoner by count Egmont. (1) This disaster obliged the duke of Guise to relinquish all his other schemes, and hasten to the frontier of Picardy, that he might there oppose the progress of the enemy.

The eyes of France were now anxiously turned towards the operations of a general on whose arms victory had always attended, and in whose conduct, as well as good fortune, his countrymen could confide in every danger. Guise's strength was nearly equal to that of the duke of Savoy, each commanding about forty thousand men. They encamped at the distance of a few leagues from one another; and the French and Spanish monarchs having joined their respective armies, it was expected that, after the vicissitudes of war, a single victory would at last determine which of the rivals should take the ascendant for the future in the affairs of Europe. But both monarchs, as if by agreement, stood on the defensive; neither of them discovering any inclination, though each had it in his power, to rest the decision of a point of such importance on the issue of a single battle.

During this state of inaction, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip discovered an equal disposition to listen to any overture that tended to re-establish it. The private inclinations of both kings concurred with their political interests and the wishes of their people. Philip languished to return to Spain, the place of his nativity; and peace only could enable him, either with decency or safety, to quit the Low Countries. Henry was no less desirous of being freed from the avocations of war, that he might have leisure to turn the whole force of his government to the suppressing of the opinions of the Reformers, which were spreading with such rapidity in Paris and the other great towns, that the Protestants began to grow formidable to the established church. Court intrigues conspired with these public and avowed motives to hasten the negotiation, and the abbey of Cernamp was fixed on as a place of congress. (2)

While Philip and Henry were making these advances towards a treaty, which restored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V., whose ambition had so long disturbed it, but who had been for some time dead to all such pursuits, ended his days in the monastery of St. Justus, in Estramadura, which he had chosen as the place of his retreat. It was seated in a valley of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees. In this solitude Charles lived on a plan that would have suited a private gentleman of moderate fortune. His table was plain, his domestics few, and his intercourse with them familiar. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands, sometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one which he kept, attended by a single servant on foot: and when his infirmities deprived him of these more active recreations, he admitted a few gentlemen who resided near the monastery to visit him, and entertained them as equals; or he employed himself in studying the principles, and in framing curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. But, however he was engaged, or whatever might be the state of his health, he always set apart a considerable portion of his time for religious exercises, regularly attending divine service in the chapel of the monastery morning and evening.

In this manner, not unbecoming a man perfectly disengaged from the affairs of the world, did Charles pass his time in retirement. But some months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of violence, and enfeebled both his body and mind to such a degree as to leave no traces of that sound and masculine understanding, which had distinguished him among his contemporaries. He

(1) Thuan. lib. xx

(2) Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* book xii

sunk into a deep melancholy. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He lost all relish for amusements of every kind, and desired no other company but that of monks. With them he chanted the hymns in the Missal, and conformed to all the rigours of monastic life, tearing his body with a whip, as an expiation for his sins!—Not satisfied with these acts of mortification, and anxious to merit the favour of Heaven by some new and singular instance of piety, he resolved to celebrate his own obsequies. His tomb was accordingly erected in the chapel of the monastery: his attendants walked thither in funeral procession. Charles followed them in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin, and the service of the dead was chanted over him; he himself joined in the prayers that were put up for the repose of his soul, and mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral.⁽¹⁾

The fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the awful sentiments which it inspired, threw Charles into a fever, of which he died in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His enterprises speak his most eloquent panegyric, and his history forms his highest character. As no prince ever governed so extensive an empire, including his American dominions, none seems ever to have been endowed with a superior capacity for sway. His abilities as a statesman, and even as a general, were of the first class; and he possessed in the most eminent degree, along with indefatigable industry, the science which is of the greatest importance to a monarch, that of discerning the characters of men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments in which they are to be employed. But, unfortunately for the reputation of Charles, his insatiable ambition, which kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects in perpetual inquietude, not only frustrated the chief end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care, but obliged him to have recourse to low artifices, unbecoming his exalted station, and led him into such deviations from integrity as were unworthy of a great prince. This insidious policy, in itself sufficiently detestable, was rendered still more odious by a comparison with the open and undesigning character of Francis I.; and served, by way of contrast, to turn on the French monarch a degree of admiration, to which neither his own talents nor his virtues as a sovereign seem to have entitled him.

Before Charles left the Low Countries he made a second attempt to induce his brother Ferdinand to give up his title to the imperial throne to Philip II., and to accept the investiture of some provinces, either in Italy or the Netherlands, as an equivalent. But finding Ferdinand inflexible on that point, he desisted finally from his scheme, and resigned to him the government of the empire. The electors made no hesitation in recognising the king of the Romans, whom they put in possession of all the ensigns of the imperial dignity, as soon as the deed of resignation was presented to them; but Paul IV., whose lofty ideas of the papal prerogative neither experience nor disappointments could moderate, refused to confirm the choice of the diet. He pretended that it belonged alone to the pope, from whom, as vicegerent of Christ, the imperial power was derived, to nominate a person to the vacant throne: and this arrogance and obstinacy he maintained during his whole pontificate. Ferdinand I., however, did not enjoy the less authority as emperor.

Soon after the death of Charles V., Mary of England ended her short and inglorious reign, and her sister Elizabeth, as we have already seen, succeeded to the throne, to the general joy of the nation, notwithstanding some supposed defects in her title. Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation with equal solicitude; and, equally sensible of the importance of gaining her favour, both set themselves with emulation to court it. Henry endeavoured, by the warmest expressions of regard and friendship, to detach her from the Spanish alliance, and to engage her to consent to a separate peace with him; while Philip, unwilling to lose his connexion in England, not only vied with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his

1) Zunig. *Vie. de Carlos* Robertson, ubi sup.

resolution to cultivate the strictest amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himself to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a dispensation from the pope for that purpose.

Elizabeth weighed the proposals of the two monarchs with that provident discernment of her true interest which was conspicuous in all her deliberations; and although secretly determined to yield to the solicitations of neither, she continued for a time to amuse both. By this happy artifice, as well as by the prudence with which she at first concealed her intentions concerning religion, the young queen so far gained upon Philip, that he warmly espoused her interest in the conferences at Cercamp, and afterward at Château Cambresis, whither they were removed. The earnestness, however, with which he seconded the arguments of the English plenipotentiaries began to relax in proportion as his prospect of espousing the queen became more distant; and the vigorous measures that Elizabeth took, as soon as she found herself firmly seated on the throne, not only for overturning all that her sister had done in favour of popery, but for establishing the Protestant church on a sure foundation, convinced Philip that his hopes of a union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now desperate. Henceforth decorum alone made him preserve the appearance of interposing in her favour. Elizabeth, who expected such an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it. But as peace was necessary to her, instead of resenting this coolness, she became more moderate in her demands, in order to preserve the feeble tie by which she was still united to him; and Philip, that he might not seem to have abandoned the English queen, insisted that the treaty of peace between Henry and Elizabeth should be concluded in form, before that between France and Spain.(1)

The treaty between Henry and Elizabeth contains no article of importance, except that which respected Calais. It was stipulated that the king of France should retain possession of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years, at the expiration of which term he should restore it to England. But as the force of this stipulation was made to depend on Elizabeth's preserving inviolate, during the same number of years, the peace both with France and Scotland, all men of discernment saw, that it was but a decent pretext for abandoning Calais; and, instead of blaming her, they applauded her wisdom, in palliating what she could not prevent.

The expedient which Montmorency employed, in order to facilitate the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, was the negotiating two treaties of marriage; one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldest daughter, and Philip II.—the other between Margaret, Henry's only sister, and the duke of Savoy. The principal articles of the treaty of peace were, that all conquests made by either party, on this side of the Alps, since the commencement of the war in 1551, should be mutually restored; that the dutchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the county of Bresse, and all the other territories formerly subject to the dukes of Savoy, should be restored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France (a few towns excepted, which Henry should retain, till his claims on that prince were decided in a court of law); that the French king should immediately evacuate all the places which he held in the dutchy of Tuscany and the territory of Sienna, and renounce all future pretensions to them; that he should receive the Genoese into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the island of Corsica. But he was allowed to keep possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, because Philip had little at heart the interests of his uncle Ferdinand. All past transactions, either of princes or subjects, it was agreed should be buried in oblivion.(2) Thus the great causes of discord that had so long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain seemed to be wholly removed, or finally annihilated, by this famous treaty, which re-established peace in Europe; almost every prince and state in Christendom being comprehended in the treaty of Château Cambresis, as allies either of Henry or of Philip.

(1) *Strype's Annals*, vol. i. *Forbes's Full View*, vol. i.
Vol. I.—E e

(2) *Recueil des Traitez*, tom. ii.

Among these contracting powers were included the kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland. This circumstance naturally leads us to cast an eye on those countries, which we have not for some time had an opportunity of noticing, as they had no connexion with the general system of European affairs. Meantime, I must observe, for the sake of perspicuity, that Henry II. being killed in a tournament, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, his son Francis II., a weak prince, and under age, already married to the queen of Scots, succeeded to the crown of France. A few weeks after, Paul IV. ended his violent and imperious pontificate :— and thus, as a learned historian observes,⁽¹⁾ all the personages who had long sustained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe disappeared nearly at the same time.

At this era, my dear Philip, a more known period of history opens. Other actors appeared on the stage, with different views and passions ; new contests arose ; and new schemes of ambition, as we shall have occasion to see, occupied and disquieted mankind.—But, before we enter on that period, we must take a view of the state of the North.

LETTER LXIV.

Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, from the Union of these Kingdoms, under Margaret Waldemar, surnamed the Semiramis of the North, to the Death of Gustavus Vasa ; together with an Account of the State of Russia, Poland, and Prussia, in the Sixteenth Century.

THE kingdoms of the north of Europe, that great storehouse of nations, I have hitherto chiefly considered as dependencies on the German empire, to which they long continued to pay some degree of homage. In what manner they were subjected to that homage we have already had occasion to observe, and also to notice the union of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, the ancient Scandinavia, under Margaret Waldemar, surnamed the Semiramis of the North.

Margaret was daughter of Waldemar III., king of Denmark. She had been married to Haquin, king of Norway, and son of Magnus II., king of Sweden. On the death of her son Olaus, the last male heir of the three northern crowns, (which were, however, more elective than hereditary) she succeeded, by the consent of the states, to the Danish throne. She was elected soon after queen of Norway, which she had governed as regent ; and the Swedes being oppressed by Albert of Mecklenburg, whom they had chosen king, made Margaret a solemn tender of their crown. She marched to their assistance, expelled Albert, and assumed the reins of government.⁽²⁾

Margaret's ambition, however, was not yet satisfied. The three northern crowns were no sooner seated upon her head, than she laboured to render their union perpetual. For this purpose, after taking preparatory measures, she convoked the states of all the three kingdoms to meet at Calmar ; where it was established, as a fundamental law of the whole, that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway should thenceforth have but one and the same sovereign, who should be chosen successively by each of these kingdoms, and then approved by the other two ; that each nation should retain its own laws, customs, privileges, and dignities ; and that the natives of one kingdom should not be raised to posts of honour or profit in another, but should be reputed foreigners, except in their own country.⁽²⁾

But this union, seemingly so well calculated for the tranquillity as well as security of the North, proved the source of much discontent, and of many barbarous wars. The national antipathy between the Swedes and Danes, now heightened by national jealousy, was with difficulty restrained by the

(1) Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* book xli.

(2) Puffend. Fonten.

(3) Meurs, lib. v

vigorous administration of Margaret, whose partiality to the natives of Denmark is said to have been but too evident; and under her successor Eric, still more unjustly partial to the Danes, the Swedes openly revolted, choosing their grand-marshal, Charles Canutson, descended from the illustrious family of Bonde, which had formerly given kings to Sweden, first regent and afterward king. The Swedes, however, returned to their allegiance under Christian I. of Denmark. But they again revolted from the same prince; again renewed the union of Calmar, under John his successor; revolted a third time; and were finally subdued by the arms of Christian II., who reduced them to the condition of a conquered people.(1)

The circumstances of this last revolution are sufficiently singular to merit our attention; and the consequences by which it was followed render a recapitulation necessary.

The Swedes, on revolting from Christian I., had conferred the administration of the kingdom on Steen Sture, whose son, of the same name, succeeded him in the regency. The authority of young Sture was acknowledged by the body of the nation, but disputed by Gustavus Trolle, archbishop of Upsal, and primate of Sweden, whose father had been a competitor for the administration, and whom Christian II. of Denmark had brought over to his interest. Besieged in his castle of Steckla, and obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the interposition of the Danish monarch, the archbishop was degraded by the diet, and deprived of all his benefices. In his distress he applied to Leo X., who excommunicated the regent and his adherents, committing the execution of the bull to the king of Denmark. Pursuant to this decree, the Nero of the North (as Christian II. is deservedly called) invaded Sweden with a powerful army; but being worsted in a great battle, he pretended to treat, and offered to go in person to Stockholm, in order to confer with the regent, provided six hostages were sent as a pledge for his safety. The proposal was accepted, and six of the first nobility (among whom was Gustavus Vasa, grand-nephew to king Canutson) were put on board the Danish fleet. These hostages Christian carried prisoners to Denmark. Next year he returned with a more formidable armament, and invaded West Gothland; where Steen Sture, advancing to give him battle, fell into an ambuscade, and received a wound, which proved mortal. The Swedish army, left without a head, first treated, and afterward dispersed. The senate was divided about the choice of a new regent, and the conqueror allowed them no leisure to deliberate. He immediately marched towards the capital, wasting every thing before him with fire and sword. Stockholm surrendered; and Gustavus Trolle, resuming his archiepiscopal function, crowned Christian king of Sweden.

This coronation was followed by one of the most tragical scenes in the history of the human race. Christian, affecting clemency, went to the cathedral and swore that he would govern Sweden, not with the severe hand of a conqueror, but with the mild and beneficent disposition of a prince raised to the throne by the universal voice of the people: after which he invited the senators and grandees to a sumptuous entertainment, that lasted for three days. Meanwhile, a plot was formed for extirpating the Swedish nobility. On the last day of the feast, in order to afford some pretext for the intended massacre, archbishop Trolle reminded the king, that though his majesty by a general amnesty, had pardoned all past offences, no satisfaction had yet been given to the pope, and demanded justice in the name of his holiness. The hall was immediately filled with armed men, who secured the guests: the primate proceeded against them as heretics; a scaffold was erected before the palace gate; and ninety-four persons of distinction, among whom was Eric Vasa, father of the celebrated Gustavus, were publicly executed for defending the liberties of their country. Other barbarities succeeded to these: the rage of the soldiery was let loose against the citizens, who were butchered without mercy; and the body of the late regent was dug from the

grave, exposed on a gibbet, quartered, and nailed up in different parts of the kingdom.(1)

But Sweden soon found a deliverer and an avenger. Gustavus Vasa had escaped from his prison in Denmark, and concealed himself in the habit of a peasant, among the mountains of Dalecarlia. There, deserted by his sole companion and guide, who carried off his little treasure; bewildered, destitute of every necessary, and ready to perish of hunger, he entered himself among the miners, and worked under ground for bread, without relinquishing the hope of one day ascending the throne of Sweden. Again emerging to light, and distinguished among the Dalecarlians by his lofty mien and by the strength and agility of his body, he had acquired a considerable degree of ascendancy over them, before they were acquainted with his rank. He made himself known to them at their annual feast, and exhorted them to assist him in recovering the liberties of their country. They listened to him with admiration: they were all rage against their oppressors. But they did not resolve to join him, till some of the old men among them observed (so considerable often are the causes of the greatest events!) that the wind had blown directly from the north, from the moment that Gustavus began to speak. This they considered as an infallible sign of the approbation of Heaven, and an order to take up arms under the banners of the hero: they already saw the wreath of victory on his brow, and begged to be led against the enemy. Gustavus did not suffer their ardour to cool. He immediately attacked the governor of the province in his castle, took it by assault, and sacrificed the Danish garrison to the just vengeance of the Dalecarlians. Like animals that have tasted the blood of their prey, they were now furious, and fit for any desperate enterprise. Gustavus every where saw himself victorious, and gained partisans in all corners of the kingdom. Every thing yielded to his valour and good fortune. His popularity daily increased. He was first chosen regent, and afterward king of Sweden.(2)

Meanwhile, Christian II., become obnoxious by his tyrannies even to his Danish subjects, was degraded from the throne. The inhabitants of Jutland first renounced his authority. They deputed Munce, their chief justice, to signify to the tyrant the sentence of deposition. "My name," said Munce, glorying in the dangerous commission, "ought to be written over the gates of all wicked princes!" and it ought certainly to be transmitted to posterity, as a warning to both kings and inferior magistrates, of the danger of abusing power. The whole kingdom of Denmark acquiesced in the decree; and Christian, hated even by his own officers, and not daring to trust any one, retired into the Low Countries, the hereditary dominions of his brother-in-law Charles V., whose assistance he had long implored in vain.(3)

Frederick, duke of Holstein, Christian's uncle, was elected king of Denmark and Norway. He aspired also to the sovereignty of Sweden; but finding Gustavus firmly seated on the throne of that kingdom, he laid aside his claim. Frederick afterward entered into an alliance with Gustavus and the Hanse-towns, against the deposed king, Christian II., who, after several unsuccessful attempts to recover his crown, died in prison: a fate too gentle for so barbarous a tyrant.

Frederick was succeeded in the Danish throne by his son, Christian III., one of the most prudent and prosperous princes of his age. He established the Protestant religion at the same time in Denmark and Norway, in imitation of the example of Gustavus, who had already introduced it into Sweden. The doctrines of Luther had spread themselves over both kingdoms, and both princes saw the advantage of retrenching the exorbitant power of the clergy. Christian died in 1558, and Gustavus in 1560, leaving behind him the glorious character of a patriot king.(4) He rescued Sweden from the Danish yoke, by his valour; he made commerce and arts flourish, by his wise policy; and the liberality of his bold and independent spirit, by making him superior to

(1) Vertot. *Revolut. Swed.*

(3) Id. *ibid.*

(2) Loccen. *Puffend. Vertgt.*

(4) Vertot.

vulgar prejudices, enabled him to break the fetters of priestly tyranny, and enfranchise the minds as well as the bodies of his countrymen.

While Denmark and Sweden were thus rising to distinction, Russia remained buried in that barbarism and obscurity, from which it was called about the beginning of the last century, by the creative genius of Peter the Great, who made his country known and formidable to the rest of Europe. But the names of patriots and of heroes, however rude or enlightened, ought to be transmitted to posterity. John Basilowitz I., great duke of Muscovy threw off the yoke of the Tartars, to whom Russia had been long tributary; expelled the Tartar officers from Moscow; invaded their territories; made himself master of Novogorod, and also of Cassan, where he was crowned with the diadem of that country; and assumed the title of czar, which, in the Slavonian language, signifies king or emperor. To these acquisitions his grandson, John Basilowitz II., added Astracan, and also Siberia, hitherto as little known to the Russians as Mexico was to the Spaniards before the expedition of Cortez, and as easily conquered. This prince sent ambassadors to the court of England, and concluded a treaty of commerce with Elizabeth; (1) Richard Chancellor, an English navigator, having discovered some years before, by doubling the North Cape, the port of Archangel in the river Dwina.

Poland, still a scene of anarchy, began to be of some consideration in the North, after the race of the Jagellons came to the throne, and united Lithuania to that kingdom. Though the crown is elective, the succession continued uninterrupted in the same family for almost two hundred years, and Sigismund I., contemporary with Charles V., was esteemed a great prince. (2) But while the most inconsiderate of the nobles, by the word *veto*, can prevent the enacting of the most salutary law; and while the great body of people remain in a state of slavery, Poland can never obtain any rank among the civilized nations.—So true it is, my dear Philip, that the character of a people, their virtue, their genius, and their industry, depend chiefly on their civil and political institutions!

Prussia, which has lately made so great a figure in the affairs of Europe, was only erected into a kingdom in the year 1700. It was originally conquered from the Pagans of the North, by the knights of the Teutonic order, who held it upwards of three hundred years. At last Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, grand-master of the order, embracing the doctrines of Luther, and willing to aggrandize himself at the expense of the knights, agreed to share Prussia with his uncle, Sigismund I., king of Poland, on condition of paying homage for the protection of that crown. The proposal was accepted. Albert took the title of duke in his new territory; hence the present kingdom is called Ducal Prussia, and that part in the possession of Poland, and on the western side of the Vistula, Regal Prussia. (3)

The future transactions of the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia I shall have occasion to relate, as formerly, in treating of the affairs of the empire and the house of Austria. More interesting objects at present claim our attention.

LETTER LXV.

England, Scotland, and France, from the Peace of Château-Cambresis, in 1559, to the Death of Francis II., and the Return of Mary Queen of Scots to her native Kingdom.

THE treaty of Château-Cambresis, my dear Philip, though it re-established peace, by settling the claims of the contending powers, by no means secured lasting tranquillity to Europe. The Protestant opinions had already made

(1) Petreius Camden.

(2) Flor. Polon

(3) *Mém. de Brandenburg*, tom. I.

considerable progress both in France and the Low Countries, and Philip and Henry were equally resolved to extirpate heresy throughout their dominions. The horrors of the inquisition, long familiar to Spain, were not only increased in that kingdom, but extended to Italy and the Netherlands; and although the premature death of Henry II. suspended for a while the rage of persecution in France, other causes of discontent arose, and religion was made use of by each party to light the flames of civil war.(1)

A new source of discord also arose between France and England. The princes of Lorrain, the ambitious family of Guise whose credit had long been great at the French court, and who had negotiated the marriage between the dauphin, now Francis II., and their niece the queen of Scots, extended still further their ambitious views. No less able than aspiring, they had governed both the king and kingdom, since the accession of the young and feeble Francis. But they had many enemies. Catharine of Medicis, the queen-mother, a woman who scrupled at no violence or perfidy to accomplish her ends; the two princes of the blood, Anthony de Bourbon king of Navarre, and his brother Lewis prince of Condé, besides the constable Montmorency and his powerful family, were alike desirous of the administration, and envious of the power of the Guises.(2)

In order to acquire this power, the duke of Guise and his five brothers, the cardinal of Lorrain, the duke of Aumale, the cardinal of Guise, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the grand prior, men no less ambitious than himself, had not only employed the greatest military and political talents, but to all the arts of insinuation and address had added those of intrigue and dissimulation. In negotiating the marriage between their niece, Mary Stuart, and the dauphin, these artful princes, while they prevailed on the French court to grant the Scottish nation every security for the independency of that crown, engaged the young queen of Scots to subscribe privately three deeds, by which, failing the heirs of her own body, she conferred the kingdom of Scotland, with whatever inheritance or *succession* might accrue to it, in free gift upon the crown of France; declaring any deed which her subjects had, or might; extort from her to the contrary, to be void, and of no obligation.(3)

By the succession mentioned in these deeds, the crown of England seems to have been meant; for no sooner were the Guises informed of the death of queen Mary, and the accession of her sister Elizabeth (whose birth in the opinion of every good Catholic, excluded her from any legal right to the throne), than they formed a project worthy of their ambition. In order to exalt still higher their credit, and secure their power, they attempted to acquire also for France the southern British kingdom. For this purpose, they solicited at Rome, and obtained a bull, declaring Elizabeth's birth illegitimate; and as the queen of Scots, then married to the dauphin, was the next heir by blood, they persuaded Henry II. to permit his son and daughter in-law to assume the title and arms of England.(4)

Elizabeth complained of this insult, by her ambassador at the court of France, but could obtain only an evasive answer. No obvious measure, however, was taken, during the reign of Henry II., in support of the claim of the queen of Scots; but no sooner were the princes of Lorrain in full possession of the administration under his successor, Francis II., than more vigorous and less guarded counsels were adopted. Sensible that Scotland was the quarter whence they could attack England to most advantage, they gave, as a preparatory step, orders to their sister, the queen-regent, and encouraged her by promises of men and money, to take effectual measures for humbling the Scottish malecontents, and suppressing the Protestant opinions in that kingdom; hoping that the English Catholics, formidable at that time by their zeal and numbers, and exasperated against Elizabeth, on account of the change which she had made in the national religion, would rise in support of the succession of the queen of Scots, when animated by the prospect of protec-

(1) Thuanus. Cabrera. Davila.

(3) Davila, lib. i. Mezeray, tom. v

(3) Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat.* tom. v. Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* book ii.(4) Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* Anderson, *Diplom. Scot.* No. 68 and 164.

tion, and throw themselves into the arms of France, as the only power that could secure to them their ancient worship, and the privileges of the Romish church.(1)

No stranger to these violent counsels, Elizabeth saw her danger, and determined to provide against it. Meanwhile, the situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the insult offered to her crown, and of defeating the ambitious views of France.

The Reformation was fast advancing in Scotland. All the Low Country was deeply tinctured with the Protestant opinions; and as the converts to the new religion had been guilty of no violation of public peace since the murder of cardinal Beaton, whose death was partly occasioned by private revenge, the queen-regent, willing to secure their favour, in order to enable her to maintain that authority which she had found so much difficulty to acquire, connived at the progress of doctrines which she wanted power utterly to suppress. Too cautious, however, to trust to this precarious indulgence for the safety of their religious principles, the heads of the Protestant party in Scotland entered privately into a bond of association, for the mutual protection and the propagation of their tenets, styling themselves the *Congregation of the Lord*, in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated the *Congregation of Satan*.(2)

Such associations are generally the forerunners of rebellion; and it appears that the heads of the Congregation in Scotland carried their views farther than a mere toleration of the new doctrines. So far they were to blame, as enemies to civil authority; but the violent measures pursued against their sect, before this league was known or avowed, sufficiently justified the association itself, as the result of a prudent foresight, and a necessary step to secure the free exercise of their religion. Alarmed at the progress of the Reformation, the popish clergy had attempted to recover their sinking authority by enforcing the tyrannical laws against heresy; and Hamilton, the primate, formerly distinguished by his moderation, had sentenced to the flames an aged priest, convicted of embracing the Protestant opinions.(3)

This was the last barbarity of the kind that the Catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland. The severity of the archbishop rather roused than intimidated the Reformers. The Congregation now openly solicited subscriptions to their league; and not satisfied with new and more solemn promises of the regent's protection, they presented a petition to her, craving a reformation of the church, and of the wicked, scandalous, and detestable lives of the clergy. They also framed a petition, which they intended to present to parliament, soliciting some legal protection against the exorbitant and oppressive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. They even petitioned the convocation; and insisted that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue, that bishops should be chosen by the gentry of the diocese, and priests with the consent of the parishioners.

Instead of soothing the Protestants by any prudent concessions, the convocation rejected their demands with disdain; and the queen-regent, who had hitherto wisely temporized between the parties, and whose humanity and sagacity taught her moderation, having received during the sitting of the assembly the violent commands of her brother, prepared to carry their despotic plan into execution, contrary to her own judgment and experience. She publicly expressed her approbation of the decrees, by which the principles of the Reformers were condemned in the convocation, and cited the most eminent Protestant teachers to appear before the council at Stirling.(4)

The members of the Congregation, alarmed but not overawed by this danger, assembled in great numbers, agreeable to the custom of Scotland at that time, in order to attend their pastors to the place of trial,(5) to protect and

(1) Forbes, vol. i. Thuan. lib. xlv.

(3) Id. ibid.

(2) Keith. Knox

(4) Melvil. Jebb. Castelnau.

(5) In consequence of this custom, originally introduced by vassalage and clanship, and afterward tolerated through the feebleness of government, any person of eminence accused of a crime was accompanied to the place of trial by a body of his friends and adherents. Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* book ii.

to countenance them: and the queen-regent, dreading the approach of so formidable a body, empowered Erskine of Dun, a person of high authority with the Reformers, to assure them that she would put a stop to the intended proceedings, provided they advanced no further. They listened with pleasure, and perhaps with too much credulity, to so pacific a proposition; for men whose grievances obliged them to fly in the face of the civil power, under whatever plausible pretext their purpose may be concealed, should trust to nothing less than the solemnity of a contract. The regent broke her promise, conformable to her maxim, that "the promises of princes ought not to be too carefully remembered, nor the performance of them exacted, unless it suits their own conveniency." She proceeded to call to trial the persons formerly summoned; and on their not appearing, though purposely prevented, they were pronounced outlaws.(1)

By this ignoble artifice, the queen-regent forfeited the esteem and confidence of the whole nation. The Protestants boldly prepared for their own defence; and Erskine, enraged at being made the instrument of deceiving his party, instantly repaired to Perth, whither the leaders of the Congregation had retired, and inflamed the zeal of his associates, by his representations of the regent's inflexible resolution to suppress their religion. His ardour was powerfully seconded by the rhetoric of John Knox, a preacher possessed of a bold and popular eloquence. Having been carried prisoner into France, together with other persons taken in the castle of St. Andrews soon after the murder of cardinal Beaton, Knox made his escape out of that kingdom; and, after residing sometimes in England, sometimes in Scotland, had found it necessary, in order to avoid the vengeance of the popish clergy, to retire to Geneva. There he imbibed all the enthusiasm, and heightened the natural ferocity of his own character by the severe doctrines of Calvin, who had succeeded Zuinglius in the apostleship of that republic, and completed its ecclesiastical establishment.

Invited home by the heads of the Protestant party in Scotland, Knox had arrived in his native country a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling, and immediately joined his brethren, that he might share with them in the common danger, as well as in the glory of promoting the common cause. In the present ferment of men's minds, occasioned by the regent's deceitful conduct, and the sense of their own danger, he mounted the pulpit, and declaimed with such vehemence against the idolatry and other abuses of the church of Rome, that his audience were strongly incited to attempt its utter subversion. During those movements of holy indignation, the indiscreet bigotry of a priest, who immediately after that violent invective was preparing to celebrate mass, and had opened all his repository of images and reliques, hurried the enthusiastic populace into immediate action. They fell with fury upon the devout Catholic, broke the images, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, and scattered about the sacred vases. They next proceeded to the monasteries, against which their zeal more particularly pointed its thunder. Not content with expelling the monks, and defacing every instrument of idolatrous worship, as they termed it, they vented their rage upon the buildings which had been the receptacles of such abomination; and, in a few hours, those superb edifices were level with the ground.(2)

Provoked at these violences, and others of a like kind, the queen-regent assembled an army composed chiefly of French troops; and being assisted by such of the nobility as still adhered to her cause, she determined to inflict the severest vengeance on the whole Protestant party. Intelligence of her preparations, as well as of the spirit by which she was actuated, soon reached Perth; and the heads of the Congregation, who had given no countenance to the late insurrection in that city, would gladly have soothed her by the most dutiful and submissive addresses; but finding her inexorable, they prepared for resistance, and their adherents flocked to them in such numbers, that

(1) Knox, p. 137. Robertson, book ii

(2) Spotswood, p. 121. Knox v 127 128 Robertson book ii. Hume, chap. xxxviii.

within a few days they were in a condition not only to defend the town, but to take the field with superior forces. Neither party, however, discovered much inclination to hazard a battle, both being afraid of the dangerous consequences of such a trial of strength; and through the mediation of the earl of Argyle, and of James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the young queen's natural brother, who, although closely connected with the Reformers, had not yet openly deserted the regent, a treaty was concluded with the Congregation.

In this treaty it was stipulated, among other provisions, that indemnity should be granted to all persons concerned in the late insurrection, and that the parliament should immediately be assembled, in order to compose religious differences. Both these stipulations the queen-regent broke—by neglecting to call the parliament, by fining some of the inhabitants of Perth, banishing others, turning the magistrates out of office, and leaving a garrison in the town, with orders to allow the exercise of no other religion but the Roman Catholic.⁽¹⁾ The Protestants renewed the league, and had again recourse to arms; despoiling, wherever they turned their route, the churches of their sacred furniture, and laying the monasteries in ruins. New treaties were concluded, and again broken, and new ravages were committed on the monuments of ecclesiastical pride and luxury.

Meanwhile, the Congregation had been joined not only by the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, but also by the duke of Chatelrault and his son the earl of Arran, the presumptive heirs of the crown, and had possessed themselves of the capital. They now aimed at the redress of civil as well as religious grievances; requiring, as a preliminary towards settling the kingdom, and securing its liberties, the immediate expulsion of the French forces out of Scotland. The queen-regent, sensible of the necessity of giving way to a torrent which she could not resist, amused them for a time with fair promises and pretended negotiations; but being reinforced with a thousand foreign troops, and encouraged by the court of France to expect soon the arrival of an army so powerful as the zeal of her adversaries, however desperate, would not dare to encounter, she listened to the rash counsels of her brothers, and at last gave the Congregation a positive denial. She was not answerable to the confederate lords, she said, for any part of her conduct; nor should she, upon any representation from them, abandon measures which she deemed necessary, or dismiss forces that she found useful; ordering them, at the same time, on pain of her displeasure, and as they valued their allegiance, to disband the troops which they had assembled.

This haughty reply to their earnest and continued solicitations determined the leaders of the Congregation to take a step worthy of a brave and free people. They assembled the whole body of peers, barons, and representatives of boroughs, that adhered to their party; and the members of this bold convention (which equalled in number, and exceeded in dignity, the usual meetings of parliament), after examining the most delicate and important question that can possibly fall under the consideration of subjects—"the obedience due to an unjust and oppressive administration," gave their suffrage, without one dissenting voice, for depriving Mary of Guise of the office of regent, which she had exercised so much to the detriment of the kingdom.⁽²⁾

The queen-dowager had already retired into Leith, the sea-port of Edinburgh, which she had fortified and garrisoned with French troops, and where she daily expected new reinforcements. Leith was immediately invested by the forces of the Congregation; but the confederate lords soon found that their zeal had engaged them in an undertaking which exceeded their ability to accomplish. The French garrison, despising the tumultuous efforts of raw and undisciplined troops, refused to surrender the town: and the Protestant leaders were neither sufficiently skilful in the art of war, nor possessed of the artillery or magazines necessary for the purpose of a siege. Nor was this their only misfortune: their followers, accustomed to decide every quarrel

(1) Buchanan, lib. xvi. Robertson, book ii.

(2) Buchanan, lib. xvi. Robertson, book ii. Knox, p. 134.

by immediate action, were strangers to the fatigues of a long campaign, and soon became impatient of the severe and constant duty which a siege requires. They first murmured, then mutinied; the garrison took advantage of their discontents; and, making a bold sally, cut many of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to abandon the enterprise.

Soon after this victory the queen-dowager received from France a new reinforcement of a thousand veteran foot, and some troops of horse. These, together with a detachment from the garrison of Leith, were sent out to scour the country, and to pillage and lay waste the houses and lands of the Protestants. Already broken and dispirited, and hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, the queen-dowager's brother, was suddenly expected with a great army, the leaders of the Congregation began to consider their cause as desperate, unless the Lord, whose holy name they had assumed, should miraculously interpose in their behalf. But whatever confidence they might place in divine aid, they did not neglect human means.

The Scottish Protestants, in this pressing extremity, thought themselves excusable in craving foreign help. They turned their eyes towards England, which had already supplied them with money, and resolved to implore the assistance of Elizabeth to enable them to finish an undertaking in which they had so fatally experienced their own weakness; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to civil liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that sister-kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination no less than of interest or necessity. Maitland of Lethington, formerly the regent's principal secretary, and Robert Melvil, already acquainted with the intrigues of courts, were therefore secretly despatched, as the most able negotiators of the party, to solicit succours from the queen of England.

The wise counsellors of Elizabeth did not long hesitate in agreeing to a request, which corresponded so perfectly with the views and interests of their mistress. Secretary Cecil, in particular, represented to the English queen the necessity, as well as equity, of interposing in the affairs of Scotland, and of preventing the conquest of that kingdom, at which France openly aimed. Every society, he observed, has a right to defend itself, not only from present dangers, but from such as may probably ensue; that the invasion of England would immediately follow the reduction of the Scottish malecontents, by the abandoning of whom to the mercy of France, Elizabeth would open a way for her enemies into the heart of her own kingdom, and expose it to all the calamities of war, and the danger of conquest. Nothing therefore remained, he added, but to meet the enemy while yet at a distance; and, by supporting the leaders of the Congregation with an English army, to render Scotland the scene of hostilities; to crush the designs of the princes of Lorraine in their infancy; and, by such an early and unexpected effort, finally to expel the French out of Britain, before their power had time to grow up to any formidable height.⁽¹⁾

Elizabeth, throughout her whole reign, was cautious but decisive; and by her promptitude in executing her resolutions, joined to the deliberation with which she formed them, her administration became as remarkable for its vigour as for its wisdom. No sooner did she determine to afford assistance to the leaders of the Congregation, a measure to which the reasoning of Cecil effectually swayed her, than they experienced the activity as well as the extent of her power. The season of the year would not permit her troops to take the field: but, lest the French army should, in the mean time, receive an accession of strength, she instantly ordered a squadron to cruise in the Frith of Forth; and early in the spring, an English army consisting of six thousand foot and two thousand horse, entered Scotland, under the command of lord Grey of Wilton.

The leaders of the Congregation assembled from all parts of the kingdom to meet their new allies; and having joined them with vast numbers of their followers, the combined army advanced towards Leith. The French, little

(1) Keith, Append. No. XVII. Forbes, vol. I. Jebb, vol. I.

able to keep the field against so superior a force, confined themselves within the walls of the fortification. The place was immediately invested; and although the fleet that carried the reinforcement under the marquis of Elbeuf had been scattered by a violent storm, and was either wrecked on the coast of France, or with difficulty recovered the ports of that kingdom, the garrison, by an obstinate defence, protracted the siege to a great length. (1)

Meantime, the queen-dowager died; and many of the Catholic nobles, jealous of the French power, and more zealous for the liberty and independency of their country than for their religion, subscribed the alliance with England. Nothing therefore could now save the garrison of Leith but the immediate conclusion of a treaty, or the arrival of a powerful army from France; and the situation of that kingdom constrained the princes of Lorraine to turn their thoughts, though with reluctance, towards pacific measures.

The Protestants in France were become formidable by their numbers, and still more by the valour and enterprising genius of their leaders. Among these, the most eminent were the prince of Condé, the king of Navarre (no less distinguished by his abilities than his rank), the admiral de Coligny, and his brother Anelot, who no longer scrupled to make open profession of the reformed opinions, and whose high reputation both for valour and conduct gave great credit to the cause. Animated with zeal, and inflamed with resentment against the Guises, who had persuaded Francis II. to imitate the rigour of his father, by reviving the penal statutes against heresy, the Protestants or Huguenots, as they were styled by way of reproach, not only prepared for their own defence, but resolved, by some bold action, to anticipate the execution of those schemes which threatened the extirpation of their religion, and the ruin of those who professed it. Hence the famous conspiracy of Amboise, where they intended to seize the person of the king, and wrest the government out of the hands of the Guises, if not to despatch them; and although the vigilance and good fortune of the princes of Lorraine discovered and disappointed that design, the spirit of the Protestant party was rather roused than broken by the tortures inflicted upon the conspirators. (2) The admiral de Coligny had even the boldness to present to the king, in a grand council at Fontainebleau, a petition from the Huguenots, demanding the public exercise of their religion, unless they were allowed to assemble privately with impunity. He was treated as an incendiary by the cardinal of Lorraine; but his request was warmly seconded by Monluc bishop of Valence, and by Marillac archbishop of Vienne, who both spoke with force against the abuses which had occasioned so many troubles and disorders, as well as against the ignorance and vices of the French clergy. An assembly of the states was convoked, in order to appease the public discontents; the edicts against heretics were, in the mean time, suspended, and an appearance of toleration succeeded to the rage of persecution; but the sentiments of the court were well known, and it was easy to observe new storms gathering in every province of the kingdom, and ready to break forth with all the violence of civil war. (3)

This distracted state of affairs called off the ambition of the princes of Lorraine from the view of foreign conquests, in order to defend the honour and dignity of the French crown, and made it necessary to withdraw the few veteran troops already employed in Scotland, instead of sending new reinforcements into that kingdom. Plenipotentiaries were therefore sent to Edinburgh, where a treaty was signed with the ambassadors of Elizabeth. In this treaty it was stipulated that the French forces should instantly evacuate Scotland, and that Francis and Mary should thenceforth abstain from assuming the title of king and queen of England, or bearing the arms of that kingdom. Nor were the concessions granted to the Congregation less important; namely, that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should be put into any office in Scotland; that no foreign troops should be hereafter introduced into the kingdom without the

(1) *Mém. de Castelneau.*

(3) Davila, lib. ii. Mezeray, tom. v.

(2) Davila, lib. i. ii. Mezeray, tom. v.

consent of parliament; that the parliament should name twenty-four persons, out of whom the queen should choose seven, and the parliament five; and in the hands of these twelve, so elected, should the whole administration be vested during Mary's absence; that she should neither make peace nor war without the consent of parliament; and that the parliament at its first meeting, which was fixed to a certain day, should take into consideration the religious differences, and represent its sense of them to the king and queen.(1)

A few days after the conclusion of this treaty, both the French and English armies quitted Scotland; and the leaders of the Congregation being now absolute masters of the kingdom, made no further scruple or ceremony in completing the work of reformation. The parliament, which was properly an assembly of the nobles, or great barons, and dignified clergy, met on the day named; and on this occasion the burgesses and less barons, who had also a right to be present in that assembly, but who seldom exercised it, stood forth to vindicate their civil and religious liberties, eager to aid with their voice in the senate that cause which they had defended with their sword in the field. The Protestant members, who greatly out-numbered their adversaries, after ratifying the principal articles of the late treaty, and giving their sanction to a confession of faith presented to them by their teachers, prohibited the exercise of religious worship according to the rites of the Romish church, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods, as the punishment of the first act of disobedience; banishment as the punishment of the second; and death as the reward of the third.(2) With such indecent haste did the very persons who had just escaped the rigour of ecclesiastical tyranny, proceed to imitate those examples of severity, of which they had so justly complained! A law was also passed for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland; and the Presbyterian form of worship was established, nearly as now constituted in that kingdom.

Francis and Mary refused to ratify these proceedings; which, by the treaty of Edinburgh ought to have been presented for approbation, in the form of deliberations, not of acts. But the Scottish Protestants gave themselves little trouble about their sovereign's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution; they abolished the mass; they settled their ministers; and they committed furious devastations on the sacred buildings, which they considered as dangerous relics of idolatry, laying waste every thing venerable and magnificent, that had escaped the storm of popular insurrection. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead, perished in one common ruin.(3)

United by the consciousness of such unpardonable stretches of authority, and well acquainted with the imperious character of the princes of Lorraine, the Protestant part of the Scottish parliament, seeing no safety for themselves but in the protection of England, despatched ambassadors to Elizabeth, to express their sincere gratitude for her past favours, and represent to her the necessity of continuing them. Elizabeth, on her part, had equal reason to desire a union with these northern Reformers. Though the disorders in France had obliged the princes of Lorraine to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cause of the success of the English arms, they were determined not to relinquish their authority, or yield to the violence of their enemies. Nor had they yet laid aside their design of subverting Elizabeth's throne. Francis and Mary, whose councils were still wholly directed by them, obstinately refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and persisted in assuming the title and arms of England. Aware of the danger attending such pretensions, Elizabeth not only promised support to the Protestant party in Scotland, but secretly encouraged the French malecontents:(4) and it was with pleasure that she heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the court of France, and of the formidable opposition against the measures of the duke of Guise.

But that opposition must soon have been crushed by the vigorous and

(1) Keith. Spotswood. Knox.

(3) Robertson, book iii. Hume, chap. xxxviii.

(2) Id. *ibid.*

(4) Id. *ibid.*

decisive administration of the princes of Lorrain, if an unexpected event had not set bounds to their power. They had already found an opportunity of seizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they had thrown the former into prison; they had obtained a sentence of death against the latter; and they were proceeding to put it in execution, when the sudden death of Francis II. arrested the uplifted blow, and brought down the duke of Guise to the level of a subject. Catharine of Medicis, the queen-mother, was appointed guardian to her son Charles IX., only ten years of age at his accession, and invested with the administration of the realm, though not with the title of regent. In consequence of her maxim, "divide and govern!" the king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the sentence against Condé was annulled; the constable Montmorency was recalled to court; and the princes of Lorrain, though they still enjoyed high offices and great power, found a counterpoise to the weight of their influence.(1)

The death of Francis II., without issue by the queen of Scots, and the change which it produced in the French councils, at once freed the queen of England from the perils attending a union of Scotland with France, and the Scottish Protestants from the terror of the French power. The joy of the Congregation was extreme. They ascribed those events to the immediate interposition of Providence in favour of his chosen people; and Elizabeth, without looking so high for their causes, determined to take advantage of their effects, in order more firmly to establish her throne. She still regarded the queen of Scots as a dangerous rival, on account of the number of English Catholics, who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, and would now adhere to her with more zealous attachment, when they saw that her succession no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom. She therefore gave orders to her ambassador at the court of France to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her immediate ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh.(2)

Mary, slighted by the queen-mother, who imputed to that princess all the mortifications she had met with during the life of Francis; forsaken by the swarm of courtiers, who appear only in the sunshine of prosperity; and overwhelmed with all the sorrow which so sad a reverse of fortune could occasion, had retired to Rheims; and there, in solitude, indulged her grief, or hid her indignation. But notwithstanding her disconsolate condition, and though she had desisted after her husband's death from bearing the arms or assuming the title of England, she still eluded ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, and refused to make any solemn renunciation of her pretensions to the English crown.(3)

Meanwhile, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, her natural brother, arrived at Rheims, in deputation from the states of Scotland, inviting the queen to return into her native kingdom, and assume the reins of government. But Mary, though severely sensible she was no longer queen of France, was in no haste to leave a country where she had been educated from her earliest infancy, and where so many attentions had been paid to her person as well as to her rank. Accustomed to the elegance, gallantry, and gayety of a splendid court, and to the conversation of a polished people, by whom she had been loved and admired, she still fondly lingered in the scene of all these enjoyments, and contemplated with horror the barbarism of her own country, and the turbulence of her native subjects, who had so violently spurned all civil and religious authority. By the advice of her uncles, however, she determined at last to set out for Scotland; and as the course, in sailing from France to that kingdom, lies along the English coast, she demanded of Elizabeth, by the French ambassador D'Oisel, a safe-conduct during her voyage. That request, which decency alone obliged one sovereign to grant to another Elizabeth rejected in such a manner as gave rise to no slight suspicion of a design either to obstruct the passage or intercept the person of the queen of Scots.(4)

(1) *Mem. de Castelneau*. Davila, lib. ii.(2) Keith. *Castelneau*.(3) *Id. ibid.*(4) Keith. *Camden*. Robertson, *Append. No. VI.*

This ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth filled Mary with indignation, but did not retard her departure from France. Having cleared the room of her attendants, she said to Throgmorton, the English ambassador, "How weak I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell; however, I am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my infirmity as your mistress had at her audience of my ambassador D'Oisel. There is nothing disturbs me so much, as having asked with so much importunity a favour, which it was of no consequence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country, without her leave, as I came to France in spite of all the opposition of her brother, king Edward: neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was desirous rather to make an experiment of your mistress's friendship, than of the assistance of any other person."⁽¹⁾ She embarked on board a galley at Calais; and passing the English fleet, under cover of a thick fog, arrived safely at Leith, attended by the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, three of her uncles of the house of Lorrain, together with the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers.⁽²⁾

The circumstances of Mary's departure from France are truly affecting. The excess of her grief seems to have proceeded from a fatal presage of that scene of misfortune on which she was about to enter. Not satisfied with mingling tears with her mournful attendants, and bidding them adieu with a sorrowful heart, she kept her eyes fixed upon the French coast after she was at sea, and never turned them from that darling object till darkness fell and intercepted it from her view. Even then she would neither retire to the cabin, nor take food; but, commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, she there waited, with fond impatience, the return of day. Fortune soothed her on this occasion. The weather proving calm, the galley made but little way during the night, so that Mary, at morning, had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat upon her couch, and, still anxiously looking towards the land, often repeated with a sigh, "Farewell, France! farewell. beloved country, which I shall never more behold!"⁽³⁾

The reception of the queen of Scots in her native kingdom, the civil wars of France, and the share which Elizabeth took in the affairs of both kingdoms must furnish the subject of another Letter.

LETTER LXVI.

France, England, and Scotland, from the Return of Mary Stuart to her native Kingdom, in 1561, till her Imprisonment, and the Proclamation of her Son James VI., together with a retrospective View of the Affairs of Spain.

THE first appearance of affairs in Scotland was more favourable than M had reason to expect. She was received by her subjects with the loud acclamations of joy, and every demonstration of welcome and regard. Being now in her nineteenth year, the bloom of youth, and the beauty and gracefulness of her person, drew universal admiration, while her elegant manners and enlightened understanding commanded general respect. To the accomplishments of her own sex she added many of the acquisitions of ours. She was skilled in most languages, ancient as well as modern. The progress she had made in poetry, music, rhetoric, and all the arts and sciences then esteemed useful or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by the sons or daughters of royalty, who are born and educated as the immediate heirs of a crown and a courteous affability, which, without lessening the dignity of a sovereign, steals on the hearts of subjects with a bewitching insinuation, rendered all her other qualities more engaging.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Cabala, p. 374. Spotswood, p. 177.

(3) Brantome.—He himself was in the same galley with the queen.

(4) Robertson, book iii. from Brantome.

(2) Robertson, book iii.

The first measures of Mary's administration confirmed the prepossessions entertained in her favour. According to the advice of D'Oisel and her uncles, she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the Protestant party, (1) who were alone able, she found, to support her government. The prior of St. Andrews, her natural brother, whom she soon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and under him, Maitland of Lethington, a man of great sagacity, had a principal share in her confidence. Her choice could not have fallen upon persons more agreeable to her people.

But there was one circumstance which blasted all these promising appearances, and deprived Mary of that general favour which her amiable manners and prudent measures gave her just reason to expect. She was still a papist; and although she published, soon after her arrival, a proclamation enjoining every one to submit to the reformed religion, as established by parliament, (2) the more zealous Protestants could neither be reconciled to a person polluted by such an abomination, nor lay aside their jealousies of her future conduct. It was with much difficulty she obtained permission to celebrate mass in her own chapel. "Shall that idol again be suffered to be erected within the realm?" was the common cry; and the usual prayers within the churches were, that God would turn the queen's heart, which was obstinate against his truth: or, if his holy will were otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and *hands* of the elect, stoutly to oppose the rage of all tyrants. (3) Nay, lord Lindsey and the gentlemen of Fife exclaimed, "The *Idolater* shall die the death!"

The ringleader in all these insults on majesty was John Knox, who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was JEZEBEL; and though she endeavoured by the most gracious condescension to win his favour, all her kind advances could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. The pulpits became mere stages for railing against the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant. (4)

Curbed in all amusements, by the absurd severity of these Reformers, Mary, whose age, condition, and education invited her to liberty and cheerfulness, found reason every moment to look back with a sigh to that country which she had left. After the departure of the French courtiers, her life was one scene of bitterness and sorrow. And she perceived that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity, while surrounded by a turbulent nobility, a bigoted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, was to preserve a friendly correspondence with Elizabeth, who, by former connexions and services, had acquired much authority over all ranks of men in Scotland. She therefore sent Maitland of Lethington to London, in order to pay her compliments to the English queen, and express a desire of future good understanding between them. Maitland was also instructed to signify Mary's willingness to renounce all present right to the crown of England, provided she was declared, by act of parliament, next heir to the succession, in case the queen should die without offspring. (5) But so great was the jealous prudence of Elizabeth, that she never would hazard the weakening of her authority by naming a successor, or allow the parliament to interpose in that matter; much less would she make, or permit such a nomination to be made, in favour of a rival queen, who possessed pretensions so plausible to supplant her, and who, though she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Sensible, however, that reason would be thought to lie wholly on Mary's side, as she herself had frequently declared her resolution to live and die a *virgin-queen*, she thenceforth ceased to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; and though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on all the appearance of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other. (6)

(1) Robertson, book iii. from Brantome.

(4) Knox, p. 332, 333.

(2) Knox. Spotswood. Keith.

(5) Keith. Camden. Haynes.

(3) *Id. ibid.*(6) *Id. ibid.*

Elizabeth saw, that, without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects. Having, therefore, no apprehensions from Scotland, nor any desire to take part at present in its affairs, she directed her attention to other objects. After concerting the necessary measures for the security of her kingdom and the happiness of her people, she turned an eye of observation towards the great powers on the continent. France, being still agitated with religious factions, big with all the horrors of civil war, excited less the jealousy than the compassion of its neighbours; so that Spain, of all the European kingdoms, could alone be considered as the formidable rival of England. Accordingly, an animosity, first political, then personal, soon appeared between the sovereigns of the two crowns.

Philip II., as has been already observed, immediately after concluding the peace of Château-Cambresis, commenced a furious persecution against the Protestants in Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries. That violent spirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated gave new edge even to the usual cruelty of priests and inquisitors. He threw into prison Constantine Ponce, who had been confessor to his father Charles V. and in whose arms that great prince had breathed his last. This venerable ecclesiastic died in confinement; but Philip ordered, nevertheless, the sentence of heresy to be pronounced against his memory. He even deliberated whether he should not exercise like severity against the memory of his father, who was suspected, during his latter years, of indulging a propensity towards Lutheranism. In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he spared neither age, sex, nor condition. He appeared with an inflexible countenance at the most barbarous executions; and he issued rigorous orders for the prosecution of heretics, even in his American dominions.⁽¹⁾ The limits of the globe seemed only enlarged to extend human misery.

Having founded his deliberate tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, Philip made it evident to all his subjects, that there was no means of escaping the severity of his vengeance, except by the most abject compliance or obstinate resistance. And by thus placing himself at the head of the Catholic party, the determined champion of the Romish church, he every where converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partisans of Spanish greatness.

Happily, the adherents of the new doctrines were not without a supporter, nor the Spanish greatness without a counterpoise. The course of events had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite to that of Philip. Fortune, guiding choice, and concurring with policy and inclination, had raised her to the glory, the bulwark, and the stay of the numerous but generally persecuted Protestants throughout Europe. And she united her interests, in all foreign negotiations, with those who were struggling for their civil and religious liberties, or guarding themselves against ruin and extermination. Hence the animosity between her and Philip.

While the queen of Scots continued in France, and asserted her claim to the southern British kingdom, the dread of uniting England to the French monarchy engaged the king of Spain to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. But no sooner did the death of Francis II. put an end to Philip's apprehensions in regard to Mary's succession, than his rancour began openly to appear, and the interests of Spain and England were found opposite in every negotiation and public transaction. Philip, contrary to the received maxims of policy in that age, saw an advantage in supporting the power of the French monarch; and Elizabeth, by a concurrence of circumstances no less singular, in protecting a faction ready to subvert it.

Catharine of Medicis, the queen-mother of France, in consequence of her maxim of dividing in order to govern, only increased the troubles of the state. By balancing the Catholics against the Protestants, the duke of Guise against the prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both,

(1) Thuanus, lib. xxiii. Grotius, *Annal.* lib. ii. Mariana, lib. v.

and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience. But an equal counterpoise of power, which among foreign nations is the source of tranquillity, proves always the cause of quarrel among domestic factions; and if the animosities of religion concur with the frequent occasions of mutual injury, it is impossible to preserve, for any time, a firm concord in such a situation. Moved by zeal for the ancient faith, the constable Montmorency joined himself to the duke of Guise; the king of Navarre, from his inconstant temper, and his jealousy of the superior genius of his brother, embraced the same party; and the queen-mother, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé and the Hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection.(1)

An edict had been published in the beginning of the year, granting to the Hugonots, or Protestants, the free exercise of their religion without the walls of towns; provided they taught nothing contrary to the council of Nice, to the Apostles' Creed, or the books of the Old and New Testament. This edict had been preceded by a famous conference, held at Poissy, between the divines of the two religions; in which the cardinal of Lorraine, on the part of the Catholics, and the learned Theodore Beza, on that of the Protestants, displayed, beyond others, their eloquence and powers of argument. The Protestant divines boasted of having greatly the advantage in the dispute, and the concession of liberty of conscience made their followers happy in that opinion. But the interested violence of the duke of Guise, or the intemperate zeal of his attendants, broke once more the tranquillity of religion, and gave a beginning to a frightful civil war. Passing by the little town of Vassy, on the frontiers of Champagne, where some Protestants, having assembled in a barn, under the sanction of the edict, were peaceably worshipping God in their own way, his retinue wantonly insulted them. A tumult ensued: the duke himself was struck, it is said with a stone: and sixty of the unarmed multitude were sacrificed in revenge of that pretended or provoked injury, and in open violation of the public faith.(2)

The Protestants, over all the kingdom, were alarmed at this massacre, and assembled in arms under Condé, Coligny, and Andelot, their most distinguished leaders; while the duke of Guise and the constable Montmorency, having got possession of the king's person, obliged the queen-mother to join the Catholic party. Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France. Each province, each city, each family, was distracted with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son, brother against brother; and women themselves, sacrificing their humanity, as well as their timidity, to the religious fury, distinguished themselves by acts of valour and cruelty.(3) Wherever the Protestants prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire; and where success attended the Catholics, they burned the Bibles, rebaptized the infants, and forced married persons to pass anew through the ceremony.(4) Plunder, desolation, and bloodshed attended equally the triumph of both parties; and, to use the words of a profound historian, it was during that period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and acrimony.(5)

Philip II., jealous of the progress of the Hugonots, who had made themselves masters of Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Poitiers, Tours, Angers, Angoulême, Rouen, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, and other places of less note; and afraid that the contagion might spread into the Low Countries, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Lorraine, for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression of heresy. In consequence of that alliance, he now sent six thousand men to reinforce the Catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himself unable to oppose so strong a confederacy, coun

(1) Davila, lib. ii.

(4) Id. *ibid.*

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(2) Henault. Mezeray

(5) Hume, chap. xxxix.

Dupleix.

(3) Davila, lib. iii. Haynes, p. 391.

tenanced by royal authority, was obliged to crave the assistance of the queen of England. As an inducement, he offered to put her in possession of Havre de Grace; on condition that, together with three thousand men for the garrison of the place, she should likewise send over other three thousand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and furnish him with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns.(1)

Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the Protestants, and opposing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke of Guise, had other motives to induce her to accept of this proposal. She was now sensible, that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article in the treaty of Château-Cambresis, which regarded the restitution of Calais; and wisely concluded that, could she get possession of Havre de Grace, which commands the mouth of the Seine, she should easily constrain the French to execute their engagements, and have the honour of restoring Calais to England. She therefore sent over immediately three thousand men, under the command of sir Edward Poynings, and three thousand more soon after, under the earl of Warwick, who took possession of Havre. But Rouen having been invested by the Catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and the constable Montmorency, before the arrival of the English, it was with difficulty that Poynings could throw a small reinforcement into the place; and although the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the Catholics still continued the attack with vigour. The town was at last carried by assault, and the garrison and inhabitants put to the sword.(2)

It was now expected that the Catholics, flushed with success, would immediately form the siege of Havre, which was as yet in no state of defence; but the intestine disorders of the kingdom diverted their attention to another enterprise. Andelot, seconded by the negotiations of Elizabeth, had levied a considerable army in Germany; and arriving at Orleans, the seat of the Protestant power in France, he enabled the prince of Condé and Coligny to take the field, and oppose the progress of their enemies. After threatening Paris for some time, they took their march towards Normandy, with a view of engaging the English to act in conjunction with them. The Catholics, commanded by Montmorency, and under him by the duke of Guise, hung on the rear of the Hugonots, and, overtaking them near Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was disputed with much obstinacy on both sides, and the action was distinguished by a very singular event. Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, both remained prisoners in the hands of their enemies: and what is yet more singular, the prince not only supped at the same table, but lay all night in the same bed with his hostile rival the duke of Guise!(3) So unaccountable were the manners of that age, which could blend the most rancorous animosity with a familiar hospitality, that appears altogether disgusting in these days of superior refinement.

The semblance of victory remained with the Catholics. But Coligny, whose lot it was ever to be defeated, and ever to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the Protestant army, and inspiring his own unconquerable courage into every breast, not only kept them in a body, but took some considerable places in Normandy; and Elizabeth, in order to enable him to support the cause of his party, sent over a new supply of a hundred thousand crowns. Meanwhile, the duke of Guise, aiming a mortal blow at the power of the Hugonots, had commenced the siege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where Montmorency was detained prisoner: and he had the prospect of speedy success in his undertaking, when he was assassinated by a young gentleman, named Poltrot, whose fanatical zeal for the interests of the Protestant religion instigated him to that atrocious violence.(4)

The death of this great man was an irreparable loss to the Catholic party. His brother, the cardinal Lorraine, though eloquent, subtle, and intriguing,

(1) Forbes, vol. ii.

(2) Davila, lib. iii.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Mezeray, tom v.

wanted that enterprising and undaunted spirit which had rendered the ambition of the duke so formidable; and therefore, though he still pursued the bold schemes of his family, the danger of their progress appeared not now so imminent either to Elizabeth or the French Protestants. Of course, the union between these allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, was in some measure loosened; and the leaders of the Hugonots were persuaded to listen to terms of a separate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency, equally tired of captivity, accordingly held conferences for that purpose, and soon came to an agreement with respect to the conditions. A toleration of their religion, under certain restrictions, was again granted to the Protestants; a general amnesty was published, and every one was reinstated in his offices, dignities, and all civil rights and privileges.(1)

The leaders of the Protestants only comprehended Elizabeth so far in this treaty, as to obtain a promise, that, on her relinquishing Havre de Grace, her charges and the money which she had advanced them should be repaid her by the king of France; and that Calais, on the expiration of the stipulated term, should be restored to her. Disdaining to accept these conditions, she sent Warwick orders to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy. The garrison of Havre consisted of six thousand men, independent of seven hundred pioneers: and a resolute defence was expected. But a contagious distemper made its appearance among the English troops; and, being increased by their fatigue and bad diet, made such ravages in a short time, that there did not remain fifteen hundred men in a condition to do duty. Warwick, who had frequently warned the English ministry of his danger, and loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, was therefore obliged to capitulate, and content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison.(2)

Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight had failed her in this transaction, now found it necessary to accede to a compromise; and as the queen-mother of France desired to obtain leisure, in order to concert measures for the extirpation of the Hugonots, she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England. It was accordingly agreed, that the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais should be delivered up for two hundred and twenty thousand crowns; and that both parties should retain all their pretensions.(3)

Peace still subsisted between England and Scotland; and a cordial friendship even seemed to have taken place between Elizabeth and Mary. They made professions of the most sincere affection: they wrote complimentary letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as the style of sisters. But the negotiations for the marriage of the queen of Scots awakened anew the jealousy of Elizabeth, and roused the zeal of the Scottish Reformers. Mary's hand was solicited by the archduke Charles, the emperor's third son; by Don Carlos, heir apparent to the Spanish monarchy; and by the duke of Anjou, her former husband's brother, who succeeded soon after to the crown of France. Either of those foreign alliances would have been alarming to Elizabeth, and to Mary's Protestant subjects. She therefore resolved, notwithstanding the arguments of her uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, to sacrifice her ambition to domestic peace; and as Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, eldest son of the earl of Lennox, was the first British subject whom sound policy seemed to point out to her choice, she determined to make him the partner of her sway.(4)

Darnley was Mary's cousin-german by lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII., and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He was, after herself, next heir to the English crown. He was also, by his father, a branch of her own family: and would, in espousing her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had constantly resided, since banished by the prevailing power of the house of Hamilton; and as Elizabeth had often

(1) Davila, lib. iii.

(2) Forbes, vol. ii.

(3) Davila, lib. iii.

(4) Forbes, vol. ii.

intimated to the queen of Scots, that nothing would so completely allay all jealousy between them as Mary's espousing an English nobleman,(1) the prospect of the ready approbation of that rival queen was an additional motive for the proposed marriage.

But although Mary, as a queen, seemed to be solely influenced by political considerations in the choice of a royal consort, she had other motives, as a woman, for singling out Darnley as a husband. He was in the full bloom and vigour of youth, tall and well proportioned, and surpassed all the men of his time in every exterior grace. He eminently excelled in all the arts which display a handsome person to advantage, and which, in polished nations, are dignified with the name of elegant accomplishments. Mary was at an age and of a complexion to feel the force of such attractions. Lord Darnley accordingly made a conquest of her heart at their first interview; and it cannot be doubted but she made a deep impression upon his. Thus inclination conspired with policy to promote their union; nor was it once suspected that any opposition would be made by the English queen.

Secretly, Elizabeth was not displeased with Mary's choice; as it freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance; and from the necessity of parting with the earl of Leicester, her own handsome favourite, whom she had proposed as a husband to the queen of Scots. But besides, a womanish jealousy and envy, proceeding from a consciousness of Mary's superior charms, which led her on all occasions to thwart the matrimonial views of that princess, certain ungenerous political motives induced her to show a disapprobation of the projected marriage with Darnley, though she either did not wish, or was sensible that she could not obstruct it. By declaring her dissatisfaction with Mary's conduct, Elizabeth hoped to alarm the party in Scotland that was attached to the English interest; and to raise, by their means, intestine commotions, which would not only secure her own kingdom from all disturbance on that side, but enable her to become the umpire between the Scottish queen and her contending subjects.(2)

The scheme immediately succeeded in part, and afterward had its full effect. The earl of Murray, and other Protestant noblemen, were the dupes of Elizabeth's intrigues. Under pretence of zeal for the reformed religion, because the family of Lennox was believed to adhere to the Catholic faith, but in reality to support their own sinking authority, they formed among themselves bonds of confederacy and mutual defence. They entered into a secret correspondence with the English resident, in order to secure Elizabeth's assistance when it should become necessary; and, despairing of being able to prevent the marriage of the queen of Scots by any other means, they concerted measures for seizing Darnley, and carrying him prisoner into England.(3) They failed, however, in the attempt; and Mary, having obtained the general consent of the Scottish nation, and being anxious to bring to a period an affair which had long engaged her heart and occupied her attention, celebrated her marriage with the captivating young nobleman who had been the object of their conspiracy.

Conscious that all hopes of reconciliation were now at an end, the associated lords assembled their followers and flew to arms; but by the vigour and activity of Mary, who appeared herself at the head of her troops, rode with loaded pistols, and endured, with admirable fortitude, all the fatigues of war, the rebels were obliged to fly into England.(4) There they met with a reception very different from what they expected, and which strongly marks the character of Elizabeth. That politic princess had already effectually served her purpose, by exciting in Scotland, through their means, such discord and jealousies as would in all probability long distract and weaken Mary's government. It was now her business to save appearances; and as the malecontents had failed of success, she thought proper to disavow all connexions with them. She would not even grant an audience to the earl of Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning, appointed by the other fugitives to wait on her,

(1) Keith.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Melvil.

(4) Keith, *Append.*

till they had meanly consented to acknowledge, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, who accused her of fomenting the troubles in Scotland by her intrigues, that she had given them no encouragement to take up arms. "You have spoken the truth!"—replied she, as soon as they had made this declaration:—"I am far from setting an example of rebellion to my own subjects, by countenancing those who rebel against their lawful sovereign. The treason of which you have been guilty is detestable; and, as traitors, I banish you my presence."⁽¹⁾ So little feeling had she for men, who, out of confidence in her promises, had hazarded their lives and fortunes to serve her!

The Scottish exiles, finding themselves so harshly treated by Elizabeth, had recourse to the clemency of their own sovereign; and Mary, whose temper naturally inclined her to lenity, seemed determined to restore them to favour, when the arrival of an ambassador from France altered her resolution.⁽²⁾ The peace granted to the Reformers in that kingdom was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare the way for their final and absolute destruction. For this purpose an interview had been appointed at Bayonne, between Charles IX., now in his sixteenth year, and his sister the queen of Spain. Catharine of Medicis accompanied her son; the duke of Alva attended his mistress. Gayety, festivity, love, and joy seemed to be the sole occupation of both courts; but under these smiling appearances was hatched a scheme the most bloody and the most destructive to the repose of mankind that had ever been suggested by superstition to the human heart. Nothing less was resolved upon and concerted than the extermination of the Hugonots in France, the Protestants in the Low Countries, and the extinction of the reformed opinions throughout all Europe.⁽³⁾

Of this Catholic or *Holy League* (for so that detestable conspiracy was called) an account was brought, by the French ambassador, to the queen of Scots; conjuring her at the same time, in the name of the king of France, and the cardinal of Lorraine, not to restore the leaders of the Protestants in her kingdom to power and favour, at the very time when the popish princes on the continent were combined for the total extirpation of that sect.⁽⁴⁾ Deeply tainted with all the prejudices of popery, and devoted with the most humble submission to her uncles the princes of Lorraine, whose counsels from her infancy she had been accustomed to receive with filial respect, Mary instantly joined the confederacy:—and hence the change of her resolution in regard to the banished lords.⁽⁵⁾

The effects of this new system were soon visible in the conduct of the queen of Scots. The parliament was summoned for the attainder of the rebels, whose guilt was palpable, and some measures were concerted for re-establishing the Romish religion in Scotland;⁽⁶⁾ so that the ruin of Murray and his party seemed now inevitable, and the destruction of the reformed church no distant event, when an unexpected incident saved both, and brought on, in the sequel, the ruin of Mary herself.

The incident to which I allude is the murder of David Rizzio, a man whose birth and education afforded little reason to suppose that he should ever attract the historian's notice, but whose tragical death, and its consequences, make it necessary to record his adventures. The son of a teacher of music at Turin, and himself a musician, Rizzio had accompanied the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, where he gained admittance into the queen's family by his skill in his profession; and as Mary found him necessary to complete her musical band, she retained him in her service, by permission, after the departure of his master. Shrewd, supple, and aspiring, beyond his condition, he quickly crept into the queen's favour; and her French secretary happening to retire into his own country, she promoted Rizzio to that office. which gave him frequent opportunity of approaching her person, and of insinuating himself still farther into her good graces. He now began to make

(1) Melvil. (2) Ibid. (3) Thuan, lib. xxvii. Davila, lib. iii.

(5) Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* Append. No. XIII.

(4) Melvil.

(6) Keith, p. 316.

a figure at court, and to appear as a man of weight and consequence: and he availed himself so well of the access which fortune had procured him, that he was soon regarded not only as the queen's chief confidant, but even as her minister. To him the whole train of suitors and expectants applied; and among the rest Darnley, whose marriage Rizzio promoted, in hopes of acquiring a new patron, while he co-operated with his mistress's wishes.

But this marriage, so natural and so inviting in all its circumstances, disappointed the expectations both of the queen and her favourite, and terminated in events the most shocking to humanity. Allured by the stature, symmetry, and exterior accomplishments of Darnley, Mary, in her choice, had overlooked the qualities of his mind, which corresponded ill with those of his person. Violent yet variable in his temper, she could neither by her gentleness bridle his insolent and imperious spirit, nor preserve him by her vigilance from rash and imprudent actions. Of mean understanding, but like most fools, conceited of his own abilities, he was devoid of all gratitude because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, to drunkenness and debauchery, he was incapable of any true sentiments of love or tenderness.⁽¹⁾ All Mary's fondness and generosity made no lasting impression on such a heart. He became, by degrees, careless of her person, and a stranger to her company. To a woman and a queen such behaviour was intolerable; but more especially to Mary, who possessed great sensibility of temper, and who, in the first effusions of her love, had taken a pride in exalting her husband beyond measure. She had granted him the title of king, and had joined his name with her own in all public acts. Her disappointed passion was therefore as violent, when roused into resentment, as her first affection had been strong; and his behaviour appeared ungenerous and criminal, in proportion to the distance she had stooped to raise him, and the honour and consequence to which she had lifted him.

The heart, sore from the wounds and the agitations of unrequited love, naturally seeks the repose, the consolation, and the lenient assuages of friendship. Rizzio still possessed the confidence of Mary; and as the brutal behaviour of her husband rendered a confidant now more necessary, she seems not only to have made use of her secretary's company and his musical talents to sooth her disquieted bosom, but to have imprudently shared with him her domestic griefs. To suppose that he also shared her embraces is to offer an injury to her character, for which history affords no proper foundation.⁽²⁾ But the assuming vanity of the upstart, who affected to talk often and familiarly with the queen in public, and who boasted of his intimacy in private; the dark and suspicious mind of Darnley, who, instead of imputing Mary's coldness to his own misconduct, which had so justly deserved it, ascribed the change in her behaviour (so different from the first and happy days of their union!) to the influence of a new passion; together with the rigid austerity of the Scottish clergy, who could admit of no freedoms; contributed to spread this opinion among the people, ever ready to listen to any slander on the court; and the enemies of the favourite, no less ready to take advantage of any popular clamour, made it a pretence for their unjust and inhuman vengeance.

Rizzio, who had connected his interests with the Roman Catholics, was the declared enemy of the banished lords; and by promoting the violent prosecution against them, he had exposed himself to the animosity of their numerous friends and adherents. Among these were the lords Ruthven and Lindsay, the earl of Morton, and Maitland of Lethington. While they were ruminating upon their grievances, and the means of redress, the king communicated his resolution to be avenged of Rizzio to lord Ruthven, and implored

(1) Goodall, vol. i. Robertson, book iv.

(2) Buchanan, whose prejudices are well known, is the only Scottish historian who directly accuses Mary of a criminal love for Rizzio. Knox, notwithstanding his violence and inveteracy, only slightly insinuates that such a suspicion was entertained. But the silence of Randolph, the English resident, a man abundantly ready to mention, and to aggravate, Mary's faults, and who does not once insinuate that her confidence in Rizzio contained any thing criminal, is a sufficient vindication of her innocence against all such aspersions.

his assistance and that of his friends towards the execution of his design. Nothing could be more acceptable to the whole party than such an overture. The murder of the favourite was instantly agreed upon, and as quickly carried into execution. Morton having secured the gates of the palace with a hundred and sixty armed men, the king, accompanied by the other conspirators, entered the queen's apartment, by a private passage, while she was at supper with her natural sister, the countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and a few more of her courtiers. Mary, who was now in the sixth month of her pregnancy, alarmed at such an unusual visit, demanded the reason of this rude intrusion. They answered her by pointing to Rizzio; who, immediately apprehending that he was the devoted victim, retired behind the queen's chair, and seized her by the waist, hoping that the respect due to her royal person would prove some protection to him. But the conspirators had gone too far to be restrained by punctilios. George Douglas, one of their number, laying hold of Darnley's dagger, stuck it in the body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary, and pushed into the antichamber, where he was despatched with many wounds."⁽¹⁾

"I will weep no more," said the queen, drying her tears, when informed of her favourite's fate;—"I shall now think of revenge." The insult on her person, the stain attempted to be fixed on her honour, and the danger to which her life was exposed on account of the advanced state of her pregnancy, were injuries so atrocious and complicated, as scarcely indeed to admit of pardon, even from the greatest lenity. Mary's resentment, however, was implacable against her husband alone. She artfully engaged him, by her persuasions and caresses, to disown all connexion with the conspirators, whom he had promised to protect; to deny any concurrence in their crime; nay, to publish a proclamation containing so notorious a falsehood!⁽²⁾ And having thus made him expose himself to universal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him to acquire the confidence of any party, she threw him off with disdain and indignation.

Meanwhile, the anger of the queen of Scots, absorbed by injuries more recent and violent, having subsided from former offenders, she had been reconciled to the banished lords. They were reinstated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices in Rizzio's murder, who had fled into England on being deserted by Darnley, also applied to her for pardon: and although she at first refused compliance, she afterward, through the intercession of Bothwell, a new favourite, who was desirous of strengthening his party by the accession of their interest, permitted them to return into their own country.⁽³⁾

The hour of Mary's labour now approached; and as it seemed imprudent to expose her person, at such a time, to the insults which she might suffer in a kingdom torn by factions, she left the palace, and made the castle of Edinburgh the place of her residence. There she was safely delivered of a son; and this being a very important event to England as well as to Scotland, she instantly despatched sir James Melvil to London with the interesting intelligence. It struck Elizabeth forcibly and by surprise. She had given a ball to her court at Greenwich on the evening of Melvil's arrival, and was displaying all that spirit and gayety which usually attended her on such occasions; but no sooner was she informed of the prince of Scotland's birth, than all her vivacity left her. Sensible of the superiority her rival had now acquired, she sunk into deep melancholy: she reclined her head upon her hand, the tears trickling down her cheek, and complained to some of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock.⁽⁴⁾ Next morning, however, at the audience of the ambassador, she resumed her wonted cheerfulness and dissimulation; thanked Melvil for his haste in bringing her such agreeable news, and expressed the most cordial friendship for her sister Mary.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Melvil. Keith. Crawford.

(3) Melvil. Keith. Knox.

(2) Keith, *Append.* Goodall, vol. i.

(4) Melvil.

(5) Ibid

The birth of a son, as Elizabeth foresaw, gave additional zeal as well as weight to the partisans of the queen of Scots in England; and even men of the most opposite parties began to call aloud for some settlement of the crown. The English queen had now reigned eight years, without discovering the least intention to marry. A violent illness, with which she was seized, had lately endangered her life, and alarmed the nation with a prospect of all the calamities that are occasioned by a disputed and dubious succession. In order to provide against those evils, a motion was made, and eagerly listened to in both houses of parliament, for addressing the queen on the subject. Her love for her people, her duty to the public, her concern to posterity, it was urged, equally called upon her, either to declare her own *resolution to marry*, or consent to an act *establishing* the order of *succession* to the crown.(1)

Elizabeth's ambitious and masculine character, and the positive affirmation, which she had often and early made, as already observed, that she meant to live and die a VIRGIN-QUEEN, rendered it improbable, notwithstanding the insinuations of her ministers, that she would take the first of these steps; and as no title to the crown could, with any colour of justice, be set in opposition to that of the queen of Scots, most of the English nobility seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the presumptive successor. The union of the two kingdoms was a desirable object to all discerning men; and the birth of the prince of Scotland gave hopes of its perpetuity. Even the more moderate Protestants, soothed by Mary's lenity to her own subjects, concurred with the Catholics in supporting her claim.(2) Nor would all the policy and address of Elizabeth have been able to prevent the settlement of the crown on her rival, had not Mary's indiscretions, if not her crimes, thrown her from the summit of prosperity, and plunged her in infamy and ruin.

James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, the head of an ancient family in Scotland, but a man of profligate manners, and by no means eminent for talents either civil or military, had distinguished himself by his attachment to the queen; and since the death of Rizzio, from the custody of whose murderers he had been the chief instrument of releasing her, Mary's gratitude, and perhaps a warmer sentiment, had loaded him with particular marks of her favour and confidence. She had raised him to offices of power and of trust, and transacted no matter of importance without his advice. Bothwell gained on her affection (for such it certainly soon became) in proportion as her regard for her husband declined; and her contempt for the latter appears to have been completed, though not occasioned, by her love for the former. The attention and complaisance of a man, who had vindicated her authority, and protected her person; who entered into all her views, and watched every opportunity of recommending his passion; could scarce indeed fail of making an impression on a heart naturally too susceptible, or of rousing to the greatest height the indignation of a woman and a queen against an unworthy object, on whom she had placed her love, and who had requited it with neglect, with insult, and with brutality.(3)

Mary was not only suspected of a criminal commerce with Bothwell, but so indiscreet had her familiarity been, and so strongly marked her hatred against her husband, that when Henry, unable to bear that insignificance into which he was fallen, left the court and retired to Glasgow, a distemper of an extraordinary nature, with which he was seized soon after his arrival, was universally ascribed by her enemies to a dose of poison, which it was pretended she had procured to be administered to him. The king himself however, seems to have had no such suspicion; for the queen having paid him a visit during his sickness, and discovered great anxiety for his recovery, he accompanied her to Edinburgh, as soon as he could be moved, in order

(1) D'Ewes' *Journ. of Parliament*

(3) Anderson, vol. i. p. 93, 94. Robertson, book iv.

(2) Melvil.

that she herself might be able to attend him without being absent from her son.(1) He was lodged for the benefit of retirement and air, as was pretended, in a solitary house called the Kirk of Field, situated on a rising ground at some distance from the palace of Holyrood House. There he was assiduously attended by Mary, who slept several nights in the chamber under his apartment. But on the ninth of February, about eleven o'clock at night, she left the Kirk of Field, in order to be present at a masque in the palace; and about two o'clock next morning the house in which the king lay was blown up with gunpowder, and his dead body was found in a neighbouring enclosure.(2)

The earl of Bothwell was generally considered as the author of this horrid murder;(3) some suspicions were entertained that the queen herself was no stranger to the crime; and the subsequent conduct of both, independent of every other circumstance, affords a strong presumption of their mutual guilt. Mary not only industriously avoided bringing Bothwell to a *fair* and *legal* trial,(4) notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the earl of Lennox, the king's father, and the general voice of the nation, but allowed the man publicly accused of the murder of her husband, to enjoy all the dignity and power, as well as all the confidence and familiarity of a favourite!(5) She committed to him the government of the castle of Edinburgh;(6) which, with the offices he already possessed, gave him the entire command of the South of Scotland. She was carried off by him, in returning from a visit to her son, and seemingly with her own consent;(7) she lived with him for some time in a state of supposed violation; and as soon as he could procure a sentence of divorce, separating him from a young lady of virtue and merit to whom he was lawfully married, she shamefully gave her hand to this reputed ravisher and regicide!(8)

The particular steps by which these events were brought about are of little moment: it is of more importance to mark their consequences. Such a quick succession of incidents, so singular and so detestable, filled all Europe with amazement, and threw infamy not only on the principal actors in the guilty scene, but also on the whole nation. The Scots were universally reproached as men void of courage, or of humanity; as equally regardless of the reputation of their queen, and the honour of their country, in suffering so many atrocious actions to pass with impunity.(8)

These reproaches, so justly merited, together with some attempts made by Bothwell to get the young prince into his power, roused the Scottish nobles from their lethargy. A considerable body of them assembled at Stirling, and entered into an association for the defence of the prince's person, and for punishing the king's murderers.(9) The queen and Bothwell were thrown into the utmost consternation by the news of this league. They were no strangers to the sentiments of the nation with respect to their conduct: they foresaw the storm that was ready to burst on their heads; and, in order to provide against it, Mary issued a proclamation, requiring her subjects to take arms and attend her husband by a day appointed. She published, at the same time, a sort of manifesto, in which she endeavoured to vindicate her government from those imputations with which it had been

(1) Goodall, vol. ii. Dr. Robertson supposes this confidence to have been inspired by the insidious blandishments of Mary. *Hist. Scot.* book iv.

(2) Crawford. Spotswood. Keith.

(3) Melvil's *Mem.* p. 155. Anderson, vol. i.

(4) A kind of mock trial was held, but hurried on with indecent precipitancy, and preceded by so many indications of violence, that Lennox was afraid to appear in support of his charge. After in vain craving delay, he therefore protested against the *legality* of any sentence that might be given. As no accuser appeared, the jury was under the necessity of acquitting Bothwell; but this judgment, pronounced without the examination of a single witness, was considered as an argument of his guilt rather than a proof of his innocence. Besides other suspicious circumstances, he was accompanied to the place of trial by a large body of armed men. Anderson, vol. i. Keith, p. 375, 376.

(5) Even when lying under the accusation of the king's murder, Bothwell lived for sometime in the same house with Mary, and took his seat in the council as usual, instead of being confined to close prison. Anderson, vol. i. li.

(6) Spotswood, p. 201.

(7) Melvil's *Mem.* p. 158. Melvil, who was himself one of Mary's attendants, tells us not only that he saw no signs of reluctance, but that he was informed the whole transaction was managed in concert with her.

(8) Anderson, vol. i. Melvil, p. 163. Robertson, Append. No. XX

(9) Keith, p. 394.

loaded, and employed the strongest terms to express her concern for the safety and welfare of the prince her son. But neither of these measures produced any considerable effect. The associated lords had assembled an army, before the queen and Bothwell were in any condition to face them. Mary and her husband fled to Dunbar; and as Bothwell had many dependants in that quarter he gathered in a short time such strength as emboldened him to leave the town and castle, and advance towards the confederates.

The two armies met at Carberry-hill, about six miles from Edinburgh; and Mary was soon made sensible, that her own troops, nearly equal in number to those of the confederates, disapproved of her cause, and were averse to spill their blood in her quarrel.(1) They discovered no inclination to fight. She endeavoured to animate them: she wept, she threatened, she reproached them with cowardice; but all in vain. After some bravadoes of Bothwell to vindicate his innocence by single combat, but which he declined when an adversary offered to enter the lists, Mary saw no resource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the chief of the confederates, and of putting herself, on some general promises, into their hands.(2)

Bothwell, during this parley, took his last farewell of the queen, and fled unattended to Dunbar; where, finding it impossible to collect fresh forces, he fitted out a few small vessels, set sail for the Orkneys, and there subsisted some time by piracy. But being pursued even to that extreme corner by Kirkaldy, the greater part of his little fleet was taken, together with several of his servants, who afterward discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and suffered for their share in the crime.(3) Bothwell himself made his escape to Norway with a single ship. On that coast he attempted to renew his piracies; was there taken, thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably, ten years after, in the bottom of a dungeon, unpitied by his countrymen, and neglected by strangers.(4)

Meanwhile, the queen of Scots, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with such treatment as a sovereign may naturally expect from subjects, who have their future security to provide for, as well as their present animosity to gratify. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amid the insults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes, and held up before her eyes, which way soever she turned, a standard, on which was painted the dead body of her late husband, and her infant son kneeling before it, and uttering these words: "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!" Mary shrunk with horror from such a shocking object; but notwithstanding all her argument and entreaties, the same standard was held to view, and the same insults and reproaches repeated.(5) Under pretence that her behaviour was unsuitable to her condition, and fearing the return of Bothwell, to whom she still declared her attachment, the confederates sent her next day to the castle of Lochleven, seated on a small island, in the middle of the lake of the same name, and signed a warrant to William Douglas, the owner of it, to detain her there prisoner.(6)

No sooner did the news of these events reach England, than Elizabeth, apparently laying aside all her jealousies and fears, seemed resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman. She instantly despatched sir Nicholas Throgmorton into Scotland, with power to negotiate both with the queen and her confederates. In his instructions there appears a remarkable solicitude for Mary's liberty, and even for her reputation.(7) But neither Elizabeth's interposition, nor Throgmorton's zeal and abilities, were of much benefit to the Scottish queen. The confederates foresaw that Mary, elated by the prospect of protection, would reject with disdain the overtures which they intended to make her; they therefore peremptorily denied the ambassador access to their prisoner, and either refused or eluded what proposals he made them in her behalf.(8)

(1) Spotswood, p. 207. Keith, p. 401, 402.

(2) Calderwood, vol. ii. Melvil, p. 165.

(3) Anderson, vol. ii.

(4) Melvil's *Mem.* p. 168.

(5) Crawford's *Mem.* p. 33. Keith, p. 405. Robertson, book iv.

(6) Keith, p. 403.

(7) Keith, p. 411.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 417

The queen of Scots, in the mean time, endured all the rigour and horrors of a prison. No prospect of liberty appeared: none of her subjects had either taken arms, or so much as solicited her relief; nor was any person in whom she could confide admitted into her presence. She was cut off from all the world. In this melancholy situation, without a counsellor, without a friend, under the pressure of misfortune, and the apprehension of danger, it was natural for a woman to listen to almost any overtures. The confederates took advantage of Mary's distress and of her fears. They employed lord Lindsay, the fiercest zealot of the party, to make her acquainted with their purpose; and they threatened to prosecute her, as the principal conspirator against the life of her husband and the safety of her son, if she refused to comply with their demands. Mary, overpowered by her unhappy condition, and believing that no deed which she should execute during her captivity could be valid, signed a resignation of the crown; in consequence of which the earl of Murray was appointed regent under the young prince, who was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI.(1)

Here, my dear Philip, I must make a pause, for the sake of perspicuity. The subsequent part of this interesting story, the continuation of the civil wars in France, and the rise of those in the Low Countries, will furnish materials for the next Letter.

LETTER LXVII.

Great Britain, from the Flight of the Queen of Scots into England, with an Account of the Civil Wars on the Continent, till the Death of Charles IX. of France, in 1574.

THE condescension of the queen of Scots in resigning the crown to her son, and the administration of government to her rebellious subjects, did not procure her enlargement. She was still confined in the castle of Lochleven. A parliament, summoned by the earl of Murray, even declared her resignation valid, and her imprisonment lawful, while it recognised his election to the office of regent;(2) and being a man of vigour and abilities, he employed himself successfully in reducing the kingdom to obedience.

But although most men seemed to acquiesce in Murray's authority, there still abounded in Scotland many secret murmurs and cabals. The duke of Chatelheraut, who, as first prince of the blood, thought he had an undoubted right to the regency, bore no good-will to the new government: and the same sentiments were embraced by his numerous friends and adherents. All who leaned to the ancient opinions in religion were inclined to join this part; and the length and rigour of Mary's sufferings began to move many, who had formerly detested her crimes, or blamed her imprudence, to commiserate her present condition.(3) Animated by these different motives, a body of the nobility met at Hamilton, and concerted measures for supporting the cause of the queen.

While the Scottish nation seemed thus returning to sentiments of duty and loyalty to their sovereign, Mary recovered her liberty, in a manner no less surprising to her friends than unexpected by her enemies. She engaged, by her charms and caresses, George Douglas, her keeper's brother, to assist her in attempting her escape. He conveyed her in disguise into a small boat, and himself rowed her ashore. She hastened to Hamilton; and the news of her arrival at that place being immediately spread abroad, her court was filled in a few days with a great and splendid train of nobility, accompanied by such numbers of their retainers as composed an army of six thousand combatants. Her resignation of the crown, which she declared to have been extorted by fear, was pronounced illegal and void.

(1) Anderson. Melvil. Keith. Crawford.

(2) Anderson, vol. ii.

(3) Buchanan, lib. xvii

by a council of the nobles and chief men of her party; and an association was formed, at the same time, for the defence of her person and authority, and subscribed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of distinction.(1)

Elizabeth, when informed of the escape of the queen of Scots, discovered a resolution of persevering in the same generous and friendly measures which she had hitherto pursued since the confinement of that princess. She is supposed to have been chiefly withheld from employing force against the regent, by the fear of pushing him to still greater extremities against his sovereign; and she now despatched Maitland of Lethington into Scotland, to offer her good offices and the assistance of her arms to Mary.(2) But the regent made such haste to assemble forces, that the fate of Scotland was decided before any English succours could arrive. Confiding in the valour of his troops, Murray took the field with an army far inferior to Mary's in number; and a battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which proved decisive in his favour, and was followed by the total dispersion of the queen's party.

Mary, who, within the space of thirteen days, had been a prisoner at the mercy of her rebellious subjects, had seen a powerful army under her command and a numerous train of nobles at her devotion, was now obliged to flee, in the utmost danger of her life, and lurk with a few attendants in a corner of her kingdom. She had beheld the engagement from a neighbouring hill; and so lively were her impressions of fear when she saw that army, broken on which her last hope rested, that she never closed her eyes till she reached the abbey of Dundrenan, in Galloway, above sixty miles from the field of battle.(3) Not thinking herself safe even in that obscure retreat, and still haunted by the horrors of a prison, she embraced the rash resolution of retiring into England, and of throwing herself on the generosity of her kinswoman.

Elizabeth was now under the necessity of coming to some decisive determination with respect to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and the pleasure of mortifying, while in her power, a rival whose beauty and accomplishments she envied, together with the cautious and interested councils of Cecil her prime minister, determined her to disregard all the motives of friendship and generous sympathy, and to regulate her conduct solely by the cruel maxims of an insidious policy. In answer, therefore, to Mary's message, notifying her arrival in England, craving leave to visit the queen, and claiming her protection, in consequence of former promises and professions of regard, Elizabeth artfully replied, That while the queen of Scots lay under the imputation of a crime so horrid as the murder of her husband, she could not, without bringing a stain on her own reputation, admit her into her presence; but as soon as she had cleared herself from that aspersion, she might depend on a reception suitable to her dignity, and support proportioned to her necessities.(4)

Mary was overwhelmed with sorrow and surprise at so unexpected a manner of evading her request: nor was her bosom a stranger to the feelings of indignation; but the distress of her condition obliged her to declare, that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and cheerfully submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend.(5) This was the very point to which Elizabeth wished to bring the matter, and the great object of her intrigues. She now considered herself as umpire between the queen of Scots and her subjects, and began to act in that capacity. She proposed to appoint commissioners to hear the pleadings on both sides, and wrote to the regent of Scotland, to appoint proper persons to appear before them in his name, and to produce what he could allege in vindication of his proceedings against his sovereign.

Mary, who had hitherto relied with some degree of confidence on Elizabeth's professions, and who, when she consented to submit her cause to that

(1) Keith, p. 475.

(4) Anderson, vol. iv.

(2) Buchanan, lib. xix. Keith, p. 477.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Keith, p. 482.

princess, expected that the queen herself would receive and examine her defences, now plainly perceived the artifice of her rival, and the snare that had been laid for her.(1) She therefore retracted the offer she had made, and which had been perverted to a purpose so contrary to her intention; she meant to consider Elizabeth as an equal, for whose satisfaction she was willing to explain any part of her conduct that seemed liable to censure, not to acknowledge her as a superior. But her own words will best express her sentiments on this subject. "In my present situation," says she, in a letter to the English queen, "I neither will nor can reply to the accusations of my subjects. But I am ready, of my own accord, and out of friendship to you, to satisfy your scruples, and to vindicate my own conduct. My subjects are not my equals: nor will I, by submitting my cause to a judicial trial, acknowledge them to be so. I fled into your arms as into those of my nearest relation, and most perfect friend. I did you honour, as I imagined, in choosing you preferably to any other prince, to be the restorer of an injured queen. Was it ever known that a prince was blamed for hearing in person the complaints of those who applied to his justice, against the false accusations of their enemies? You admitted into your presence my bastard brother, who had been guilty of rebellion; and you deny me that honour! God forbid that I should be the cause of bringing any stain on your reputation! I expected that your manner of treating me would have added lustre to it. Suffer me either to implore the aid of other princes, whose delicacy on this head will be less, and the resentment of my wrongs greater; or let me receive from your hands that assistance which it becomes you more than any other prince to grant; and by that benefit bind me to yourself in the indissoluble ties of gratitude."(2)

This letter, which somewhat disconcerted her plan, the English queen laid before her privy council; and it was there agreed, that Elizabeth could not, consistently with her own honour, or with the safety of her government, either give the queen of Scots the assistance which she demanded, or permit her to retire out of the kingdom, before the inquiry into her conduct was finished. It was also agreed to remove Mary, for the sake of greater safety, from Carlisle, where she had taken refuge, to Bolton, a castle belonging to lord Scroop, on the borders of Yorkshire.(3)

The resolution of the English privy council, in regard to Mary's person, was immediately carried into execution; and she now found herself entirely in her rival's power. Her correspondence with her friends in Scotland was become more difficult; all prospect of escape was cut off; and although she was still treated with the respect due to a queen, her real condition was that of a prisoner. She knew what it was to be deprived of liberty, and dreaded confinement as the worst of evils.

Elizabeth laid hold of this season of terror, of impatience, and despair, to extort Mary's consent to the projected trial. She was confident, she said, that the queen of Scots would find no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and though her apology should even fall short of conviction, she was determined to support her cause. It was never meant, she added, that Mary should be cited to a trial on the accusation of her rebellious subjects; but, on the contrary, that they would be summoned to appear and to justify themselves for their conduct towards her.(4) Commissioners were accordingly appointed by the English ministry for the examination of this great cause; and conferences were held between them and the Scottish commissioners, part in the name of the queen, and part in behalf of the king and kingdom, first at York, and afterward at Westminster.

During the conferences at York, Mary's commissioners seemed to triumph, as the regent had hitherto declined accusing her of any participation in the guilt of her husband's murder, which alone could justify the violent proceedings of her subjects. But the face of the question was soon changed, on the renewal of the conferences at Westminster immediately under the eye of

(1) Anderson, ubi sup

(2) Anderson, vol. iv.

(3) d. *ibid.*(4) *Id. ibid.*

the English queen. Murray, encouraged by the assurances of Elizabeth's protection, laid aside his delicacy and his fears, and not only charged his sovereign with consenting to the murder of her husband, but with being accessory to the contrivance and execution of it. The same accusation was offered by the earl of Lennox, who, appearing before the English commissioners, craved vengeance for the blood of his son.(1)

But accusations were not enough for Elizabeth; she wanted to have proofs; and in order to draw them with decency from the regent, she commanded her commissioners to testify her indignation and displeasure at his presumption, in forgetting so far the duty of a subject as to accuse his sovereign of such atrocious crimes. Murray, thus arraigned in his turn, offered to show that his accusations were neither false nor malicious. He produced, among other evidences in support of his charge, some sonnets and love-letters, from Mary to Bothwell, written, partly before, partly after, the murder of her husband, and containing incontestable proofs of her consent to that barbarous deed, of her criminal amours, and her concurrence in the pretended rape.(2) Stunned by this latent blow, against which it appears they were not provided with any proper defence, Mary's commissioners endeavoured to change the inquiry into a negotiation; and finding that attempt impracticable, as the English commissioners insisted on proceeding, they finally broke off the conferences without making any reply.

Elizabeth, having got into her possession these evidences of her rival's guilt, began to treat her with less delicacy. Orders were given for removing Mary from Bolton, a place surrounded with Catholics, to Tutbury in the county of Suffolk. And as Elizabeth entertained hopes that the queen of Scots, depressed by her misfortunes, and scarce recovered from the shock of the late attack on her reputation, would now be glad to secure a safe retreat at the expense of her grandeur, she promised to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree either to confirm her resignation of the crown, or to associate her son with her in the government, and let the administration remain with the earl of Murray during the minority of James. But that high-spirited princess refused all treaty on such terms. "Death," said she, "is less dreadful than such an ignominious step. Rather than give away with my own hands the crown which descended to me from my ancestors, I will part with life: but the last words which I utter shall be those of a queen of Scotland."(3)

After an end had been put to the conferences, the regent returned into Scotland, and Mary was confined more closely than ever. In vain did she still demand, that Elizabeth should either assist her in recovering her authority, or permit her to retire into France, and make trial of the friendship of other princes. Aware of the danger attending both these proposals, Elizabeth resolved to comply with neither, but to detain her rival still a prisoner;

(1) Goodall, vol. ii. Anderson, vol. iv.

(2) Some bold attempts have lately been made to prove these letters and sonnets to be forgeries: but unfortunately for Mary's reputation, the principal arguments, in support of their authenticity, yet remain unanswered. 1. They were examined and compared with her acknowledged handwriting, in many letters to Elizabeth, not only by the English commissioners, and by the Scottish council and parliament, but by the English privy council, assisted by several noblemen well affected to the cause of the queen of Scots, who all admitted them to be authentic. (Anderson, vol. iv.) This circumstance is of great weight in the dispute; for although it is not very difficult to counterfeit a subscription, it is almost impossible to counterfeit any number of pages so perfectly as to elude detection. 2. Mary and her commissioners, by declining to refute the charge of the regent, though requested to attempt a refutation in any manner or form, and told by Elizabeth that silence would be considered as the fullest confession of guilt, seemed to admit the justice of the accusation. (Id. *ibid.*) 3. The duke of Norfolk, who had been favoured with every opportunity of examining the letters in question, and who gave the strongest marks of his attachment to the queen of Scots, yet believed them to be authentic. (*State Trials*, vol. i.) 4. In the conferences between the duke, Maitland of Lethington, and bishop Lesley, all zealous partisans of Mary, the authenticity of the letters, and her participation in the murder of her husband, are always taken for granted. (Id. *ibid.*) 5. But, independent of all other evidence, the letters themselves contain many internal proofs of their authenticity; many minute and unnecessary particulars, which could have occurred to no person employed to forge them, and which, as the English commissioners ingeniously observed, "were unknown to any other than to herself and Bothwell." 6. Their very indelicacy is a proof of their authenticity; for although Mary, in an amorous moment, might slide into a gross expression, in writing to a man to whom she had sacrificed her honour, the framer of no forgery could hope to gain it credibility by imputing such expressions to so polite and accomplished a princess as the queen of Scots.

(3) Haynes, p. 407. Goodall, vol. ii.

—and the proofs produced of Mary's guilt, she hoped, would apologize for this severity. The queen of Scots, however, before the regent's departure, had artfully recriminated upon him and his party, by accusing them of having devised and executed the murder of the king. And although this accusation, which was not given in till after the dissolution of the conferences, was generally considered as a mere expression of resentment,(1) Mary had behaved with so much modesty, propriety, and even dignity during her confinement, that her friends were enabled, on plausible grounds, to deny the reality of the crimes imputed to her; and a scheme was formed, in both kingdoms, for restoring her to liberty, and replacing her on her throne.

The fatal marriage of the queen of Scots with Bothwell was the grand source of all her misfortunes. A divorce only could repair, in any degree, the injuries her reputation had suffered by that step; and a new choice seemed the most effectual means of recovering her authority. Her friends therefore looked out for a husband whose influence would be sufficient to accomplish this desirable end. A foreign alliance was, for many reasons, to be avoided; and as the duke of Norfolk was, without comparison, the first subject in England, and enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular with the most opposite factions, his marriage with the queen of Scots appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his own friends, as well as to those of Mary. Maitland of Lethington opened the scheme to him. He set before that nobleman the glory of composing the dissensions in Scotland, and at the same time held to his view the prospect of reaping the succession of England. The duke readily closed with a proposal so flattering to his ambition, nor was Mary herself averse against a measure which promised so desirable a change in her condition.(2)

But this scheme, like all those formed for the relief of the queen of Scots, had an unfortunate issue. Though the duke of Norfolk, who possessed in an eminent degree the good graces of his sovereign, as well as the favour of the whole nation, had declared that Elizabeth's consent should be obtained before the conclusion of his marriage, he attempted previously to gain the approbation of the most considerable English nobility, as he had reason to apprehend a violent opposition from her perpetual and unrelenting jealousy of her rival; and as the nation now began to despair of the queen's marrying, and Mary's right to the succession was generally held to be undoubted, her alliance with an Englishman, and a zealous Protestant, seemed so effectually to provide against all those evils which might be apprehended from her choice of a foreign and a popish prince, that the greater part of the peers, either directly or tacitly, approved of it as a salutary project. Even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's avowed favourite, seemed to enter zealously into Norfolk's interests, and wrote, with his own hand, a letter to Mary, subscribed by several other nobleman, warmly recommending the match.(3)

So extensive a confederacy could not escape the vigilance of Elizabeth, or of Cecil, her prime minister, a man of the deepest penetration, and sincerely attached to her person and government. Norfolk, however, flattered himself that the union of so many noblemen would make it necessary for the queen to comply; and in a matter of so much consequence to the nation, the taking a few steps without her knowledge could scarce, he thought, be reckoned criminal. But Elizabeth thought otherwise. Any measure to her appeared criminal, that tended so visibly to save the reputation and increase the power of her rival. She also saw, that, how perfect soever Norfolk's allegiance might be, and that of the greater part of the noblemen who espoused his cause, they who conducted the intrigue had farther and more dangerous views than the relief of the queen of Scots: and she dropped several hints to

(1) Hume, vol. v. If Mary's commissioners could have produced any proofs of the earl of Murray's guilt, they would surely, as able advocates and zealous partisans, have prevented the accusations of her enemies; or they would have confronted accusation with accusation, instead of breaking off the conferences at the very moment the charge was brought against their mistress, and when all their eloquence as become necessary for the vindication of her honour.

(2) Camden. Haynes.

(3) Lesley. Haynes.

the duke, that she was acquainted with his designs, warning him frequently to "beware on what pillow he reposed his head!"⁽¹⁾ Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was at length given her by Leicester, who had perhaps countenanced the project with no other intention than to defeat it. The Scottish regent, threatened with Elizabeth's displeasure, also meanly betrayed the duke; put his letters into her hands, and furnished all the information in his power. Norfolk was committed to the tower; several other noblemen were taken into custody; and the queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, where her imprisonment was rendered more intolerable by an excess of vigilance and rigour.⁽²⁾

This intrigue was no sooner discovered than an attempt was made for restoring the Scottish queen to liberty by force of arms. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most ancient and powerful of the English peers, were both attached to the Romish religion, and discontented with the court, where new men and new measures prevailed. Ever since Mary's arrival in England they had warmly espoused her interest, and had even engaged in several plots for her relief. They were privy to Norfolk's scheme; but the moderation and coolness of that nobleman did not suit their ardour and impetuosity. The liberty of the Scottish queen was not their sole object: they aimed at bringing about a change in the religion, and a revolution in the government of the kingdom. For these purposes they had solicited the aid of the king of Spain, the avowed patron of popery, and the natural enemy of Elizabeth. Glad of an opportunity of disturbing the tranquillity of England, Philip ordered the duke of Alba, governor of the Low Countries, to encourage the two earls in their projected rebellion, by a promise of money and troops.⁽³⁾ But Elizabeth fortunately got intelligence of their design before they were ready to take the field, and though they immediately assembled their retainers, and flew to arms, the queen acted with so much prudence and vigour, that they were obliged to disperse themselves without striking a blow.⁽⁴⁾ The common people retired to their houses, the leaders fled into Scotland.

Elizabeth was so well pleased with the duke of Norfolk's behaviour, during this insurrection, that she released him from the tower, and allowed him to live in his own house, though under some show of confinement. But the queen of Scots with whom he promised to hold no farther correspondence, was only more strictly guarded; and Elizabeth, sensible of the danger of detaining her any longer in England, resolved to give up Mary into the hands of the regent, whose security, no less than the English queen's, depended on preventing her from ascending the throne. The negotiation for this purpose had been carried some length, when it was discovered by the vigilance of Lesly, bishop of Ross, who, together with the French and Spanish ambassadors, remonstrated against the infamy of such a transaction. A delay was by that means procured; and the violent death of the regent, who was shot, in revenge of a domestic injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, prevented the revival of the project.⁽⁵⁾

On the death of the earl of Murray, who was a man of vigour and abilities, but of an austere and unamiable character, Scotland relapsed into a state of anarchy. The queen's party seemed for a time to prevail: but, at length, through the interposition of Elizabeth, who accompanied her recommendation with an armed force, the earl of Lennox, the king's grandfather, was elected regent; and Mary, after being amused during ten months by a deceitful negotiation and the hopes of liberty, found herself under stricter custody than ever, and without any hopes of escaping from it.⁽⁶⁾ In that joyless

(1) Camden. Spotswood.

(2) Haynes.

(3) Carte, vol. iii.

(4) Camden.

(5) Carte, vol. iii. Anderson, vol. iii. Part of Hamilton's estate had been bestowed upon one of the regent's favourites, who seized his house, and turned out his wife naked, in a cold night, into the fields; where, before morning, she became furiously mad. From that moment he vowed revenge against the earl of Murray. Party rage strengthened and inflamed his private resentment; and the maxims of that age justified the most desperate course he could take to obtain vengeance. He followed the regent for some time, watching an opportunity to strike the blow; and at last shot him from a window as he was passing through Linlithgow, in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. Crawford's Mem. Buchanan, Robertson.

(6) Spotswood. Lesley.

situation we must leave her for a while, and take a view of the civil wars on the continent, the issue of which nearly concerned both the British queens.

Elizabeth was sensible, that, as the head of the Protestant party, her safety in a great measure depended on the continuance of the commotions in France and the Low Countries. She therefore contributed, as we have seen, both secretly and openly, to enable and encourage the Reformers to support the struggle, while she watched the motions of the Catholics with a jealous eye. And an event happened about this time which increased her vigilance. Pope Pius V. after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate, by gentle means, the friendship of Elizabeth, issued a bull of excommunication against her; depriving her of all title to the crown, and absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance. This bull, which had no doubt been fulminated at the instigation of the Catholic princes, was affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's palace by one John Felton, a zealous papist; who, scorning either to flee or deny the fact, was seized, condemned, and executed. He not only suffered with constancy, but seemed to consider death, in such a cause, as a triumph.(1)

Thus roused by the violent spirit of popery, Elizabeth, who had never been remiss, fixed her eye more steadily on the religious wars in France and the Low Countries. The league concerted at Bayonne, as has been already noticed, for the extermination of the Protestants, had not been concluded so secretly but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligny, and other leaders of that party in France. Finding the measures of the court correspond with their suspicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to strike a blow before the Catholics were aware of the danger. In consequence of this resolution, they formed, in 1567, the bold design of surprising the king and queen-mother, who were living in security at Monceaux in Bric; and had not the court received some accidental information of the conspiracy, which induced them to remove to Meaux, and been besides protected by a body of Swiss, who came hastily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they must have fallen without resistance into the hands of the Hugonots.(2)

A battle was soon after fought in the plains of St. Dennis; where, though the old constable Montmorency, the general of the Catholics, was slain, the Hugonots were defeated, by reason of their inferiority in numbers. Condé, however, still undismayed, collected his broken troops; and, having received a strong reinforcement of German Protestants, appeared again in the field at the head of a formidable force. With that new army he traversed great part of the kingdom; and at last, laying siege to Chartres, a place of much importance, obliged the court, in 1568, to agree to an accommodation.(3)

This peace, being but a temporary expedient, and sincere on neither side, was of short duration. The queen-mother, deceitful in all her negotiations, had laid a plot for seizing Condé and Coligny. They received intelligence of their danger, fled to Rochelle, and summoned their partisans to their assistance. Thither the Hugonots resorted in great numbers, and the civil war was renewed with more fury than ever. The duke of Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the Catholics; and gained, in 1569, under the direction of the maréchal de Tavannes, the famous battle of Jarnac, after a struggle of seven hours. The prince of Condé being wounded and made prisoner, was carried off the field, and killed in cold blood by a captain of the duke of Anjou's guards.(4)

But this defeat, though accompanied with the loss of so great a leader, did not break the spirit of the Hugonots. Coligny, whose courage was superior to all difficulties, still gallantly supported their cause; and having placed at the head of the party the king of Navarre, only sixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé to both of whom he acted as a father, he encouraged the Protestants rather to perish bravely in the field than by the hands of the executioner. Their ardour was not inferior to his own; and being strength

(1) Camden, p. 423.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

(2) Davila, lib. iv. Mezeray, tom. v.

(4) Mezeray, *ubi sup.* Henault, tom. I.

ened by a new reinforcement of Germans, they obliged the duke of Anjou to retreat, and invested Poitiers.(1)

As, the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterprise, the young duke of Guise, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himself into Poitiers, and so animated the garrison by his valour and conduct, that Coligny was obliged to raise the siege in spite of his most vigorous efforts, after losing three thousand men.(2) Such was the rise of the reputation of the second duke of Guise, whom we shall afterward see attain so distinguished a height of fame and grandeur, and whose ambition engaged him in schemes so destructive to the authority of his sovereign, and the repose of his native country.

Elizabeth, ever watchful of the civil commotions in France, was by no means pleased with this revival of the power of the house of Lorraine; and being anxious for the fate of the Protestants, whose interests were so intimately connected with her own, she sent them secretly a sum of money, besides artillery and military stores.(3) She also permitted Henry Champignon to levy and transport over to France a regiment of gentlemen volunteers. Meanwhile, Coligny, constrained by the impatience of his troops, and the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the duke of Anjou and the maréchal de Tavannes the memorable battle of Moncontour, in which he was wounded and defeated, with the loss of near ten thousand men.(4)

The court of France, and the Catholics, elated with this victory, vainly flattered themselves that the power of the Hugonots was finally broken; and therefore neglected to take any farther steps for crushing an enemy no longer thought capable of resistance. What was then their surprise to hear that Coligny, still undismayed, had suddenly appeared in another quarter of the kingdom; had inspired with all his valour and constancy the two young princes, whom he governed; had assembled a formidable army, accomplished an incredible march, and was ready to besiege Paris!—The public finances, diminished by the continued disorders, and wasted by so many fruitless wars, could not bear the charge of a new armament. The king was therefore obliged, in 1570, notwithstanding his violent animosity against the Hugonots, to enter into a negotiation with them at St. Germain en Laye; to grant them a pardon for all past offences; to declare them capable of all offices, both civil and military; to renew the edicts for liberty of conscience; and cede to them for two years, as places of refuge, and pledges of their security, Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban, and Cognac.(5) The first of these cities kept the sea open for receiving succours from England, in case of a new war, the second preserved the passage of the Loire, the third commanded the frontiers of Languedoc and Querci; and the fourth opened a passage into Angoumois, where the Hugonots had greater strength than in any other province.

Thus an end was seemingly put to the civil wars of France. But Charles was in no degree reconciled to his rebellious subjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was employed as a snare, by which the perfidious court might carry more securely into execution that project which had been formed for the destruction of the Protestants. Their leaders were accordingly invited to Paris, and loaded with favours; and, in order to lull the party into yet greater security, Charles not only declared, that, convinced of the impossibility of forcing men's consciences, he was determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion, but affected to enter into close connexions with Elizabeth.(6) Proposals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; a prince whose youth, beauty, and valour, qualities to which the queen never appeared insensible, it was hoped, would serve for some time to amuse the court of England.

Elizabeth, whose artful politics never triumphed so much as in those intrigues which were connected with her coquetry, immediately founded on

(1) Davila, lib. v.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Camden, p. 423.

(4) Davila, lib. v. Mezeray tom. 2.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

(6) Camden. Davila. Digges

this offer the project of deceiving the court of France. Negotiations, equally insincere on both sides, were accordingly entered into with regard to the marriage, and broken off under various pretences. Both courts, however, succeeded in their schemes. Charles's artifices, or rather those of the queen-mother, imposed on Elizabeth, and blinded the Hugonots; and the prospect of that princess's marriage, as she expected, and of an alliance between France and England, discouraged the partisans of the queen of Scots, so ready at all times to disturb the repose of the latter kingdom.(1)

Elizabeth had also other motives for her dissimulation. The violent authority established by Philip in the Low Countries made her desirous of fortifying herself even with the shadow of a new confederacy. Not satisfied with having reduced to their former state of obedience the revolted Flemings, whom his barbarous persecutions had roused to arms, that bigoted and tyrannical prince seemed determined to make the late popular disorders a preface for utterly abolishing their privileges, and ruling them thenceforth with an arbitrary sway.

The duke of Alva, a fit instrument in the hands of such a despot, being employed by Philip to carry this violent design into execution, had conducted into the Low Countries, in 1568, a powerful body of Spanish and Italian veterans. The appearance of such an army, with the inexorable and vindictive character of its leader, struck the Flemings with terror and consternation. Their apprehensions were but too just. The privileges of the provinces were openly and expressly abolished by an edict: arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals were erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, notwithstanding their great merit and former services, and although they had been chiefly instrumental in quelling the late revolt, were brought to the block; multitudes were daily delivered over to the executioner; and nothing was to be heard or seen but seizure, confiscation, imprisonment, torture, and death.(2)

Meanwhile, William of Nassau, prince of Orange, surnamed the Silent, whose estate had been confiscated, was employed in raising an army of German Protestants, in order to attempt the relief of his native country; and, having completed his levies, he entered the Netherlands at the head of twenty-eight thousand men, and offered battle to the duke of Alva. But that prudent general, sensible of the importance of delay, declined the challenge; and the Spaniards being in possession of all the fortified towns, the prince was obliged, from want of money, to disband his army, without being able to effect any thing of importance.(3)

Alva's good fortune only increased his insolence and cruelty. After entering Brussels in triumph, he ordered diligent search to be made after all who had been aiding to the prince of Orange, and put them to death by various tortures. He next commanded citadels to be built in all the principal towns, in order to overawe the inhabitants; and in that of Antwerp he caused his own statue to be erected, in the attitude of treading on the necks of two smaller statues, representing the two estates of the Low Countries, accompanied with the emblems of heresy and rebellion! Not satisfied with enslaving and insulting a free people, he proceeded to pillage and oppress them with exactions altogether ruinous. He demanded the hundredth penny, as a tax on all goods, whether moveable or immoveable, to supply his present exigencies; and for the future, the twentieth penny annually on all immoveable goods or heritage; and the tenth penny on all moveable goods, to be levied at every sale.(4) The inhabitants refused to submit to such oppressive taxes. Alva had recourse to his usual severities; and the Flemings seemed in danger of being reduced to the most abject state of wretchedness, while the courts of France and England were amusing each other with a marriage treaty.

Elizabeth, however, was never inattentive to the affairs of the Low Countries. She was equally displeased to see the progress of the scheme laid

(1) Camden. Davila. Digges. (2) Temple. Grotius
(3) Le Clerc, lib. i. Grotius, lib. ii. (4) Id. ibid.

for the extermination of the Protestants, and to observe the erection of so great a military power in her immediate neighbourhood; and hence, as already observed, she endeavoured to guard herself against the ambition of Philip by the appearance of an alliance with France. But her danger from the Low Countries was greater than she was aware of.

The queen of Scots, thinking herself abandoned by the court of France, had applied for protection to that of Spain; and Philip, whose dark and thoughtful mind delighted in the mystery of intrigue, had held for some time a secret correspondence with Mary, by means of Lesley, bishop of Ross, her ambassador at the court of England, and had supplied both herself and her adherents in Scotland with money. At length, a scheme for rescuing Mary, and subverting the English government, was concerted by the bishop of Ross, the Spanish ambassador, and Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had resided long in London, and acted privately as an agent for the pope. Their plan was, that the duke of Alva should land ten thousand men in the neighbourhood of London; that the duke of Norfolk, whom they had drawn into their measure, and who had renewed his engagements with the queen of Scots, notwithstanding his solemn promise to hold no correspondence with her, should join the Spaniards with all his friends, together with the English Catholics and malecontents; that they should march in a body to the capital, and oblige Elizabeth to submit to what conditions they should think fit to impose.(1)

But the queen and nation were delivered from this danger by the suspicious temper of one of Norfolk's servants. Being intrusted with a bag of money under the denomination of silver, he concluded it to be gold from its weight, and carried it to secretary Cecil, now lord Burleigh, whose penetrating genius soon discovered, and whose activity brought the whole conspiracy to light. The duke of Norfolk, betrayed by his other servants, who had been privy to the plot, was seized, convicted of high treason, condemned, and executed. The bishop of Ross was committed to the tower; the Spanish ambassador was commanded to leave England; and the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to Elizabeth about this time by the regent of Scotland, was brought to the block for his share in the former rebellion.(2) Rodolphi, then on his journey to Brussels, escaped the arm of vengeance.

The queen of Scots, who had been either the immediate or remote cause of all these disturbances, was kept under a stricter guard than formerly; the number of her domestics was abridged, and no person was permitted to see her but in the presence of her keepers. The English parliament was even so enraged against her, that the commons made a direct application for her instant trial and execution.(3) But although Elizabeth durst not carry matters to such extremity against Mary, or was not so disposed, the restless spirit of the captive princess, and her close connexions with Spain, made the queen of England resolve to act without disguise or ambiguity in the affairs of Scotland.

That kingdom was still in a state of anarchy. The castle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of her party, encouraged by this circumstance, had taken possession of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war against the regent. By a sudden and unexpected enterprise, they seized that nobleman at Stirling, and slew him in revenge of former injuries. They were, however, overpowered by a detachment from the castle, and an insurrection of the townsmen, and obliged to retire with precipitation.

The earl of Marre was chosen regent of Scotland in the room of Lennox, and found the same difficulties to encounter in the government of that divided kingdom. He was therefore glad to accept the mediation of the French and English ambassadors, and to conclude, on equal terms, a truce with the queen's party. He was a man of free and generous spirit; and finding it

(1) State Trials, vol. I. Lesley, p. 155.

(2) State Trials, vol. i. Lesley, p. 155. Styrpe, vol. ii. Camden, p. 34—40

(3) D'Ewes, *Journ. of Parl.*

impossible to accommodate matters between the parties, or maintain his own authority, without submitting to a dependence on England, he died of melancholy, occasioned by the distracted state of his country.

Marre was succeeded in the regency of Scotland by the earl of Morton, who had secretly taken all his measures in concert with Elizabeth; and as she was now determined to exert herself effectually in support of the king's party, she ordered sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march with a body of troops and a train of artillery to Edinburgh, and to besiege the castle. Kirkaldy, after a gallant defence of thirty-three days, against all the efforts of the commanders of the two nations, who pushed their attacks with courage and with emulation, was obliged to surrender, by reason of a mutiny in the garrison. He was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by Elizabeth's order, expressly contrary to his capitulation with Drury, and condemned by Morton to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh. Maitland of Lethington, who had taken part with Kirkaldy, and could not expect to be treated more favourably, prevented the ignominy of a public execution by a voluntary death. "He ended his days," says Melvil, "after the old Roman fashion!" and Scotland, submitting entirely to the regent's authority, gave no farther inquietude, for many years, to the English queen.(1)

The events on the continent were not so favourable to the interests, or agreeable to the inclinations, of Elizabeth. After the negotiation for a marriage between the English queen and the duke of Anjou was finally broken off, a defensive alliance had been concluded between France and England. Charles IX. considered this treaty, not only as the best artifice for blinding the Protestants, the conspiracy against whom was now almost ripe for execution, but also a good precaution against the dangerous consequences to which that atrocious measure might expose him. Elizabeth, who, notwithstanding her penetration and experience, was the dupe of the French king's hypocrisy, regarded it as an invincible barrier against the enemies of her throne, and as one of the chief pillars of the security of the Protestant cause. Even the leaders of the Hugonots, though so often deceived, gave credit to the treacherous promises and professions of the court; and Charles, in order to complete that fatal confidence into which he had lulled them by his insidious caresses, offered his sister Margaret in marriage to the young king of Navarre.(2)

The admiral de Coligny, the prince of Condé, and all the most considerable men of the Protestant party, went cheerfully to Paris, in order to assist at the celebration of that marriage; which, it was hoped, would finally appease the religious animosities. Coligny was wounded by a shot from a window, a few days after the marriage; yet the court still found means to quiet the suspicions of the Hugonots, till the eve of St. Bartholomew, when a massacre commenced to which there is nothing parallel in the history of mankind, either for the dissimulation that led to it, or the deliberate cruelty and barbarity with which it was perpetrated. The Protestants, as a body, were devoted to destruction; the young king of Navarre and the prince of Condé only being exempted from the general doom, on condition that they should change their religion. Charles, accompanied by his mother, beheld from a window of his palace this horrid massacre, which was chiefly conducted by the duke of Guise. The royal guards were ordered to be under arms at the close of day; the ringing of a bell was the signal; and the Catholic citizens, who had been secretly prepared by their leaders for such a scene, zealously seconded the execution of the soldiery, imbruing their hands, without remorse, in the blood of their neighbours, of their companions, and even of their relations; the king himself inciting their fury, by firing upon the fugitives, and frequently crying, "Kill, kill!"—Persons of every condition, age, and sex, suspected of adhering to the reformed opinions, were involved in one undistinguished ruin. About five hundred gentlemen, and men of rank, among whom was Coligny, with many other heads of the Protestant

(1) Melvil. Crawford. Camden. Strype.

(2) Davila. Digges. Mezeray.

party, were murdered in Paris alone; and near ten thousand persons of inferior condition. The same barbarous orders were sent to all the provinces of the kingdom; and a like carnage ensued at Rouen, Lyons, Orleans, and several other cities.(1) Sixty thousand Protestants are supposed to have been massacred in different parts of France.

As an apology for this atrocious perfidy and inhuman butchery, Charles pretended that a conspiracy of the Hugonots to seize his person had been suddenly detected; and that he had been necessitated, for his own safety, to proceed to extremities against them. The parliament accordingly ordered an annual procession, on St. Bartholomew's day, in commemoration of the deliverance of the kingdom; and a medal was struck in honour of the same event, with this inscription (which seems to bear a farther meaning) on one side, accompanied with the royal arms: *PIETAS excitavit JUSTITIAM*; "*Piety roused JUSTICE.*" On the other side, Charles is seated on a throne, with the sword of Justice in his right hand, and the balance in his left, with a groupe of heads under his feet, surrounded by these words: *Virtus in Rebelles*; "*Courage in punishing Rebels.*"(2)

At Rome, and in Spain, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which no popish writer of the present age mentions without detestation, was the subject of public rejoicings; and solemn thanks were returned to God for its success, under the name of the *Triumph of the Church Militant*! Among the Protestants it excited incredible horror; a striking picture of which is drawn by Fenelon, the French ambassador at the court of England, in his account of his first audience after that barbarous transaction. "A gloomy sorrow," says he, "sat on every face; silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment: the ladies and courtiers clad in deep mourning were ranged on each side; and as I passed by them, in my approach to the queen, not one bestowed on me a favourable look, or made the least return to my salutations."(3)

The English nobility and gentry were roused to such a pitch of resentment by the cruelty and perfidy of the French court, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thousand foot and four thousand horse; to transport them into France, and to maintain them for six months at their own expense. But Elizabeth, cautious in all her measures, moderated the zeal of her subjects. She was aware of the dangerous situation in which she now stood, as the head and protectress of the Protestant body, and afraid to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions, by a hazardous crusade; she therefore judged it prudent, not only to refuse her consent to the projected invasion, but to listen to the professions of friendship still made her by the French monarch. Meantime, she prepared herself against that attack which seemed to threaten her from the combined force and violence of Charles and Philip: two princes as nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity as in bigotry, and whose machinations she had reason to dread as soon as they had quelled their domestic disturbances. She fortified Portsmouth; put her fleet in order; exercised her militia; and renewed her alliance with the German princes, no less alarmed than herself at the treacherous and sanguinary measures so universally embraced by the Catholic powers.(4)

But Elizabeth's greatest security against the attempts of those princes was the obstinate resistance made by the Protestants in France and the Low Countries. The massacre, instead of annihilating the Hugonots, only rendered them more formidable. Animated by the most ardent spirit of civil and religious liberty, inflamed by vengeance and despair, they assembled in large bodies, or crowded into the cities or fortresses in the possession of their party; and finding that they could repose no faith in capitulations, nor expect any clemency from the court, they determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. After one of the most gallant defences recorded in history, the town of Sancerre was obliged to surrender, but the inhabitants obtained

(1) Davila, lib. v. P. Daniel, tom. iv. Mezeray, tom. v.

(2) Mathieu. Duplex. Le Gendre. Mezeray.

(3) Camden. Digges.

(3) Carte, from Fenelon's Despatches.

liberty of conscience. Rochelle, before which in a manner was assembled the whole force of France, sustained a siege of eight months. During that siege the citizens repelled nine general and twenty particular assaults, and obliged the duke of Anjou, who conducted the attack, and lost twenty-four thousand men in the course of his operations, to grant them an advantageous peace.(1) Thus ended the fourth civil war, by a treaty which the court did not intend to observe, and to which the Protestants never trusted.

The miseries of France increased every day; Charles grew jealous of his brothers; and many of the most considerable men among the Catholics, displeased with the measures of the court, favoured the progress of the Hugonots. All things tended to confusion. In the midst of these disorders died Charles IX., of a distemper so extraordinary, that it was universally considered by the Protestants as a visible stroke of divine vengeance. The blood exuded from every pore of his body. Though the author of so many atrocious crimes, he was only twenty-four years of age; and that unusual mixture of ferocity and dissimulation which distinguished his character, threatened still greater mischiefs both to his native country and to Europe.(2) As he left no male issue, he was succeeded in the throne of France by his brother, the duke of Anjou, lately elected king of Poland.

But before we carry farther the account of the civil wars of France, or resume the history of those in the Low Countries, I must turn your eye, my dear Philip, back to the affairs of the empire, Spain, Italy, and Turkey.

LETTER LXVIII.

Germany, from the Resignation of Charles V., in 1556, to the Death of Maximilian II., in 1576, with some Account of the Affairs of Spain, Italy, and Turkey during that Period.

CHARLES V., as we have already seen, was succeeded in the imperial throne by his brother Ferdinand I., the beginning of whose reign was distinguished by the diet of Ratisbon, which confirmed the peace of religion by reconciling the house of Hesse to that of Nassau.(3)

Pius IV. was raised to the papacy in 1559. Less obstinate than his predecessor Paul, he confirmed the imperial dignity to Ferdinand. He also issued a bull for reassembling the council of Trent, the most memorable occurrence under the reign of this emperor.

On the publication of that bull, the Protestant princes assembled at Naumburg in Saxony, and came to a resolution of adhering to the confession of Augsburg, whatever should be determined in the council of Trent. Meanwhile, Ferdinand issued orders for convoking a diet at Frankfort, where he managed matters with so much address, that his son Maximilian, already

(1) Davila, lib. v. Mezeray, tom. v.

(2) The character of Charles IX., as might be expected, has been very differently drawn by the contemporary historians of the two religions. And an attempt has lately been made by an ingenious writer, who affects liberality of sentiment, to vindicate that prince from what he considers to be the calumnies of the Protestants. In prosecution of this design, the gentleman who has undertaken to *whitewash* the author of the massacre of Paris, endeavours to show, by a display of the elegant qualities of Charles, his taste for the polite arts, and his talent of making verses, that his mind was naturally sound and generous, but corrupted by a pernicious system of policy, and enslaved by the machinations of his mother, Catharine of Medicis. As much might be said in favour of Nero, and with more justice.

But this writer, in attempting to confound our ideas of virtue and vice, has happily furnished us with an antidote against his own poison. He owns, that some weeks after the massacre had ceased, Charles was not only present at the execution of the two Hugonot gentlemen who had escaped the general slaughter, "but so desirous of *enjoying the sight of their last agonies*, that, as it was *night* before they were conducted to the gibbet, he commanded *torches to be held up to the faces of the criminals*." (*Hist. of the Kings of France of the Race of Valois*, vol. ii.) And the authors who attest this fact have left us many others of a similar kind; so many, indeed, as are sufficient to induce us to suppose that the bigotry and cruelty of Charles IX. were equal to the execution of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, without the instigation of his mother. One anecdote deserves particular notice: when the prince of Condé hesitated, in renouncing his religion, the king exclaimed in a furious tone, accompanied with a menacing look, *DEATH, MASS, or the BASTILE!*" Davila, lib. v. Mezeray, tom. v.

(3) Heiss, liv. iii.

promoted to the throne of Bohemia, was elected king of the Romans, with the unanimous consent of the Germanic body. The emperor also endeavoured, on this occasion, but in vain, to persuade the Protestants to submit to the general council. They continued unshaken in their resolution of rejecting its decrees. The pope, they maintained, had no right to convoke such an assembly; that prerogative belonging to the emperor alone, to whom, as their sovereign, they were at all times willing to explain themselves on any subject, either civil or religious.(1)

Finding the Protestants obstinate in denying the authority of the council of Trent, Ferdinand resolved to pursue another method of uniting them to the church. For that purpose, he presented a remonstrance to the fathers of the council, exhorting them to attempt a reformation of manners among the Romish clergy, in order to remove those abuses of which the Protestants so justly complained. But the pope, affirming that such reformation was his peculiar province, would not allow the council to take cognizance of the subject. The emperor was also disappointed in a demand which he made, that the council should permit the communion both with and without the cup, among the laity, and the marriage of priests in the imperial dominions. His holiness would consent to neither of these requests.(2)

This famous council, which had been so often suspended and renewed, and which proved the last assembly of the kind, was finally dissolved in December, 1563. Its decrees, like those of all other general councils, were calculated to exalt the church above the civil power; but being little suited to the spirit of the times, they were rejected by some Catholic princes, coldly received by others, and deservedly turned into ridicule by the Reformers.(3) The declared object of the council of Trent, in this meeting, was the *reformation* of the church, by which means only a reconciliation with the Protestants could have been effected. Instead, however, of confining themselves to theological errors, or attempting to eradicate ecclesiastical abuses, the reverend fathers extended their deliberations to the *reformation* of princes, and composed thirteen articles for exalting the priesthood at the expense of the royal prerogative.(4)

Soon after the dissolution of the council of Trent died the emperor Ferdinand I. He was succeeded by his son Maximilian II. who, in the beginning of his reign, was obliged to engage in a war against the Turks. Solymán II. whose valour and ambition had been so long terrible to Christendom, though now unfit for the field, continued to make war by his generals. He had even projected, it is said, the conquest of the German empire. The affairs of Transylvania furnished him with a pretext for taking arms. John Sigismund, prince of that country, had assumed the title of king of Hungary (which his mother had resigned, as we have seen, for some possessions in Silesia,) and put himself under the protection of the Grand Seignior. Maximilian immediately sent an army against Sigismund, under the command of Lazarus Schuendi. The imperial general took Tokay, and would soon have reduced all Transylvania, had not Solymán despatched an ambassador to the imperial court, to negotiate in behalf of his vassal. By this envoy matters were seemingly accommodated.(5)

The sultan, however, had not laid aside his ambitious projects, nor happily the emperor his suspicions. While Maximilian convoked a diet at Augsburg, for regulating the domestic affairs of the empire, and securing it against the Turks, Solymán sent a fleet and army to reduce the island of Malta; whence he hoped to drive the knights of St. John, whom he had formerly expelled from Rhodes, and who still continued, according to the maxims of their order, to annoy the infidels. But the rock of Malta proved fatal to Solymán's glory. His general, Mustapha, after a siege of almost five months, and the loss of twenty-four thousand men, was obliged to abandon the enterprise. La Valette, grand-master of Malta, and the whole body of knights, signalized themselves wonderfully on that occasion; but as the Turks were continually

(1) Thuanus, lib. xxviii. Barré, tom. ix.

(4) Id. *ibid.*

(2) Id. *ibid.*

(5) Thuanus, lib. xxxvii.

(3) Thuanus. Father Paul.

reinforced, he must at last have been obliged to surrender the island, if Don Garcia, governor of Sicily, had not come to his relief with twelve thousand men.(1)

Solyman, in revenge of this disappointment and disgrace, the greatest he had ever suffered, sent a fleet to reduce the island of Scio, and ravage the coast of Italy. And having invaded Hungary with a powerful army, he laid siege to Sigeth. This city is strongly situated in a marsh, above fifteen miles to the north of the Drave, on the frontiers of Sclavonia, and was then the bulwark of Stiria against the Turks. It had a garrison of two thousand three hundred men, under the brave count Zerini, who defended it long, with incredible valour, against the whole force of the sultan. Meanwhile, the emperor Maximilian lay in the neighbourhood, with an army not inferior to that of the besiegers, without daring to attempt its relief. At length, all the works being destroyed, and the magazine set on fire by the enemy, Zerini sallied out, at the head of three hundred chosen men, and died gallantly with his sword in his hand.(2)

During the siege of Sigeth, before which the Turks lost above thirty thousand men, Solyman expired in the seventy-sixth year of his age. But the emperor, being unacquainted with this circumstance, which was kept secret till after the reduction of the place, had retired towards the frontiers of Austria, as soon as informed of the fate of Zerini. Solyman was succeeded in the Ottoman throne by his son, Selim II., who began his reign with concluding a truce of twelve years with Maximilian.(3)

In consequence of this truce, and the pacific disposition of the emperor, Germany long enjoyed repose, while all the neighbouring nations were disquieted by wars, either foreign or domestic. Selim, in the mean time, was not idle. After attempting, but without success, to subdue the kingdom of Persia, he turned his arms against the island of Cyprus, which at that time belonged to the republic of Venice.

The pope and the king of Spain, on the first rumour of this invasion, had entered into a league with the Venetians for the defence of Cyprus. But Nicosia, the capital, was taken by storm, before the arrival of the allied fleet; and the commanders being afterward divided in their councils, no attempt was made for the relief of the Cypriots. Meanwhile, the Turks, daily reinforced with fresh troops, had reduced all the towns in the island, except Famagosta. That city, after a most gallant and obstinate defence, was obliged to capitulate; and Mustapha, the Turkish general, neither respecting courage in an enemy nor the faith of treaties, ordered Bragadino, the governor, to be flayed alive, and the companions of his heroism either to be butchered or chained to the oar.(4) This conquest is said to have cost the Turks a hundred thousand lives.

The fate of Cyprus alarmed the Christian powers, at the same time that it inflamed their indignation. Charles IX., however, excused himself, on account of the distracted state of his kingdom, from entering into the league against the Turks; the emperor pleaded his truce; and the German princes were, in general, too much interested in the issue of the religious wars, in France and the Low Countries, to enlist themselves under the banner of the cross. But Philip II. whose Italian dominions were in danger, entered warmly into the cause, and engaged to bear half the expense of the armament. The Venetians fortified their city, and augmented their fleet. Pope Pius V. who was the soul of the enterprise, sent twelve galleys under the command of Mark Anthony Colonna. Venieri commanded the Venetian galleys; Doria those of Philip. The chief command was committed to Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles V., who had lately distinguished himself in Spain, by subduing the Morescoes, or descendants of the Moors, whom the severity of the inquisition had roused to arms.

After the reduction of Cyprus, the Turks not only ravaged with impunity

(1) Vertot, *Hist. de Chev. de Malthe* tom. iv. Thuanus, lib. xxxviii.

(2) Heiss, liv. iii. Barre, tom. ix. Ricaut, vol. ii. (3) *Id. ibid.*

(4) Thuanus, lib. xlix. Can'emir, *Hist. Ottoman Emp.* tom. ii.

the coasts of Dalmatia and Istria, but also those of Italy. Their fleet, consisting of two hundred and thirty galleys, was met by the confederates in the gulf of Lepanto, near Corinth, where was fought the greatest naval engagement that modern times had seen. The force on both sides was nearly equal, and the dispute was long, fierce, and bloody. All the passions which can animate human nature were roused; and all the instruments of war and destruction, of ancient or modern invention, were employed; arrows, javelins, fire-balls, grappling irons, cannon, muskets, spears, and swords. The hostile combatants fought hand to hand in most of the galleys, and grappled together, as on a field of battle. Hali, the Turkish admiral, surrounded by four hundred Janizaries, and Don John of Austria, with an equal number of chosen men, maintained such a struggle for three hours. At last Hali was slain, and his galley taken: the banner of the cross was displayed from the mainmast, and the Ottoman admiral's head fixed on the stern, in place of the Turkish standard. All now was carnage and confusion. The cry of "Victory! Victory!" resounded through the Christian fleet, and the Turks every where gave way. They lost thirty thousand men in the conflict; ten thousand were taken prisoners; and fifteen thousand Christian slaves were set at liberty. Thirty Turkish galleys were sunk, twenty-five burnt, one hundred and thirty taken; and if Uluzalli, who was second in command, had not retired with twenty-eight galleys, the Ottoman fleet had been utterly destroyed. The confederates lost, on the whole, fifteen galleys, and about ten thousand men.(1)

This victory, which filled Constantinople with the deepest melancholy, was celebrated at Venice with the most splendid festivals. And Pius V. was so transported when he heard of it, that he exclaimed, in a kind of holy ecstasy, "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John!"(2) alluding to Don John of Austria. Philip's joy was more moderate. "Don John," said he, "has been fortunate, but he ran a great risk:"(3)—and that risk, as appeared in the issue, was run merely for glory.

The battle of Lepanto, though purchased with so much blood, and so ruinous to the vanquished, was of no real benefit to the victors. After disputing long what they should do, the Christian commanders resolved to do nothing till the spring. That season which should have been employed in taking advantage of the enemy's consternation, was wasted in fruitless negotiations and vainglorious triumphs. The Turks had leisure, during the winter, to equip a new fleet, which spread terror over the coasts of Christendom, before the confederates were ready to assemble; and by the bravery and conduct of Uluzalli, now appointed commander-in-chief, the reputation of the Ottoman arms was restored. The confederates were able to effect no enterprise of importance. Their councils were again divided: they separated. The Spaniards appeared cool in the cause; and the Venetians, afraid of being left a prey to the Turkish power, secretly concluded a peace with the sultan. They not only agreed that Selim II. should retain Cyprus, but ceded to him several other places, and stipulated to pay him thirty thousand crowns in gold, towards defraying the expenses of the war.(4)

The pope was greatly incensed at this treaty, which was certainly dishonourable to Christendom. But Philip II., whose attention was now chiefly engaged by the civil wars in the Low Countries, readily sustained the apology of the Venetians. It was but reasonable, he said, that the republic should be permitted to know her own interest: for him, it was sufficient that he had given proofs of his friendship to Venice, and of his zeal for the support of the Christian religion.(5)

Don John, however, was little pleased with the conduct of the Venetians. After separating from the confederates, he had made himself master of Tunis, where he proposed to erect an independent sovereignty; and he hoped next season, by means of the league, utterly to ruin the sultan's naval power, which he foresaw would be employed to recover that city and its territory. He

(1) Feuillet, *Vie du Pape Pie V.* Thuanus. Cantemir. Ricaut.
(3) Miniana, lib. vii

(4) Peruta. Ferreras.

(2) Feuillet, ubi sup
(5) Miniana. lib. vii.

was not mistaken in his conjecture. A fleet of three hundred galleys, with forty thousand land forces on board, was sent in the spring to invest Tunis; and the place, though gallantly defended, was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword, before a sufficient force could be assembled for its relief.(1)

During all these bloody transactions, the mere recital of which makes the human heart to shrink from the horrors of war, Germany continued to enjoy tranquillity, under the mild government of Maximilian. He died while preparing to support his election to the kingdom of Poland, and was succeeded in the imperial throne by his son, Rodolph II., a prince who inherited the pacific disposition of his father.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to new scenes of slaughter; to behold Christians and fellow-citizens exercising on each other as great barbarities as ever were inflicted upon the followers of Christ by those of Mahomet.

LETTER LXIX.

A general View of the Transactions of Europe, from the Death of Charles IX., in 1574, to the Accession of Henry IV., the first King of the Branch of Bourbon, to the Throne of France, in 1589; including the Rise of the Republic of Holland, the unhappy Catastrophe of Don Sebastian King of Portugal, the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

A PARTICULAR detail of the many great and singular events which the period before us contains, would rather perplex the memory than inform the judgment. I shall therefore, my dear Philip, content myself with offering you a general survey. Consequences are chiefly to be noted.

The death of Charles IX., though the subject of rejoicing among the Hugonots was far from healing the wounds of France, yet bleeding from the late massacres. His brother, the duke of Anjou, who succeeded him under the name of Henry III., and who, as I have already observed, had been elected king of Poland, whence he eloped with the secrecy of a felon, found the kingdom in the greatest disorder imaginable. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or suffered. Each party had devoted itself to leaders, whose commands were of more weight than the will of the sovereign; even the Catholics, to whom the king was attached, being entirely guided by the counsels of the duke of Guise and his family.

Henry, by the advice of the queen-mother, who had governed the kingdom till his arrival, laid a scheme for restoring the royal authority, by acting as umpire between the parties; by moderating their differences, and reducing both to a dependence upon himself. He possessed all the dissimulation necessary for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in vigour, application, and sound understanding, instead of acquiring a superiority over both factions, he lost the confidence of both, and taught the partisans of each to adhere more closely to their several leaders.

Meanwhile, the Hugonots were not only strengthened by the accession of the duke of Alençon, the king's brother, afterward duke of Anjou, and by the arrival of a German army under the prince of Condé, but by the presence of the gallant king of Navarre, who had also made his escape from court, and placed himself at their head. Henry, in prosecution of his moderating scheme, entered into treaty with them; and, desirous of preserving a balance between the factions, granted peace to the Protestants on the most advantageous conditions. They obtained the public exercise of their religion, except within two leagues of the court; party-chambers, consisting of an

(1) Cantemir. Ricaut. Ferreras.

equal number of Protestants and Catholics, were erected in all the parliaments of the kingdom, for the more equitable administration of justice; all attainders were reversed, and eight cautionary towns were put into their hands.(1)

This treaty of pacification, which was the fifth concluded with the Hugonots, gave the highest disgust to the Catholics, and afforded the duke of Guise the desired pretence of declaiming against the conduct of the king, and of laying the foundation of that famous LEAGUE, projected by his uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain; an association which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the new doctrines. In order to divert the force of the League from the throne, and even to obstruct its efforts against the Hugonots, Henry declared himself at the head of that seditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Catholics; but his dilatory and feeble measures discovered his reluctance to the undertaking, and some unsuccessful enterprises brought on a new peace, which, though less favourable than the former to the Protestants, gave no satisfaction to the followers of the ancient religion. The animosity of party, daily whetted by theological controversy, was become too keen to admit of toleration: the king's moderation appeared criminal to one faction, and suspicious to both; while the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guise on one side, and of the king of Navarre on the other, engaged by degrees the bulk of the nation to enlist themselves under one or other of those great leaders. Religious hate set at nought all civil regulations, and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel.(2)

These commotions, though of a domestic nature, were too important to be overlooked by foreign princes. Elizabeth queen of England, who always considered her interests as connected with the prosperity of the French Protestants, and the depression of the house of Guise, had repeatedly supplied the Hugonots with considerable sums of money, notwithstanding her negotiations with the court of France. Philip II. of Spain, on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the League, had entered into the closest correspondence with the duke of Guise, and employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that factious leader. The subjection of the Hugonots, he flattered himself, would be followed by the submission of the Flemings; and the same political motives which induced Elizabeth to assist the French Reformers, would have led her to aid the distressed Protestants in the Low Countries: but the mighty power of Philip, and the great force which he maintained in those mutinous provinces, had hitherto kept her in awe, and made her still preserve some appearance of friendship with that monarch.(3)

Elizabeth, however, had given protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions; and as many of these were the most industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, then so celebrated for its manufactures, they brought along with them several useful arts, hitherto unknown, or but little cultivated, in England. The queen had also permitted the Flemish privateers to enter the English harbours, and there dispose of their prizes. But, on the remonstrance of the Spanish ambassador, she withdrew that liberty;(4) a measure which, in the issue, proved extremely prejudicial to the interests of Philip, and which naturally leads us back to the history of the civil wars in the Low Countries.

The Gueux, or *Beggars*, as the Flemish sea-adventurers were called, being shut out from the English harbours, were under the necessity of attempting to secure one of their own. They accordingly attacked, in 1572, the Brille, a seaport town in Holland; and, by a furious assault, made themselves masters of the place.(5)

Unimportant as this conquest may seem, it alarmed the duke of Alva; who, putting a stop to those bloody executions which he was making on the defenceless Flemings in order to enforce his oppressive taxes, withdrew the garrison

(1) Davila. D'Aubigne. Mezeray.

(4) Ibid.

(2) Thuanus. Davila.

(5) Grotius, lib. ii.

(3) Camden

from Brussels, and detached it against the Gueux. Experience soon proved that his fears were well grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, rendered desperate by that complication of cruelty, oppression, insolence, usurpation, and persecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms on the approach of a military force; defeated the Spanish detachment, and put themselves under the protection of the prince of Orange, who, though unsuccessful in his former attempt, still meditated the relief of the Netherlands. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, resentment, or love of freedom could inspire. In a short time almost the whole province of Holland, and also that of Zealand, threw off the Spanish yoke;(1) and the prince, by uniting the revolted towns in a league, laid the foundation of that illustrious republic, whose arms and policy long made so considerable a figure in the transactions of Europe, and whose commerce, frugality, and persevering industry are still the wonder of the world.

The love of liberty transformed into heroes men little accustomed to arms, and naturally averse from war. The prince of Orange took Mechlin, Oudenarde, and Dendermonde; and the desperate defence of Haarlem, which nothing but the most extreme famine could overcome, convinced the duke of Alva of the pernicious effects of his violent councils. He entreated the Hollanders, whom his severities had only exasperated, to lay down their arms, and rely on the king's generosity; and he gave the strongest assurances, that the utmost lenity would be shown to those who did not obstinately persist in their rebellion. But the people were not disposed to confide in promises so often violated, nor to throw themselves on the clemency of a prince and governor who had shown themselves equally perfidious and inhuman. Now reduced to despair, they expected the worst that could happen, and bade defiance to fortune. Alva, enraged at their firmness, laid siege to Alcmaer, where the Spaniards were finally repulsed, in 1573: a great fleet, which he had fitted out, was defeated by the Zealanders: he petitioned to be recalled from his government, and boasted at his departure, that in the course of five years he had made eighteen thousand heretics perish by the hands of the public executioner.(2)

Alva was succeeded in the Low Countries by Requesens, commendator of Castile, who began his government with pulling down the insulting statue of his predecessor erected at Antwerp. But neither this popular act nor the mild disposition of the new governor could reconcile the revolted Hollanders to the Spanish dominion. Their injuries were too recent and too grievous to be soon forgotten. The war continued as obstinate as ever. The success was various. Middleburg was taken by the Zealanders in 1574, while Lewis of Nassau, with a considerable body of troops, intended as a reinforcement to his brother, the prince of Orange, was surprised near a village called Noock, and his army defeated. Lewis and two of his brothers were left dead on the field of battle. The siege of Leyden was formed by the Spaniards, and the most amazing examples of valour and constancy were displayed on both sides. The Dutch opened the dykes and sluices, in order to drive the besiegers from that enterprise; and the Spaniards had the hardness to continue their purpose, and to attempt to drain off the inundation. The besieged suffered every species of misery, and were at last so reduced by famine, as to be obliged to feed on the dead bodies of their fellow-citizens. But they did not suffer in vain. A violent south-west wind drove the inundation with fury against the works of the besiegers, when every human hope seemed to fail; and Valdes, the Spanish general, in danger of being swallowed up by the waves, was constrained to raise the siege, after having lost the flower of his army.(3)

The repulse at Leyden was followed by the conferences at Breda, in 1575. There the emperor, Rodolph II., endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation

(1) Le Clerc. Temple. Grotius.
(3) Metern. Bentivoglio. Le Clerc.

(2) Grotius, lib. ii.

between his cousin the king of Spain and the States of the Low Countries, originally subject to the empire, and over which the imperial jurisdiction was still supreme. But these negotiations proving unsuccessful, hostilities were renewed, and pushed with vigour by the Spaniards. They met with a proportional resistance in many places; particularly at Woerde, the reduction of which they were obliged to abandon, after a siege of several months, and a great loss of men.(1)

But the contest was unequal, between a mighty monarchy and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, or defended by the desperate valour of the inhabitants. The Spaniards made themselves masters of the island of Finart, east of Zealand; they entered Zealand itself, in spite of all opposition: they reduced Ziriczee, after an obstinate resistance; and, as a last blow, were projecting the reduction of Holland.(2)

Now it was that the revolted provinces saw the necessity of foreign assistance, in order to preserve them from final ruin; and they sent a solemn embassy to Elizabeth, their most natural ally, offering her the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, if she would employ her power in their defence. But that princess, though inclined by many strong motives to accept of so liberal an offer, prudently rejected it. Though magnanimous, she had never entertained the ambition of making conquests, or of acquiring, by any other means, an accession of territory. The sole purpose of her vigilant and active politics was to maintain, by the most frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spanish monarchy appeared the probable consequence of supporting the revolted provinces; and after taking the inhabitants under her protection, she could never in honour abandon them, how desperate soever their defence might become, but must embrace it even in opposition to her interest. The possession of Holland and Zealand, though highly inviting to a commercial nation, did not seem equivalent to such hazard. Elizabeth therefore refused, in positive terms, the sovereignty proffered her; but told the ambassadors, that, in return for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the States had shown her, she would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the best terms possible. She accordingly despatched sir Henry Cobham to Philip, who took her mediation in good part, but no accommodation ensued.(3). The war in the Netherlands was carried on with the same rage and violence as before, when an accident saved the infant republic.

Requesens, the governor, dying suddenly at a time when large arrears were due to the Spanish troops, they broke into a furious mutiny, in 1576; and sacked and pillaged the wealthy city of Antwerp, executing terrible slaughter on the inhabitants, and threatened the other cities with a like fate. This danger united all the provinces, except Luxemburg, in a confederacy, commonly called the pacification of Ghent, which had for its object the expulsion of foreign troops, and the restoration of the ancient liberties of the States.(4)

Don John of Austria, who had been appointed to succeed Requesens, found every thing in confusion on his arrival in the Low Countries. He saw the impossibility of resistance, and agreed to whatever was required of him;—to confirm the pacification of Ghent, and dismiss the Spanish army. After these concessions, he was acknowledged governor, and the king's lieutenant of the Netherlands.(5) Peace and concord were restored, industry renewed, and religious disputes silenced; liberty had leisure to breathe, commerce began to lift her head, and the arts began to dispense their blessings.

But the ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for the exercise of his military talents, lighted anew the torch of discord and the flames of civil war. As he found the States determined to impose very strict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles; seized Namur, and procured the recall of the Spanish army. Animated by the successes of his youth, he had opened his mind to vast undertakings; and, looking beyond the conquest

(1) Metern. Bentivoglio. Le Clerc.

(2) Camden.

(5) Bentivoglio. lib. x.

(3) Bentivoglio. Le Clerc.

(4) Bentivoglio. lib. ix. Thuan. lib. lxi

of the revolted provinces, had projected a marriage with the queen of Scots, and in her right the acquisition of both the British kingdoms. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions, and no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of the Flemings; whose independency seemed now intimately connected with her own safety. She accordingly entered into an alliance with them; sent them a sum of money; and soon after a body of troops.(1) Prince Casimire, count palatine of the Rhine, also engaged to support them; and collected, for that purpose, an army of German Protestants.

But the Flemings, while strengthening themselves by foreign alliances, were weakened by dissensions at home. The duke d'Arschot, governor of Flanders, and several other Catholic noblemen, jealous of the prince of Orange, who, on the return of the Spanish forces, had been elected governor of Brabant, privately invited the archduke Matthias, brother of the emperor Rodolph II., to the government of the Low Countries. Matthias, disgusted at the imperial court, rashly accepted the proposal; quitted Prague in the night, and suddenly arrived in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, to the astonishment of the States. Swayed by maxims of the truest policy and patriotism, the prince of Orange, contrary to all expectation, embraced the interest of the archduke: and, by that prudent measure, divided the German and Spanish branches of the house of Austria. Don John was deposed by a decree of the States; Matthias was appointed governor-general of the provinces, and the prince of Orange his lieutenant, to the great mortification of d'Arschot.(2)

Meanwhile, Don John, being joined by the famous Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, with eighteen thousand veterans, attacked the army of the States near Gemblours, and gained a considerable advantage over them. But the cause of liberty sustained a much greater misfortune in that jealousy which arose between the Protestant and Catholic provinces. The prince of Orange, by reason of his moderation, became suspected by both parties; Matthias, receiving no support from Germany, fell into contempt; and the duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. of France, through the prevalence of the Catholic interest, was declared *Defender of the Liberties of the Netherlands*.(3)

Don John took advantage of these fluctuating counsels to push his military operations, and made himself master of several places. But he was so warmly received by the English auxiliaries at Rimenant, that he was obliged to give ground: and seeing little hopes of future success, on account of the numerous armies assembled against him, under prince Casimire (who was paid by Elizabeth) and the duke of Anjou, is supposed to have died of chagrin; others say of poison, given him by the order of Philip, who dreaded his ambition. But be that as it may, he died unexpectedly, and was succeeded by the duke of Parma, much his superior, both in war and negotiation, and whose address and clemency gave a new turn to the affairs of Spain in the Netherlands.

The confederates, in the mean while, spent their time in quarrelling, instead of acting. Neither the army of prince Casimire nor that of the duke of Anjou was of any use, to the States. The Catholics were jealous of the first, the Protestants of the last, and the two leaders were jealous of each other. Those evils induced William prince of Orange to form the scheme of more closely uniting the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and cementing them with such others as lay most contiguous; Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overysse, and Guelderland, in which the Protestant interest predominated. The deputies accordingly met at Utrecht, and signed that famous Union, in appearance so slight, but in reality so solid, of seven provinces independent of each other, actuated by different interests, yet as closely connected by the great tie of liberty, as the bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic.

It was agreed that the seven provinces shall unite themselves in interest as one province, reserving to each individual province and city all its own

(1) Camden.

(2) Le Clerc, lib. iii.

(3) Reidan, lib. ii. Metern, lib. x.

privileges, rights, customs, and statutes ; that in all disputes between particular provinces, the rest shall interpose only as mediators ; and that they shall assist each other with life and fortune, against every foreign attempt upon any single province.(1) The first coin struck after this alliance is strongly expressive of the perilous situation of the infant commonwealth. It represented a ship struggling amid the waves, unassisted by sails or oars, with this motto : *Incertum quo fata ferant* ; “ I know not what may be my fate.”(2)

The States had indeed great reason for doubt. They had to contend with the whole power of the Spanish monarchy ; and Philip, instead of offering them any equitable conditions, laboured to detach the prince of Orange from the union of Utrecht. But William was too patriotic to resign the interests of his country for any private advantage. He was determined to share the fate of the United Provinces : and they stood in much need of support. The duke of Parma was making rapid progress both by his arts and arms. He had concluded a treaty with the Walloons, a name commonly given to the natives of the southern provinces of the Netherlands : he gained the confidence of the Catholic party in general, and took by assault the cities of Marsien and Maestricht, where, in defiance of his authority, great enormities were committed by the Spanish troops. Every thing seemed possible to him. The States, however, continued resolute, though sensible of their weakness. They again made an offer of their sovereignty to Elizabeth ; and as she still rejected it, they conferred it on the duke of Anjou, finally withdrawing their allegiance from Philip II.(3)

While Philip was losing the seven United Provinces, fortune threw in his way a new sovereignty. Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, grandson of the great Emanuel, smitten with the passion for military glory, determined to signalize himself by an expedition against the Moors in Africa, where his ancestors had acquired so much renown. In consequence of this direction of mind he espoused the cause of Muley Mahomet, whom Muley Moluch, his uncle, had dispossessed of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco ; and, contrary to the opinion of his wisest counsellors, embarked for Africa, in 1758, with an army of twenty thousand men. The army of Muley Moluch was superior ; but that circumstance only roused the courage of Don Sebastian, who wore green armour in order to be a better mark for the enemy. The two armies engaged near Alcazar-quivir ; and, after a desperate conflict, the Christians were totally routed, or rather destroyed, being all either killed or taken prisoners. Among the slain was Don Sebastian. The two Moorish princes, uncle and nephew, were also left dead on the field.(4)

The king of Portugal, having left no issue, was succeeded by his uncle, cardinal Henry ; who also dying without children, a number of competitors arose for the crown. Among those was the king of Spain, nephew to Henry by the mother's side : the duke of Braganza, married to the granddaughter of the great Emanuel ; Don Antonio, prior of Crato, bastard of the infant Don Lewis ; the duke of Savoy ; the duke of Parma ; Catharine of Medicis ; and pope Gregory XIII. who, extraordinary as it may seem, attempted to renew the obsolete claim of the holy see to the sovereignty of Portugal. Philip's claim was not the best, but he had most power to support it. The old duke of Alva, who had been for some time in disgrace, like a mastiff unchained for fighting, was recalled to court, and put at the head of an army. He gained two victories over Don Antonio ; who, of all the other competitors,

(1) Temple, chap. I. Reidan, lib. II.

(2) Id. *ibid.*

(3) Grotius, lib. III.

(4) H. de Mendoza. Cabrera. Thuanus. Muley Moluch, who appears to have been a great and generous prince, died with the most heroic magnanimity. Wasted by an inveterate disease, which the fatigue of the battle had rendered mortal, he desired his attendants to keep his death secret till the fortune of the day should be decided. Even after he lost the use of speech, he laid his finger on his lips as a farther injunction of secrecy ; and stretching himself in his litter, calmly expired in the field of victory. (*Id. ibid.*) In regard to the manner of Don Sebastian's death, historians are by no means agreed ; but all admit that he fought gallantly, and disdained to survive the defeat of his army. Some say, that he laid violent hands upon himself ; others, that being disarmed and made prisoner by the victors, he was slain by a Moorish officer, who came up while the soldiers were violently disputing their right to the royal captive. (Thuanus, *Hist. aut Temp.*) Muley Mahomet perished in attempting to save himself by flight ; and Hamet, Muley Moluch's brother, succeeded to the throne of Morocco. *Id. ibid.*

alone pretended to assert his title by arms. These victories decided the contest. Philip was crowned at Lisbon, proclaimed in India, and a price was set on the head of Antonio.(1)

A price was also set on the head of the prince of Orange, as soon as it was known in Spain that the United Provinces had withdrawn their allegiance from Philip, and an attempt was soon after made upon his life by a man of desperate fortune in order to obtain the reward. Now first did the States become truly sensible of the value of that great man. The joy of the Spaniards, on a false report of his death, could only be equalled by that of the Flemings when informed of his safety; yet a jealousy of liberty, and a dread of his ambition, still prevented them from appointing him their supreme governor, though every day convinced them of the imprudence, rapacity, and dangerous designs of the duke of Anjou. He had at first assembled a considerable army, and raised the siege of Cambray; but a project of marrying queen Elizabeth, whose amorous dalliances with him are somewhat unaccountable, and by no means justifiable, unless sincere, led him to waste his time in England, while the duke of Parma was making rapid progress in the Netherlands. On his return, he totally lost the confidence of the States, by a rash and violent attack upon their liberties; was obliged to leave the United Provinces; retired into France, and died soon after in contempt.(2)

The archduke Matthias had returned to Germany, on the elevation of his rival; so that the duke of Parma, and the prince of Orange, the two greatest generals of their age, were now left to dispute the possession of the Netherlands, which became the chief theatre of war in Europe, and the school to which men of courage, from all nations, resorted to study the military art.

England, during these commotions, had enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity. But the prospect now began to be overcast; and Elizabeth saw dangers gradually multiply on her, from more than one quarter. The earl of Lennox, cousin-german to the young king of Scotland, and captain Stewart of the house of Ochiltree, afterward earl of Arran, had found means to detach James from the English interest; and by their intrigues the earl of Morton, who, during his whole regency, had preserved that kingdom in strict alliance with Elizabeth, was brought to the scaffold as an accomplice in the murder of the late king.(3)

A body of the Scottish nobility, however, dissatisfied with the new administration, which was entirely directed by Lennox and Arran, formed a conspiracy, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of the king at the castle of Ruthven, the seat of the earl of Gowrie; and, the design being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition. James, who was about twelve years of age, wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but no compassion was shown him. "Mind not his tears," said the master of Glamis:—"better that boys should weep than bearded men." The king was obliged to submit to the present necessity; to pretend an entire acquiescence in the conduct of the conspirators, and to acknowledge the detention of his person to be an acceptable service. Arran was confined a prisoner in his own house, and Lennox retired into France, where he soon after died.(1)

But the affairs of Scotland remained not long in this situation. James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and, flying to St. Andrews, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marshal, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their

(1) Faria y Susa. Cabrera.

(2) Mezeray. Camden. Le Clerc.

(3) Spotswood. Crawford. Morton owned that Bothwell had informed him of the design against the king's life, solicited him to concur in the execution of it, and affirmed it was authorized by the queen. He at first, if we may believe his dying words, absolutely declined having any concern in such a measure; and, when afterward urged to the same purpose, he required a warrant under the queen's hand, authorizing the attempt. As no such warrant was produced, he refused to take part in the enterprise. And as an apology for concealing this treasonable undertaking, he very plausibly urged in his own vindication, the irresolution of Darnley, and criminal situation of Mary. "To whom," said he, "could I make the discovery? The queen was the author of the conspiracy. Darnley was such a changeling, that no secret could be safely communicated to him. Huntley and Bothwell, who bore the chief sway in the kingdom, were themselves the perpetrators of the crime." Spotswood, p. 314. Crawford, *Mem. Append.*

III. Robertson, book vi.

(4) Melvil. Spotswood. Calderwood.

sovereign; and the opposite party finding themselves unable to resist so powerful a combination, took shelter in England. The earl of Arran was recalled to court; a new attempt to disturb the government was defeated; the earl of Gowrie, its reputed author, was brought to the block; and severe laws were passed against the Presbyterian clergy, who had applauded the *Raid of Ruthven*, as the late conspiracy was called.(1)

While these things were transacting in Scotland, the king of Spain, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with Elizabeth, sent, in the name of the pope, a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland, in order to retaliate for the assistance which she gave to his rebellious subjects in the Low Countries. But the invaders, though joined by many of the discontented Irish, were all cut off to a man, by lord Grey, the queen's deputy, and fifteen hundred of the rebels were hanged; a severity which gave great displeasure to Elizabeth.(2)

When the English ambassador at the court of Madrid complained of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies of Francis Drake; a bold navigator, who had passed into the South Sea by the straits of Magellan, and, attacking the Spaniards in those parts where they least expected an enemy, had taken many rich prizes, and returned home safely by the Cape of Good Hope in September, 1580. As he was the first Englishman who had circumnavigated the globe, his name became celebrated on account of so hazardous and fortunate an adventure; and the queen, who loved valour, and hoped to share in the spoil, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him on board the ship which had performed so memorable a voyage. She caused, however, part of the booty to be restored, in order to appease the Catholic king.(3)

But Elizabeth's dangers from abroad might have been regarded as of small importance, had her own subjects been united at home. Unhappily, that was not the case. The zeal of the Catholics, excited by constraint rather than persecution, daily threatened her with an insurrection. Not satisfied with incessant outrages against her severity towards the queen of Scots, and against the court of High Commission (an ecclesiastical tribunal, erected by Elizabeth, for taking cognizance of non-conformists, and which was certainly too arbitrary), the Romish priests, especially in the foreign seminaries for the education of English students of the Catholic communion, endeavoured to persuade their disciples, that it would be a meritorious action to take away her life.(4)

Those seminaries, founded by Philip II. the pope, and the cardinal of Lorraine, in order to prevent the decay of the ancient religion in England, sent over yearly a colony of young priests, who maintained the Romish superstition in its full height of bigotry; and who, being often detected in treasonable practices, occasioned that severity of which their sect complained. They were all under the direction of the jesuits, an active order of regular priests established since the Reformation; the court of Rome perceiving that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who had sufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, assailed on every side by the bold and inquisitive spirit of the age, and the virulence of the persecuted Protestants. These ghostly fathers, who by the very nature of their institution were engaged to pervert learning, and who, where it could serve their pious purposes, employed it to refine away the plainest dictates of morality, persuaded William Parry, an English gentleman, and a convert to the Catholic faith, that he could not perform a more acceptable service to Heaven than to take away the life of his sovereign. Parry, then at Milan, was confirmed in this opinion by Campeggio, the pope's nuncio, and even by the pope himself, who exhorted him to persevere; and granted him, for his encouragement, a plenary indulgence and remission of his sins. Though still agitated with doubts, he came over to England, with an intention of executing his bloody purpose. But happily his irresolution continued; and

(1) Spotswood.

(2) Camden.

(3) Ibid

(4) Ibid.

he was at last betrayed by one Nevil, of the family of Westmoreland, to whom he had communicated his design. Being thrown into prison, he confessed his guilt, received sentence of death, and suffered the punishment directed by the law for his treasonable conspiracy.(1)

Such murderous attempts, the result of that bigoted spirit with which the followers of the two religions, but more especially the Catholics, were actuated, every where now appeared. About the same time that this design against the life of Elizabeth was brought to light, the prince of Orange was assassinated at Delft, by Balthazar Gerard, a desperate enthusiast, who believed himself impelled by the Divinity, we are told by the jesuit Strada, to commit that barbarous action. But the assassin, when put to the torture, declared, perhaps no less truly, that the reward promised by Philip, in his proscription of William, had been his principal motive.(2)

The United Provinces, now deprived of their chief hope, were filled with sorrow and consternation: a general gloom involved their affairs; despondency appeared in every face; and anarchy reigned in their councils. The provinces of Holland and Zealand alone endeavoured to repair the loss, and to show their gratitude to William, by electing his son Maurice their stadtholder, and captain-general by sea and land. Maurice was at this time only eighteen years old, but such marks of genius distinguished his character as approved him worthy of the dignity to which he was raised; and he was opposed to the duke of Parma, the greatest general of that, or perhaps of any other age.

In Spain it was imagined, that the death of the prince of Orange would deprive the confederates, not only of counsel, but of courage, any longer to resist the power of Philip. But after the first emotions of grief and surprise subsided, it produced very contrary effects. Rage took place of despair; and the horror of the assassination, universally attributed to the intrigues of Philip, so irritated the people, that they determined to prosecute the war with unremitted vigour, and revenge the death of their great deliverer.(3)

Meanwhile, the duke of Parma, having reduced Ghent and Brussels, was making preparations for the siege of Antwerp, the richest and most populous city in the Netherlands. On his first approach, the citizens opened the sluices, cut down the dykes, and overflowed the neighbouring country with an inundation, which swept away all his magazines. Not discouraged, however, by this loss, he set himself diligently to repair the misfortune; and cut, at prodigious labour and expense, but with incredible expedition, a canal from Steken to Caloo, in order to carry off the waters. He next erected that stupendous monument of his genius, so fatal to the cause of liberty! a fortified bridge across the deep and rapid river Scheld, to prevent all communication with the town by sea. The besieged attempted to burn it, or blow it up, by sending against it two fire-ships, full of powder and other combustible materials. But this scheme failing, and the besiegers daily making progress in spite of every effort to oppose them, Antwerp sent deputies to the duke, and agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty of Philip.(4)

Domestic jealousy, no less than the valour of the Spaniards, or the conduct of their general, contributed to the fall of this flourishing city. The Hollanders, and particularly the citizens of Amsterdam, obstructed every measure proposed for the relief of Antwerp, hoping to profit by its reduction. The Protestants, it was concluded, would forsake it, as soon as it fell into the hands of Philip. The conjecture proved just: Antwerp went hourly to decay; and Amsterdam, enriched by the emigration of her sister's inhabitants, became the greatest commercial city in the Netherlands.

This rivalry, however, of the citizens of Amsterdam, so singular in the annals of mankind! in seeking a problematical private advantage, at the expense of public safety, and when exposed to the most imminent danger,

(1) *State Trials*, vol. I. Strype, vol. iii. Hume, chap. xli.

(2) Grotius. Metern. Bentivoglio. Thuanus.

(3) Grotius, lib. iv. Metern, lib. xii.

(4) Metern, lib. xii. Reidan. lib. iv. Thuanus, lib. lxxxiii.

had almost occasioned the subjection of the whole revolted provinces. The loss of Antwerp was a mortal blow to the formerly declining state of their affairs; and the only hope that remained to them arose from the prospect of foreign aid. Well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they tendered the sovereignty of their country to the king of France. But the distracted state of that monarchy obliged Henry to reject so advantageous an offer. The duke of Anjou's death, which he expected would bring him relief, by freeing him from the intrigues of that prince, only plunged him in deeper distress. The king of Navarre, a professed Protestant, being now next heir to the crown, the duke of Guise took thence occasion to revive the Catholic League, and to urge the king, by the most violent expedients, to seek the exclusion of that gallant prince, and the extinction of the whole sect. Henry, though himself a zealous Catholic, disliked such precipitant measures: he attempted to suppress the League; but finding his authority too weak for that purpose, he was obliged to comply with the demands of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Bourbon, whom the duke had set up as a competitor for the succession against the king of Navarre, to declare war against the Hugonots, and countenance a faction which he regarded as more dangerous to his throne.(1) Any interposition in favour of the distressed Protestants in the Low Countries would have drawn upon him at once the indignation of Philip, the pope, and the League, of which they were the protectors. He was therefore under the necessity of renouncing all thoughts of the proffered sovereignty, though it opened a prospect equally flattering to his ambition and his vengeance.

The United Provinces, in this extremity, had again recourse to Elizabeth; who, although she continued to reject their sovereignty for the reasons formerly assigned, agreed to yield them more effectual support. She accordingly concluded a new treaty with them to that purpose; in consequence of which she was put in possession of the Brille, Flushing, and the castle of Rammakins, as a security for the payment of her expenses. She knew that the step she had taken would immediately engage her in hostilities with Philip, yet was she not alarmed at the view of the present greatness of that prince: though such prepossessions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spanish monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when informed that the queen of England had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, scrupled not to say, "She has now taken the diadem from her head, and placed it upon the point of a sword."(2)

But Elizabeth, though rather cautious than enterprising in her natural disposition,—though she preferred peace, she was not afraid of war; and when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimity and boldness. She now prepared herself to resist, and even to assault, the whole strength of the Catholic king. The earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliaries, consisting of five thousand foot and a thousand horse; while sir Francis Drake was despatched with a fleet of twenty sail, and a body of land forces, to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies. This gallant seaman made himself master of St. Jago de Cuba, of St. Domingo, the capital of Hispaniola, of Carthagená, and several other places; and returned to England with such riches, and such accounts of the Spanish weakness in the New World, as served to stimulate the nation to future enterprises.(3)

The English arms were less successful in the Low Countries. Leicester possessed neither courage nor capacity equal to the trust reposed in him by the queen: and the States, who from a knowledge of his influence with Elizabeth, and a desire of engaging that princess still farther in their defence, had loaded him with new honours; had conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and vested him with a power almost dictatorial, soon found their confidence misplaced. He not only showed his inability to direct military opera-

(1) Davila, lib. vii. Mezeray, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. v.

(2) Camden.

(3) Ibid.

tions, by permitting the duke of Parma to advance in a rapid course of conquests, but abused his authority, by an administration equally weak, wanton, cruel, and oppressive. Intoxicated with his elevation, he assumed the air of a sovereign prince; refused the instruction of the States; thrust into all vacant places his own worthless favourites; excited the people to rise against the magistrates; introduced disorder into the finances, and filled the provinces with confusion. The Dutch even suspected him of a design upon their liberties; and Elizabeth, in order to quiet their fears, or lest an attempt should be made against the life of her favourite, commanded him to resign his government, and return home.⁽¹⁾ Prince Maurice was elected governor by the States in the room of the earl of Leicester, and lord Willoughby was by the queen appointed commander-in-chief of the English forces.

In the mean time, Elizabeth was occupied about more immediate dangers than those from the Spanish arms; though Philip had already formed the most hostile designs against her, and had begun his preparations for that famous armament denominated the Invincible Armada. Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, instigated by John Ballard, a popish priest, of the seminary of Rheims, engaged in a conspiracy against the life of his sovereign, as a necessary prelude to the deliverance of the queen of Scots, and the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England; and so sure did he think himself of success, and so meritorious his undertaking, that in order to perpetuate the memory of it, he caused a picture to be drawn, in which he was represented standing amidst his six confederates, with a motto, expressing that their common danger was the bond of their fidelity. Happily, the plot was discovered by the vigilance of secretary Walsingham; and Babington, and thirteen others, among whom was Ballard, suffered death for their treasonable design.⁽²⁾

The scene that followed was new and extraordinary. On the trial of the conspirators, it appeared that the queen of Scots, who had held a correspondence with Babington, had encouraged him in his enterprise: and it was resolved, by Elizabeth and her ministers, to bring Mary also to a public trial, as being accessory to the conspiracy. Her papers were accordingly seized, her principal domestics arrested, and her two secretaries sent prisoners to London. After the necessary information had been obtained, forty commissioners, appointed under the great seal, together with five of the judges, were sent to Fotheringay-castle, where Mary was now confined, to hear and decide this great cause.

An idea so repugnant to majesty, as being arraigned for treason, had not once entered the mind of the queen of Scots, though she no longer doubted but her destruction was determined on; nor had the strange resolution yet reached her ears, in the solitude of her prison. She received the intelligence, however, without emotion or astonishment; and she protested in the most solemn manner, that she had never countenanced any attempt against the life of Elizabeth, at the same time that she refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of her commissioners. "I came into England," said she, "an independent sovereign, to implore the queen's assistance, not to subject myself to her authority; nor is my spirit so broken by past misfortunes, or so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, or that will disgrace the ancestors from whom I am descended, and the son to whom I shall leave my throne. If I must be tried, princes alone can be my peers. The queen of England's subjects, how noble soever their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom, I have been confined as a prisoner. Its laws never afforded me protection. Let them not now be perverted in order to take away my life."⁽³⁾

Mary, however, was at last persuaded to appear before the commissioners, to hear and to give answer to the accusations which should be offered against her, though she still refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court.

(1) Camden, p. 512. Metern, lib. xiii. xiv. Grotius, lib. v. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv.

(2) Camden, p. 515—518. Murden's *State Papers* *State Trials*, vol. I. (3) Robertson, book vii

The chancellor endeavoured to vindicate its authority, by pleading the supreme jurisdiction of the English laws over every one who resided in England; the lawyers of the crown opened the charge against the queen of Scots; and the commissioners, after hearing her defence, and adjourning to Westminster, pronounced sentence of death upon that unfortunate princess, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions.(1)

The chief evidence against Mary arose from the declaration of her secretaries; for no proof could otherwise be produced that the letters from Babington were delivered into her hands, or that any answer was returned by her direction; and the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of character, who knew themselves exposed to all the rigours of imprisonment, torture, and death, if they refused to give any evidence which might be required of them, was by no means conclusive. In order to screen themselves, they might throw the blame on her; but they could discover nothing to her prejudice, without violating that oath of fidelity which they had taken, in consequence of their office; and their perjury, in one instance, rendered them unworthy of credit in another. Besides, they were not confronted with her though she desired that they might, and affirmed, that they would never, to her face, persist in their evidence.

But the condemnation of the queen of Scots, not justice, was the object of this unprecedented trial; and the sentence, after many hesitations and delays, was carried into execution. Never did Mary appear so great as in this last scene of her life; she was not only tranquil, but intrepid and magnanimous. When Sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, who had been excluded for some weeks from her presence, was permitted to take his last farewell, he burst into tears, bewailing the condition of a mistress whom he loved, as well as his own hard fate, in being appointed to carry into Scotland the news of such a mournful event as the catastrophe that awaited her. "Weep not, good Melvil," said she: "there is at present greater cause for rejoicing. Thou shalt this day see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings as she has long expected. But witness that I die constant in my religion, firm in my fidelity towards Scotland, and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son. Tell him I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his honours, or to his rights; and God forgive all those who have thirsted, without cause, for my blood." On ascending the scaffold, she began, with the aid of her women, to take off her veil and upper garments; and the executioner rudely endeavouring to assist them, she gently checked him, and smiling said, "I have not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor to be served by such valets!" and soon after, laid her head on the block, with calm but undaunted fortitude.(2)

Such, my dear Philip, was the fate of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, one of the most amiable and accomplished of her sex; who, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England, fell a victim to the jealousy and to the fears of an offended rival. But although Mary's trial was illegal, and her execution arbitrary, history will not permit us to suppose that her actions were at no time criminal. With all the ornaments both of body and mind, which can embellish the female character, she had many of the weaknesses of a woman; and our sympathy with her long and accumulated sufferings, seen through the medium of her

(1) Camden, p. 526. It is remarkable, that among the charges against Mary, she was accused, and seemingly on good grounds, of negotiating with the king of Spain, for transferring to him her claim to the English crown, and disinheriting her heretical son; that she had even entered into a conspiracy against James; had appointed lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland; and had instigated her adherents to seize James's person, and deliver him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain; whence he was never to be freed but on condition of his becoming Catholic. See *Letter to Charles Paget*, May 20, 1586, in Dr. Forbes's *Collect.*; and Murden, p. 506.

(2) *La Mort de la Reine d'Escoce*, ap. Jebb. Camden. Spotswood. The truth of history forbids me to conceal that Mary was supported during this awful catastrophe by the consolations of a superstitious devotion. After throwing herself upon her knees, and repeating prayers from the *Office of the Virgin*, she pressed the crucifix to her lips; and then looking upon it, eagerly exclaimed, "O Christ! thou wast extended on the cross to save mankind, when they were lost. Pardon my transgressions, and stretch out thy arms to receive me in mercy." *Id. ibid.* Stuart. book viii

beauty, only perhaps could prevent us from viewing her, notwithstanding her elegant qualities, with some degree of that abhorrence which is excited by the pollution of the marriage-bed and the guilt of murder.(1)

Elizabeth, when informed of Mary's execution, affected the utmost surprise and concern. Sighs, tears, lamentations, and weeds of mourning were all employed to display the greatness of her sorrow. She even undertook to make the world believe, that the queen of Scots, her dear sister and kinswoman, had been put to death without her knowledge, and contrary to her inclination; and, to complete this farce, she commanded Davison, her secretary, to be thrown into prison, under pretence that he had exceeded his commission, in despatching the fatal warrant, which although she had signed, she never meant to carry into execution.(2)

This hypocritical disguise was assumed chiefly to appease the young king of Scotland, who seemed determined to employ the whole force of his dominions in order to revenge his mother's death. He recalled his ambassador, from England, refused to admit the English envoy into his presence, and with difficulty condescended to receive a memorial from the queen. Every thing bore the appearance of war. Many of his nobility instigated him to take up arms immediately, and the Catholics recommended an alliance with Spain. Elizabeth saw the danger of such a league. After allowing James some decent interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to set before him every motive of hope or fear, which might induce him to live in amity with her: and these, joined to the queen's dissimulation, and the pacific disposition of that prince, prevailed over his resentment. He fell gradually into a good understanding with the court of England.

While Elizabeth was thus ensuring the tranquillity of her kingdom from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not inattentive to more distant dangers. Hearing that Philip was secretly preparing that prodigious armament which had for its object no less than the entire conquest of England, she sent sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his supplies, to pillage the coasts of his dominions, and destroy his shipping: and that gallant commander, besides other advantages, was so successful as to burn, in the harbour of Cadiz, a hundred vessels laden with ammunition and naval stores. About the same time Thomas Cavendish, a private adventurer, launched into the South Sea in three small ships; committed great depredations on the Spaniards in those parts; took many rich prizes; and, returning by the Cape of Good Hope, entered the Thames in a kind of triumph.(3)

By these fortunate enterprises, the English seamen learned to despise the large unwieldy ships of the enemy, in which chiefly they placed their hopes of success. The naval magazines of Spain were destroyed, and means were taken to prevent Philip from being able suddenly to repair the loss, by an artificial run upon the bank of Genoa, whence he expected a large loan—a measure which was conducted by an English merchant, in conjunction with his foreign correspondents, and does great honour to the sagacity of the English ministry.(4) The sailing of the armada was retarded for twelve months; and the queen had thereby leisure to take more effectual measures

(1) All contemporary authors agree in ascribing to Mary the utmost beauty of countenance and elegance of shape of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black; though, according to the fashion of the times, she frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were a dark gray; her complexion was exquisitely fine; and her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to shape and colour. Her stature was of a height that rose to the majestic. She danced, she walked, and rode with equal ease. Her taste for music was just; and she sung sweetly, and played upon the lute with uncommon skill. Robertson, from Brantome.

(2) Camden. After thus freely censuring Elizabeth, and showing the defectiveness of the evidence against Mary, I am bound to own, that it appears from a passage in her letter to Thomas Morgan, dated the 27th of July, 1586, that she had accepted Babington's offer to assassinate the English queen. "As to Babington," says she, "he hath kindly and honestly offered himself and all his means, to be employed any way I would. Whereupon I hope to have satisfied him by two of my several letters, since I had his." (Murdén's Collect. p. 533.) This incontestable evidence puts her guilt beyond all controversy.

(3) Monson's *Naval Tracts*.

(4) For this anecdote relative to the bank of Genoa, we are indebted to the intriguing spirit, and inquisitive disposition of Bishop Burnet, who conjectures that it was thought too great a mystery of state to be communicated to Camden, when the materials were put into his hands for writing the History of the Reign of Elizabeth. *Own Times*. book ii

against that formidable fleet and army, intended for the invasion of her kingdom.

Meanwhile, Philip, whose resolution was finally taken, determined to execute his ambitious project with all possible force and effect. No longer secret in his purpose, every part of his European dominions resounded with the noise of armaments, and the treasures of both Indies were exhausted in vast preparations for war. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artisans were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force; naval stores were bought up at great expense; provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime provinces, and plans laid for such an embarkation as had never before appeared on the ocean.

The military preparations in Flanders were no less formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment assembling to reinforce the duke of Parma; who employed all the carpenters he could procure, in building flat-bottomed vessels, to transport into England an army of thirty-five thousand men, assembled in the Netherlands. This fleet of transports was intended to join the grand armada, vainly denominated *invincible*, which was to set sail from Lisbon; and after chasing out of the way all the Flemish and English vessels, which it was supposed would make little if any resistance, to enter the Thames; to land the whole Spanish army in the neighbourhood of London, under the command of the duke of Parma, and other experienced officers and to decide, at one blow, the fate of England. The success of the enterprise was never called in question; so that several Spanish and Italian noblemen embarked as volunteers, to share in the glory of so great a conquest.

Elizabeth was apprized of all these preparations. She had foreseen the invasion; nor was she dismayed at the aspect of that power, by which all Europe apprehended she must be overwhelmed. Her force was indeed very unequal to Philip's; all the sailors in England did not then exceed fifteen thousand men: the royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail, many of which were of small size, and none of them exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates. But the city of London fitted out thirty vessels to reinforce this small navy; the other seaport towns a proportional number; and the nobility and gentry hired, armed, and manned forty-three vessels at their own charge. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was appointed admiral, and took on him the chief command; Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth; and a smaller squadron, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.(1)

The land forces of England were more numerous than those of the enemy, but inferior in discipline and experience. An army of twenty thousand men was disposed in different bodies along the south coast, with orders to retire backwards, and waste the country, if they could not prevent the Spaniards from landing; twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester, was stationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital; and the principal army, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, commanded by lord Hunsdon, was reserved for guarding the queen's person, and appointed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear.(2)

These armies, though all the Spanish forces had been able to land, would possibly have been sufficient to protect the liberties of their country. But as the fate of England, in that event, must depend on the issue of a single battle, all men of serious reflection entertained the most awful apprehensions of the shock of at least fifty thousand veterans, commanded by experienced officers under so consummate a general as the duke of Parma. The queen alone was undaunted. She issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource, which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She even appeared on horse-back in the camp at Tilbury; and, riding through the lines, discovered

(1) Monson, ubi sup

(2) Camden

a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorting the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. "I know," said she, intrepidly, "I have but the weak and feeble arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too!"⁽¹⁾

The heroic spirit of Elizabeth communicated itself to the army, and every man resolved to die rather than desert his station. Meanwhile, the Spanish armada, after various obstructions, appeared in the Channel. It consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, of which near one hundred were galleons, and carried about twenty thousand land forces. Effingham, who was informed of its approach by a Scotch pirate, saw it, just as he could get out of Plymouth Sound, coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles, from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, seem impossible to be justly described by the historians of that age, without assuming the language of poetry. Not satisfied with representing the armada as a spectacle infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders, and as the most magnificent that had ever appeared on the main, they assert, that, although the ships bore every sail, it yet advanced with a slow motion, as if the ocean had groaned with supporting, and the winds been tired with impelling so enormous a weight.⁽²⁾

The English admiral at first gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards, on account of the size of their ships, and the number of soldiers on board; but a few trials convinced him, that even in close fight, the size of the Spanish ships was of no advantage to the enemy. Their bulk exposed them to the fire, while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English men of war. Every thing conspired to the ruin of this vast armament. Sir Francis Drake took the great galleon of Andalusia, and a large ship of Biscay, which had fallen behind the rest; while the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced Effingham, who filled eight of his smaller ships with combustibles, and sent them into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fled with disorder and precipitation; the English commanders fell upon them while in confusion; and, besides doing great damage to their whole fleet, took twelve ships.

It was now evident that the purpose of the armada was utterly frustrated; and the duke of Parma, whose vessels were calculated for transporting soldiers, not for fighting, positively refused to leave the harbour, while the English were masters of the sea. The Spanish admiral, after many unsuccessful rencounters, prepared therefore to make his way home; but as the winds were contrary to his return through the Channel, he resolved to take the circuit of the island. The English fleet followed him for some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, through the negligence of the public officers in supplying them, they had obliged the armada to surrender at discretion.

Such a conclusion of that vainglorious enterprise would have been truly illustrious to the English, but the event was scarce less fatal to the Spaniards. The armada was attacked by a violent storm in passing the Orkneys; and the ships, having already lost their anchors, were obliged to keep at sea, while the mariners, unaccustomed to hardships, and unable to manage such unwieldy vessels, allowed them to drive on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not one-half of the fleet returned to Spain, and a still smaller proportion of the soldiers and seamen: yet Philip, whose command of temper was equal to his ambition, received with an air of tranquillity the news of so humbling a disaster. "I sent my fleet," said he, "to combat the English, not the elements. God be praised that the calamity is not greater."⁽³⁾

(1) Hume, *Hist. Eng.* vol. v, note (an.)
(3) Ferreras. Strada

(2) Camden. Bentivoglio.

While the naval power of Spain was receiving this signal blow, great revolutions happened in France. The Hugonots, notwithstanding the valour of the king of Navarre, who had gained at Coutras, in 1587, a complete victory over the royal army, were reduced to the greatest extremity by the power of the League; and the exorbitant ambition of the duke of Guise, joined to the idolatrous admiration of the Catholics, who considered him as a saviour, and the king as unworthy of the throne, only could have preserved the Reformers from utter ruin. The citizens of Paris, where the duke was most popular, took arms against their sovereign, and obliged him to abandon his capital at the hazard of his life; while the doctors of the Sorbonne declared, "That a weak prince may be removed from the government of his kingdom, as a tutor or guardian, unfit for his office, may be deprived of his trust."⁽¹⁾

Henry's spirit was roused, by the dread of degradation, from that lethargy in which it had long reposed. He dissembled his resentment; entered into a negotiation with Guise and the League; seemed outwardly reconciled, but harboured vengeance in his heart. And that vengeance was hastened by an insolent speech of the dutchess of Montpensier, the duke of Guise's sister, who, showing a pair of gold scissiors, which she wore at her girdle, said, "The best use that I can make of them is, to clip the hair of a prince unworthy to sit on the throne of France, in order to qualify him for a cloister, that one more *deserving to reign* may mount it, and repair the losses which religion and the state have suffered through the weakness of his predecessor."⁽²⁾

After Henry had fully taken his resolution, nine of his guards, singled out by Loignac, first gentleman of his bed-chamber, were introduced to him in his palace. He put a poniard into each of their hands, informed them of their business, and concluded thus: "It is an execution of justice, which I command you to make on the greatest criminal in my kingdom, and whom all laws, human and divine, permit me to punish; but not having the ordinary methods of justice in my power, I authorize you, by the right inherent in my royal authority, to strike the blow." They were secretly disposed in the passage which led from the king's chamber to his cabinet; and when the duke of Guise came to receive audience, six poniards were at once plunged into his breast.⁽³⁾ He groaned and expired.

"I am now a king, madam!" said Henry, entering the apartment of the queen-mother, "and have no competitor; the duke of Guise is dead." The cardinal of Guise also was despatched, a man more violent than even his brother. Among other insolent speeches, he had been heard to say, that he would hold the king's head between his knees till the tonsure was performed at the monastery of the Capuchins.⁽⁴⁾

These cruel executions, which their necessity alone can excuse, had an effect very different from what Henry expected. The partisans of the League were inflamed with the utmost rage against him, and every where flew to arms. Rebellion was reduced into a system. The doctors of the Sorbonne had the arrogance to declare, "that the people were released from their oath of allegiance to Henry of Valois:" and the duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guise, was chosen by the League *Lieutenant-General of the State Royal and Crown of France*; an unknown and unintelligible title, but which was meant as a substitute for sovereignty.⁽⁵⁾

In this extremity, the king, almost abandoned by his Catholic subjects, entered into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the king of Navarre. He enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry; and being still supported by his chief nobility, and the princes of the blood, he was enabled, by all those means, to assemble an army of forty thousand men. With these forces the two kings advanced to the gates of Paris, and were ready to crush the League, and subdue all their enemies, when the desperate resolution of one man gave a new turn to the affairs of France.

(1) Cayet.

(2) P. Daniel.

(3) Davila. Du Tillet.

(4) Thuanus.

(5) Mezeray.

James Clement, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody spirit of bigotry which distinguished the age, and of which we have seen so many horrid examples, had embraced the pious resolution of sacrificing his own life, in order to save the church from the danger which now threatened it, in consequence of the alliance between Henry III. and the Hugonots: and being admitted into the king's presence, under pretence of important business, he mortally wounded that prince, while reading some supposed despatches, and was himself instantly put to death by the guards.⁽¹⁾ This assassination left the succession open to the king of Navarre; who, as next heir to the crown, assumed the government under the title of Henry IV. But the reign of that great prince, and the various difficulties which he was obliged to encounter, before he could settle his kingdom, must be reserved for a future Letter.

In the mean time, I cannot help observing, that the monk who had thus imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign was considered at Paris as a saint and a martyr: he was exalted above Judith, and his image was impiously placed on the altars. Even pope Sixtus V., so deservedly celebrated for his dignity of mind, as well as for the superb edifices with which he adorned Rome, was so much infected with the general contagion; that he compared Clement's enterprise to the incarnation of the Word, and the resurrection of the Saviour!⁽²⁾

This observation leads me to another. These holy assassinations, so peculiar to the period that followed the Reformation, proceeded chiefly from the fanatical application of certain passages in the Old Testament to the conjunctures of the times. Enthusiasm taught both Protestants and Catholics to consider themselves as the peculiar favourites of Heaven, and possessing the only true religion, without allowing themselves coolly to reflect, that the adherents of each had an equal right to this vain pretension. The Protestants founded it on the purity of their principles, the Catholics on the antiquity of their church; and while impelled by their own vindictive passions, by personal animosity or party zeal, to the commission of murder, they imagined they heard the voice of God commanding them to execute vengeance on his and their enemies.

LETTER LXX.

The general View of Europe continued from the Accession of Henry IV. to the Peace of Vervins, in 1598.

THE reign of Henry IV. justly styled the Great, forms one of the most memorable epochs in the history of France. The circumstances of the times, the character of the prince and of the man, all conspire to render it interesting: and his connexions with other Christian powers, either as allies or enemies, make it an object of general importance. The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon him, as the hero of its military theatre, and the centre of its political system. Philip and Elizabeth were now but secondary actors.

The prejudices entertained against Henry's religion made one-half of the royal army desert him, on his accession; and it was only by signing certain propositions, favourable to their religion, and promising to listen to the arguments of their doctors, that he could engage any of the Catholic nobility to support his title to the crown. The desertion of his troops obliged him to abandon the siege of Paris, and retire into Normandy. Thither he was followed by the forces of the League. These forces were commanded by the duke of Mayenne, who had proclaimed the cardinal of Bourbon king, under the name of Charles X.; although that old man, thrown into prison on the assassination of the Guises, was still confined in the castle of Fontenai le Comté, in Poitou.⁽³⁾

(1) Thuanus. Davila. Mezeray.

(3) Davila. lib. x. Mezeray, *Abbrégé Chronol.* tom. vi.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

In this extremity, Henry had recourse to the queen of England, and found her well disposed to assist him; to oppose the progress of the Catholic League, and of the king of Spain, her dangerous and inveterate enemy, who entertained views either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. Conscious of Henry's necessities, Elizabeth sent him immediately a present of twenty-two thousand pounds, in order to prevent the desertion of his Swiss and German auxiliaries; and embarked, with all expedition, a reinforcement of four thousand men, under the command of lord Willoughby, an officer of abilities. Meanwhile, the king of France had been so fortunate as to secure Dieppe and Caen, and to repulse the duke of Mayenne, who had attacked him under the cannon of the Arques, where he lay intrenched. On the arrival of the English forces, he marched immediately towards Paris, to the great consternation of the inhabitants, and had almost taken the city by storm; but the duke of Mayenne entering it soon after with his army, Henry judged it prudent to retire.

The king's forces were still much inferior to those of the League; but what was wanting in numbers was made up in valour. He attacked the duke of Mayenne at Irvi, and gained a complete victory over him, though supported by a select body of Spanish troops, detached from the Netherlands. Henry's behaviour on this occasion was truly heroic. "My lads," said he to his soldiers, "if you should lose sight of your colours, rally towards this," pointing to a large white plume which he wore in his hat;—"you will always find it in the road to honour. God is with us!" added he, emphatically, drawing his sword, and rushing into the thickest of the enemy;—but when he perceived their ranks broken, and great havoc committed in the pursuit, his natural humanity and attachment to his countrymen returned, and led him to cry, "Spare my French subjects!"(1) forgetting that they were his enemies.

Soon after this victory died the cardinal of Bourbon, and the king invested Paris. That city contained two hundred and twenty thousand souls, animated by religious enthusiasm, and Henry's army did not amount to fifteen thousand men; yet he might certainly have reduced it by famine, if not by other means, had not his paternal tenderness for his people, perhaps ill-timed, made him forget the duty of a soldier, and relax the rigour of war. He left a free passage to the old men, women, and children; he permitted the peasants, and even his own men, to carry provisions secretly to the besieged. "I would rather never possess Paris," said he, when blamed for this indulgence, "than acquire it by the destruction of its citizens."(2) He feared no reproach so much as that of his own heart.

Meantime, the duke of Parma, by order of the king of Spain, left the Low Countries, where he was hard pressed by prince Maurice, and hastened to the relief of Paris. On his approach Henry raised the siege, and offered him battle; but that consummate general, having performed the important service for which he was detached, prudently declined the combat. And so great was his skill in the art of war, that he retired in the face of the enemy, without affording them an opportunity of attacking him, or so much as putting his army into disorder; and reached his government, where his presence was much wanted, without sustaining any loss in those long marches. The States, however, were gainers by this expedition; prince Maurice had made rapid progress during the absence of the duke.

After the retreat of the Spaniards, Henry made several fresh attempts upon Paris, which was his grand object; but the vigilance of the citizens, particularly of the faction of Sixteen, by which it was governed, defeated all his designs;—and new dangers poured in upon him from every side. When the

(1) Davila, lib. xi. The same great historian tells us, that a youth who carried the royal white coronet, and a page who wore a large white plume, like that of the king, being slain, the ranks began to give way—some falling to the right, some to the left—till they recognised Henry, by his plume and his horse, fighting desperately, with his sword in his hand, in the first line; and returned to the charge, shutting themselves close together, like a wedge. *Id. ibid.*

(2) F. Daniel, tom. ix. Thuan, lib. xcix.

duke of Parma retired, he left eight thousand men with the duke of Mayenne, for the support of the League; and pope Gregory XIV., at the request of the king of Spain, not only declared Henry a relapsed heretic, and ordered all the Catholics to abandon him, under pain of excommunication, but sent his nephew with troops and money to join the duke of Savoy, who was already in possession of Provence, and had entered Dauphine. About the same time the young duke of Guise made his escape from the castle of Tours, where he had been confined since the assassination of his father. All that the king said, when informed of these dangers was, "The more enemies we have, the more care we must take, and the more honour there will be in beating them."⁽¹⁾

Elizabeth, who had withdrawn her troops, on the first prosperous appearance of Henry's affairs, now saw the necessity of again interposing. She sent him three thousand men, under sir John Norris, who had commanded with reputation in the Low Countries; and afterward four thousand, under the earl of Essex, a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accomplishments, and much real merit, was daily rising into favour; and seemed to occupy that place in her affections, which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. With these supplies, joined to an army of thirty-five thousand men, Henry entered Normandy, according to his agreement with Elizabeth, and formed the siege of Rouen. The place made an obstinate resistance; but as the army of the League was unable to keep the field, it must soon have been obliged to surrender, if an unexpected event had not procured it relief. The duke of Parma, by order of Philip, again left his government; and advancing to Rouen, with rapid marches, a second time robbed Henry of his prey, by obliging him to raise the siege. The gallant monarch, burning with revenge, again boldly offered his antagonist battle; again pursued him; and the duke, by a wonderful piece of generalship, and in spite of the greatest obstacles, a second time made good his retreat to the Netherlands.⁽²⁾

Henry was in some measure consoled for this disappointment, by hearing that Lesdiguières had recovered Provence, chased the duke of Savoy over the mountains, and made incursions even to the gates of Turin; that the viscount de Turenne had vanquished and slain the mareschal of Lorraine; while Thammes had defeated the duke de Joeyeuse, who commanded for the League in Languedoc, and killed two thousand men; that La Valette, the new governor of Provence had retaken Antibes, and the Spaniards been baffled in an attempt on Bayonne.⁽³⁾

Meanwhile, all things were hastening to a crisis between the parties. The faction of Sixteen, which was entirely in the interest of Spain, its principal members being pensioners of Philip, had hanged the first president of the parliament of Paris, and two of the judges, for not condemning to death a man obnoxious to the junto, but against whom no crime was found. The duke of Mayenne, on the other hand, afraid of being crushed by that faction, had caused four of the Sixteen to be executed in the same manner. The duke of Parma, on the part of Philip, pressed the duke of Mayenne to call an assembly of the states, in order to deliberate on the election of a king; and the Catholics of Henry's party gave him clearly to understand, that they expected he would now declare himself on the article of religion.

The king and the duke of Mayenne were equally sensible of the necessity of complying with these demands, though alike disagreeable to each. The states were convoked; and the duke of Parma, under pretence of supporting their resolutions, was ready to enter France with a powerful army, in order to forward the views of Philip. But the death of that great general at Arras where he was assembling his forces, freed the duke of Mayenne from a dangerous rival, Henry from a formidable enemy, and perhaps France from becoming a province of Spain.

The states, however, or more properly the heads of the Catholic faction

(1) P. Daniel, tom. ix. Thuan, lib. xcix. Davila, lib. xi.

(2) Davila, lib. xii. Thuan, lib. ciii.

(3) Id. *ibid.*

met, according to the edict, at Paris; and the pope's legate there proposed, that they should bind themselves by an oath never to be reconciled to the king of Navarre, even though he should embrace the Catholic faith. This motion was opposed by the duke of Mayenne and the majority of the assembly, but supported by the Spanish faction; and as there was yet no appearance of Henry's changing his religion, the duke of Feria, Philip's ambassador, after attempting to gain the duke of Mayenne, by offering him the sovereignty of Burgundy, together with a vast sum of money, boldly proposed, that the states should choose the infanta Eugenia queen, as the nearest relation of Henry III.; and the archduke Albert, to whom her father was inclined to give her in marriage, king in her right. The most zealous of the Sixteen revolted against this proposal; declaring that they could never think of admitting at once of two foreign sovereigns. The duke of Feria changed his ground. He proposed the infanta on condition that she should espouse a prince of France, including the house of Lorraine, the nomination to be left to his Catholic majesty; and, at length, he fixed on the young duke of Guise. Had the last proposal been made first, it is possible that Philip might have carried his point; but now the duke of Mayenne, unwilling to become dependent on his nephew, pretended to dispute the ambassador's power: and the parliament of Paris, as supposed through this influence, published a decree, declaring such a treaty contrary to the Salic law, which, being a fundamental principle to the government, could on no account whatsoever be set aside.(1)

While these disputes were agitated at Paris, Henry was pushing his military operations; but he was become sensible, notwithstanding his successes, that he never could, by force of arms alone, render himself master of his kingdom. The Catholics of his party grew daily more importunate to know his sentiments in regard to religious matters; and their jealousy on this point seemed to increase, in proportion as he approached to the full possession of his throne. Though a Protestant, he was no bigot to his sect; he considered theological differences as subordinate to the public good; and therefore appointed conferences to be held between the divines of the two religions, that he might be enabled to take, with more decency, that step, which the security of his crown, and the happiness of his subjects, now made necessary.

In these conferences, if we may credit the celebrated marquis de Rosni (afterward duke of Sully, and prime minister to Henry), the Protestant divines even allowed themselves to be worsted, in order to furnish the king with a better pretext for embracing that religion which it was so much his interest to believe. But however that might be, it is certain that the more moderate Protestants, and Rosni among others, were convinced of the necessity of such a step; and that Henry, soon after the taking of Dreux, solemnly made his abjuration at St. Dennis, and received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges.(2)

This measure, however, though highly agreeable to the body of the French nation, was not immediately followed by those beneficial consequences which were expected from it. The more zealous Catholics suspected Henry's sincerity: they considered his abjuration merely as a device to deceive the League: and as the personal safety of many, who had distinguished themselves by their violence, was concerned in obstructing his progress, they had recourse to their former expedient of assassination, in which they were encouraged by their priests. Several attempts were made against the king's

(1) Davila, lib. xiii. P. Henault, tom. ii.

(2) Davila, lib. xiii. P. Henault, tom. ii. Nothing can more strongly demonstrate the propriety of such a measure, than the reflections of Davila, a living and intelligent observer of the times. "The king's conversion," says he, "was certainly the most powerful remedy that could be applied to the dangerous disease of the nation. But the truce by which it was preceded did also dispose men's minds for the working of so wholesome a medicine; for the people on both sides having begun to taste the *security* and the *benefits* that result from *concord*, in a season when *harvest* and *vintage* made them more *sensible* of the *happiness*, they fell so in love with it, that it was afterward more easy to incline them to a *desire* of *peace*, and a *willing obedience* under their *lawful prince*." Hist. lib. xiv

life. The zealous Hugonots, on the other hand, became more diffident of Henry's intentions towards their sect; and his Protestant allies, particularly the queen of England, expressed much indignation at this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the League and king of Spain were still their common enemies, Elizabeth at last admitted his apologies. She continued her supplies of men and money; and time soon produced a wonderful alteration in the affairs of the French monarch, and evinced the wisdom of the step which he had taken, though not entirely conformable to the laws of honour, and consequently a reproach on his private character.

The marquis de Vitri, governor of Meaux, was the first man of rank who showed the example of a return to duty. He had often solicited the duke of Mayenne, as the cause of the war was at an end, to make his peace with the king; but receiving no satisfaction from that nobleman, he resolved to follow the dictates of his own heart. He ordered the garrison to evacuate the town; and having assembled the magistrates, delivered to them the keys. "Gentlemen," said he, "I scorn to steal an advantage, or make a fortune at other men's expense. I am going to pay my allegiance to the king, and leave it in your power to act as you please." The magistrates, after a short deliberation, agreed to send a deputation to Henry, in order to make their submissions, and entreat him to return their governor. The deputies were so confounded at their audience, that they were incapable of speech, but threw themselves at the king's feet. Having viewed them for some moments in that condition, Henry burst into tears; and, lifting them up, said, "Come not as enemies to crave forgiveness, but as children to a father always willing to receive you with open arms." (1)

The popularity acquired by this reception greatly promoted the royal cause. Henry was crowned with much solemnity at Chartres, and every thing seemed to promise a speedy pacification. La Chastre delivered up the provinces of Orléans and Berri, of which he was governor, and D'Alaincourt, the city of Poitouse; the duke of Mayenne retired from Paris; and the count de Brisac, who commanded the French garrison, (for there was also a Spanish one), privately admitted the king into his capital, of which he took possession almost without shedding blood. Villars, who had so gallantly defended Rouen for the League, surrendered that city on conditions; and a multitude of other places either offered terms, or opened their gates without stipulating for any. The duke d'Elbeuf, of the house of Lorraine, who had seized the government of Poitou, declared for the king. The young duke of Guise also made his peace with Henry. Baligny, who still held the principality of Cambray, submitted; and marshal d'Aumont, with the assistance of an English fleet and army, made himself master of Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Brest, towns guarded by the Spanish forces in Brittany, while the king in person besieged and took Laon. On this advantage, Amiens, and great part of Picardy, acknowledged his sway. (2)

In the midst of these successes, Henry was on the point of perishing by the hand of a desperate assassin. On his return from Picardy to Paris, John Chastel, a young fanatic, educated among the jesuits, struck him on the mouth with a knife, while he was saluting one of his courtiers, in a chamber of the Louvre, and beat out one of his teeth. The blow was intended for the king's throat; but, fortunately, his stooping prevented it from striking that dangerous part. The assassin was seized, avowed his principles, and was executed. On his examination, he confessed that he had frequently heard his ghostly preceptors say, that king-killing was lawful; and that as Henry IV. had not yet been absolved by the pope, he thought he might kill him with a safe conscience. Some writings to the same purpose were found in the possession of father Guisgard, who was condemned to suffer the punishment appointed for treason; and all the jesuits were banished the kingdom, by a decree of the parliament of Paris. (3)

(1) *Mem. pour servir à l'Hist. de France* tom. ii.
(3) Davila, lib. xiv. Henault, toin. ii

(2) Davila. Mezeray. Duplex

While these things were passing in France, war was still carried on with vigour in the Low Countries. The confederates not only continued to maintain the struggle for liberty, but even rose superior to the power of Spain. Prince Maurice surprised Breda; and, by the assistance of the English forces, under sir Francis Vere, he took Gertruydenberg and Groningen, after two of the most obstinate and best conducted sieges recorded in history. Count Mansveldt, an able and experienced officer, who had succeeded the duke of Parma in the chief command, beheld the taking the first with an army superior to the prince's, without being able to force his lines; and Verdugo, the Spanish general, durst not attempt the relief of the second, though the garrison made a gallant defence.(1)

The progress of the confederates, however, did not prevent the archduke Ernest, now governor of the Low Countries, from sending ten thousand men to lay waste the frontier of France; and Henry, who had been long engaged in hostilities with Philip, was provoked by this fresh insult, as well as encouraged by his own successes and those of the confederates, to declare war against Spain. He led an army in person into Burgundy; took the castles of Dijon and Talan; expelled the Spaniards from that province; obliged the duke of Mayenne to sue for an accommodation, and received absolution from the pope.

But while this great prince, rendered too confident by good fortune, was employed in a wild and fruitless expedition into Franche-Comté, in compliance with the ambition of his mistress, the fair Gabrielle d'Etrées, who wanted a principality for her son Cæsar, a Spanish army, under the command of Don Pedro de Gusman, conde de Fuentes, reduced Dourlens, Catelet, and Cambray. In balance, however, of these losses, the duke of Guise surprised Marseilles, and Henry concluded his negotiation with the duke of Mayenne, who, charmed with the generous reception which he met with on his submission, continued ever after firmly attached to the king's person and government.

When informed of the taking of Marseilles, Henry was so much elated, that he exclaimed in a kind of transport of joy, "then I am at last a king!"(2) His joy, however, was but of short duration. The archduke Albert, who had succeeded on the death of his brother to the government of the Low Countries, sent an army to besiege Calais: and that fortress, not being in a proper state of defence, the garrison was obliged to surrender, before the king could march with a sufficient force to its relief.

This unfortunate event was soon followed by another. While Henry was in the utmost distress for the loss of Calais, which fanned the dying ashes of the League,—while harassed by the complaints of the Hugonots, and chagrined at the extravagant demands of the dukes of Savoy and Mercœur, who were still in arms against him, and took occasion from his disasters to exalt their conditions,—he received intelligence that Portocarero, the Spanish governor of Dourlens, had made himself master of Amiens, by surprise.(3)

The king of France was now ready to sink under the weight of his misfortunes. His finances were so much exhausted in buying the allegiance of his rebellious subjects, or in reducing them to their duty, that he was utterly incapable of any new effort: he was not even able to pay the few troops in his service. He had already assembled his nobles, and made them acquainted with his necessities; but they, beggared also by the civil wars, seemed little disposed to assist him, though he addressed them in the most engaging language. "I have not called you together," said he, "as my predecessors were wont, to oblige you blindly to obey my will: I have assembled you to receive your counsels; to listen to them, to follow them, and to put myself entirely under your direction."(4)

"Give me an army," cried he, on another occasion, "and I will cheerfully

(1) Bentivoglio. Grotius. Metern.

(2) Dupleix, tom. v.

(3) Cayet, tom. iii

(4) *Mém. de Sully*, tom. i

venture my life for the state!"—But the means of furnishing *bread* for that army, as he pathetically complained, were not in his power.

Henry, however, was happily extricated out of all his difficulties by the fertile genius of his faithful servant, the marquis de Rosni, whom he appointed superintendent of the finances. That able minister, by loans upon the king's faith, by sums advanced upon the revenues, and other necessary expedients enabled him to raise, in a short time, an army consisting of more than twenty thousand men. With this army, the best appointed he had ever led into the field, together with four thousand English auxiliaries, sent over by queen Elizabeth in consequence of a new treaty, Henry marched immediately to Amiens, in order to attempt the recovery of that important place. "Let us go," said he, on undertaking this arduous enterprise, "and act the king of Navarre: we have acted the king of France long enough." The Spanish garrison, composed of choice troops, and commanded by experienced officers, made an obstinate defence, and allowed the archduke time to march to its relief; but Albert, not being able to force the lines of the besiegers, though his army consisted of twenty-five thousand veterans, retired to Arras, and Amiens surrendered to the French monarch.(1)

Henry returned in triumph to Paris, where he was received with every possible mark of loyalty and respect; and after convincing all parties, that the happiness of his people was his supreme wish, and the object of all his enterprises, he marched against the duke of Mercœur, who still held part of Brittany. Surprised at this unexpected visit, and deserted by the nobility of the dutchy, who hastened to make their peace with the king, the duke gave himself up for lost. But a lucky expedient saved him. He offered his only daughter, with the dutchies of Estampes, Penthievre, and Mercœur, in marriage to Henry's natural son, Cæsar; and the king, glad of such an opportunity of gratifying the ambition of his mistress, readily agreed to the proposal.(2)

Henry now saw himself in full possession of his kingdom: the League was entirely dissolved; and the Catholics in general seemed satisfied with his public profession of their religion. The Hugonots, his original friends, alone gave him any uneasiness. They had frequently, since the king's abjuration, but more especially since his reconciliation with the see of Rome, expressed apprehensions on account of their religion. Henry soon made them easy on that point. He assembled the heads of the party at Nantes; and from motives of policy, as well as of gratitude and tenderness, passed the famous edict bearing date from that place, and which granted them every thing that they reasonably could desire. It not only secured to them the free exercise of their religion, but a share in the administration of justice, and the privilege of being admitted to all employments of trust, profit, and honour.(3)

During these transactions in France, the confederates were not idle in the Low Countries. Prince Maurice and sir Francis Vere, who commanded the English forces, gained at Tournhout, in 1597, a complete victory over the Spaniards; in consequence of which that place immediately surrendered, and an incredible number of others were reduced before the close of the campaign. Nor were the confederates less successful in other quarters. Besides the naval armaments which Elizabeth was continually sending to annoy the Spaniards in the West Indies, and to obstruct their trade at home, a strong force was sent to Cadiz, where Philip was making vast preparations for a new invasion of England. The combined English and Dutch fleet, under lord Effingham, attacked the Spanish ships and galleys in the bay; and, after an obstinate engagement, obliged them all either to surrender, retire beneath their forts, or run ashore. The earl of Essex, who commanded the land forces, then disembarked his troops, and carried the city by assault. The plunder made there was considerable; but the resolution which the Spanish

(1) Duplex. Davila. Mezeray.

(3) Thuanus. Mezeray. Varillas.

(2) Davila, lib. xv. *Mem. de Sully*, tom. ii.

admiral took, of setting fire to a large fleet of merchant ships, richly laden, in the port, deprived the conquerors of a far more valuable booty. The loss, however, sustained by the Spaniards was not diminished by that expedient, and is computed at twenty millions of ducats.(1)

Age and infirmities, together with so many disasters and disappointments, had now broken the lofty and obstinate spirit of Philip. He began to moderate his views, and offered peace to the confederates on pretty equitable terms; but as he refused to acknowledge the independency of the United Provinces, they would not negotiate with him, and Elizabeth came to the same resolution, on their account.

Henry's situation did not enable him to behave with equal firmness. France, long torn by civil dissensions, stood in need of peace. Philip knew it, and offered advantageous conditions to Henry, that he might be enabled, by diminishing the number of his enemies, to act with more vigour against the United Provinces. The French monarch, however, before he entered into treaty with the king of Spain, sent ambassadors to Elizabeth and the States, in order to facilitate a general agreement, and make known his pacific purpose. Both powers remonstrated against such a measure, unless the independency of the States was made its basis. Henry pleaded his necessity of negotiating; and although they blamed the step which they saw he was determined to take, they were sensible of the justice of his arguments. A separate peace was accordingly concluded, between France and Spain, at Vervins;(2) by which Henry recovered possession of all the places seized by Philip during the course of the civil wars, and procured to himself, what he had long ardently desired, leisure to settle the domestic affairs of his kingdom; to cultivate the arts of peace (to which his genius was no less turned than to those of war), and to contribute to the happiness and prosperity of his people.

But before we take a view of the flourishing state of France, under the equitable government of this great and good prince, and the wise administration of Sully, or of England during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, I must carry forward the contest between Spain and the United Provinces.

LETTER LXXI.

Spain and the Low Countries, from the Peace of Vervins, to the Truce in 1609, when the Freedom of the United Provinces was acknowledged.

Soon after the peace concluded between France and Spain, at Vervins, a new treaty was negotiated between England and the United Provinces, in order that the war might be supported with vigour against Philip. The States, afraid of being deserted by Elizabeth, submitted to what terms she was pleased to require of them. They agreed to diminish their debt, which amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, by remitting considerable sums annually; to pay the English troops in the Low Countries; and to maintain, at their own expense, the garrisons of the cautionary towns, while England should continue the war against Spain.(3)

Scarce was this negotiation finished, when Philip II., its first object, breathed his last at Madrid; leaving behind him the character of a gloomy, jealous, haughty, vindictive, and inexorable tyrant. With great talents for government, he failed to obtain the reputation of a great prince; because, with a perfect knowledge of mankind, and the most extensive power of benefitting them, he became the great destroyer of his species, and the chief instrument of human misery. His head fitted him for the throne of Spain, and his indefatigable application for the sovereignty of both Indies; but his heart, and

(1) Birch's *Mem.* vol. li.

(2) Davila, lib. xv. *Meyeray, Abrégé Chronol.* tom. xvi

(3) Camden. Thuanus. Grotius.

his habit of thinking, only for the office of Grand Inquisitor. Hence he was long the terror, but never the admiration, of Europe.

Nor was Philip's character more amiable or estimable in private than in public life. Besides other crimes of a domestic nature, he was accused by William, prince of Orange, in the face of all Europe, and seemingly with justice, of having sacrificed his own son, Don Carlos, to his jealous ambition; and of having poisoned his third wife, Isabella of France, that he might marry Anne of Austria, his niece.(1) The particulars of the death of Don Carlos are sufficiently curious to merit attention. That young prince had sometimes taken the liberty to censure the measures of his father's government in regard to the Netherlands, and was even suspected of a design of putting himself at the head of the insurgents, in order to prevent the utter ruin of his future subjects, for whose sufferings he had often expressed his compassion. In consequence of this suspicion he was put under confinement; and although several princes interceded for his release, his father was inexorable. The inquisition, through the influence of the king, who on all great occasions consulted the members of that ghostly tribunal, passed sentence against the unhappy Carlos; and the inhuman and unnatural Philip, under cover of that sentence, ordered poison, which proved effectual in a few hours, to be administered to his son and heir of empire.(2)

No European prince ever possessed such vast resources as Philip II. Besides his Spanish and Italian dominions, the kingdom of Portugal and the Netherlands, he enjoyed the whole East India commerce, and reaped the richest harvest of the American mines. But his prodigious armaments, his intrigues in France and in England, and his long and expensive wars in the Low Countries, exhausted his treasures, and enriched those whom he sought to subdue; while the Spaniards, dazzled with the sight of the precious metals, and elated with an idea of imaginary wealth, neglected agriculture and manufactures, and were obliged, as at present, to depend on their more industrious neighbours, for the luxuries, as well as the necessities, of life. Spain, once a rich and fertile kingdom, became only the mint of Europe. Its wedges and ingots were no sooner coined than called for; and often mortgaged before their arrival, as the price of labour and ingenuity. The state was enfeebled, the country rendered sterile, and the people poor and miserable.

The condition of the United Provinces was in all respects the reverse of Spain. They owed every thing to their industry. By that, a country naturally barren, was rendered fertile, even while the scene of war. Manufactures were carried on with vigour, and commerce was extended to all the quarters of the globe. The republic was become powerful, and the people rich, in spite of every effort to enslave and oppress them. Conscious of this, the court of Madrid had changed its measures before the death of Philip. After much deliberation, that haughty monarch, despairing of being able to reduce the revolted provinces by force, and desirous of an accommodation, that he might end his days in peace, but disdaining to make, in his own name, the concessions necessary for that purpose, transferred to his daughter Isabella, contracted to the archduke Albert of Austria, the sovereignty of the Low Countries.

Philip II. died before the celebration of the marriage, but his son Philip III., a virtuous, though a weak prince, punctually executed the contract; and Albert, after taking possession of his sovereignty according to the necessary forms, wrote to the States of the United Provinces, acquainting them of that deed, and entreating them not to refuse submission to their natural princes, who would govern them with lenity, indulgence, and affection.

The States returned no answer to the archduke's letter. They were now determined to complete that independency for which they had so long struggled. But although their purpose had been less firm, there was a clause in the contract which would have produced the same resolution. It provided,

(1) See the *Manifesto* of the prince of Orange, in answer to Philip's *Proscription*.

(2) Compare Thuanus lib. xliii., with Strada, lib. vii.

that, in case the infanta left no issue, all the provinces in the Low Countries should return to the crown of Spain; and as there was little probability of her having offspring, the States saw their danger, and avoided it, by refusing to listen to any terms of submission.(1)

The first material step taken by Albert and Isabella for reducing their revolted subjects to obedience, was the issuing of an edict, in conjunction with the Catholic king, precluding the United Provinces all intercourse with the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, or with the Spanish Netherlands. This was a severe blow to the commerce of the States. They had hitherto, singular as it may seem, been allowed an open trade with all the Spanish dominions in Europe, and had drawn much of their wealth from that source, as well as increased by it their naval power. An idea of general advantage only could have induced Philip II. to permit such a traffic; and an experience of its balance being in favour of the republic, as will always be the case between industrious and indolent nations, made it now be prohibited under the name of an indulgence. But the interdict was issued too late effectually to answer its end. The Dutch, already strong by sea, sent out a fleet to cruise upon the Spaniards; their land levies were prosecuted with great diligence; and, in order to make up for the restraint upon their home trade, they turned their views towards India, where they attacked the Spaniards and Portuguese, and at length monopolized the most lucrative branch of that important commerce.

Meanwhile, war was carried on with vigour in the Low Countries. Besides several bodies of Germans and Swiss, the States took into their service two thousand French veterans, disbanded by Henry IV. on the conclusion of the peace of Vervins: and that prince generously supplied the republic with money, under pretence of paying his debts. The archduke's forces were, in like manner, much augmented by fresh levies from Spain, Italy, and Germany. Each party seemed formidable to the other, yet both were eager for the combat; and several towns having been taken, many gallantly assaulted, and no less gallantly defended on both sides, the two armies came to a general engagement at Nieuport, near Ostend.(2) The field was obstinately disputed for three hours. The confederates began the battle with incredible intrepidity; and the Spanish veterans, who composed the enemy's van, received the shock with great firmness. The conflict was terrible. At length the Spaniards gave ground; but, repeatedly turning to the charge, repeatedly were repulsed, and, in the issue, utterly broken and routed, with the loss of five thousand men, by the valour of the English auxiliaries under sir Francis Vere, who led the van of the confederates.(3) We must not, however, with some of our too warm countrymen, ascribe the victory solely to English prowess. A share of the honour, at least, ought to be allowed to the military skill of prince Maurice; to a body of Swiss immediately under his command, that supported the English troops; and to the valour of the many gallant volunteers, who had come from all parts of Europe to study the art of war under so able and experienced a general, and who strove to outdo each other in daring acts of heroism.

This victory was of the utmost importance to the United Provinces, as the defeat of their army, in the present crisis, must have been followed by the loss of their liberties, and their final ruin as independent states; but its consequences otherwise were very inconsiderable. Prince Maurice either mispent his time after the battle, or his troops, as he affirmed, were so exhausted with fatigue, as not to be fit for any new enterprise, till Albert was again ready to take the field with a superior army. Overtures of peace were renewed, and rejected by the States. The confederates laid siege to Rhimburg, and the archduke to Ostend. Rhimburg was reduced, but Maurice did not think his strength sufficient to attempt the relief of Ostend.

Meantime, the siege of that important place was vigorously conducted by

(1) Metern. Grotius. Bentivoglio.

(2) Grotius, lib. ix. Reidan, lib. xvij. Bentivoglio, par. lii. lib. vi.

(3) Id. *Ibid.*

the archduke in person, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army. The brave resistance which he met with astonished, but did not discourage him. His heart was set on the reduction of Ostend. All the resources of war were exhausted; rivers of blood were spilled, but neither side was dispirited; because both received constant supplies, the one by sea, the other from the neighbouring country. New batteries were daily raised, and assaults made without number, and without effect. The garrison, commanded by sir Francis Vere, who had gallantly thrown himself into the town in the face of the enemy, repelled all the attempts of the Spaniards with invincible intrepidity; and at length obliged Albert to turn the siege into a kind of blockade, and commit the command to Rivas, one of his generals, while he himself went to Ghent, in order to concert new measures for accomplishing his favourite enterprise.

The States embraced this opportunity to change the garrison of Ostend, worn out and emaciated with continual fatigue and watching; and as the communication by sea was preserved open, the scheme was executed without difficulty. A fresh garrison, supplied with every necessary, took charge of the town, under the command of colonel Dorp, a Dutchman, colonel Edmunds, a Scotchman, and Hertain, a Frenchman; while sir Francis Vere, with the former garrison, joined the army under prince Maurice.

The army before Ostend, composed of Flemings, Walloons, and Spaniards, was reinforced with eight thousand Italians, under the marquis of Spinola, an officer of great military talents, to whom Albert wisely committed the conduct of the siege, after the ineffectual efforts of Rivas. Spinola showed, that no fortification, however strong, is impregnable to an able engineer furnished with the necessary force. Ostend was reduced to a heap of ruins; and the besiegers were making preparations for the grand assault, when the governor offered to capitulate. Spinola granted the garrison honourable terms. (1)

During this memorable siege, which lasted upwards of three years, and cost the king of Spain and the archduke the lives of fourscore thousand brave soldiers, prince Maurice made himself master of Rinbach, Grave, and Sluys, acquisitions which more than balanced the loss of Ostend; and Albert, by employing all his strength against the place, was prevented, during three campaigns, from entering the United Provinces. The Dutch did not let slip the occasion, which that interval of security afforded them, to push their trade and manufactures. Every nerve was strained in labour, and every talent in ingenuity. Commerce, both foreign and domestic, flourished; Ternate, one of the Moluccas, had been gained; and the East India company, that grand pillar of the republic, was established. (2)

But, as a counterpoise to these advantages, the States had lost the alliance of England, in consequence of the death of Elizabeth. James I., her successor, showed no inclination to engage in hostilities with Spain; and concluded, soon after his accession, a treaty with that court. Through the intercession of Henry IV., however, he agreed to supply the States secretly with money: and what is very remarkable as well as honourable, it appears that James, in his treaty with Spain, had expressly reserved the power of sending assistance to the United Provinces. (3)

The republic, at present, stood much in need of support. Philip III., now sensible that the infanta could have no issue, and consequently that the Netherlands must return to the crown of Spain, came to the resolution of carrying on the war against the revolted provinces with the whole force of his dominions. Large levies were made for that purpose; large sums were remitted in the Low Countries; and Spinola was there declared commander-in-chief of the Spanish and Italian forces.

The States saw their danger, and endeavoured to provide against it. They empowered prince Maurice to augment his army; they recruited their gar-

(1) Grotius, lib. xiii. Bentivoglio, par. iiii. lib. vii.
(2) Winwood, vol. ii

(3) Le Clerc, lib. vii

risons, repaired their fortifications, and every where prepared for a vigorous resistance. Spinola expected it, but was not discouraged: and his success was rapid for two campaigns, in spite of all the efforts of Maurice. But although he had made himself master of many important places, he had yet made no impression on the body of the republic; and three hundred thousand doubloons a month, the common expense of the army, was a sum too large for the Spanish treasury long to disburse, and a drain which not even the mines of Mexico and Peru could supply. His troops mutinied for want of pay. He became sensible of the impracticability of his undertaking, and delivered it as his opinion, that it was more advisable to enjoy the ten provinces in peace and security, than to risk the loss of the whole Netherlands in pursuit of the other seven, and ruin Spain by a hazardous attempt to conquer rebel subjects, who had too long tasted the sweets of liberty ever again to bear with ease the shackles of monarchy and absolute dominion.(1)

The court of Madrid was already convinced of the necessity of an accommodation; the archduke was heartily tired of the war; and the sentiments of the general had great influence both on the Spanish and Flemish councils. If the duke of Parma had failed to reduce the seven provinces, and Spinola gave up the attempt, who, it was asked, could hope to subdue them?—as there was no answering such a question, it was agreed, though not without many scruples, to negotiate with the Belgian republic as an independent state. A suspension of arms accordingly took place; conferences were opened; and, after numberless obstructions and delays, interposed by the Orange faction, whose interest it was to continue the war, a truce of twelve years was concluded at the Hague, through the mediation of France and England.(2) This treaty secured to the United Provinces all the acquisitions they had made, freedom of commerce with the dominions of Philip and the archduke, on the same footing with other foreign nations, and the full enjoyment of those civil and religious liberties for which they had so gloriously struggled.(3)

Scarce had the court of Spain finished one civil war, occasioned by persecution, when it plunged into another. Philip III., at the instigation of the Inquisition, and by the advice of his minister, the duke of Lerma, no less weak than himself, issued an edict, ordering all the Morescoes, or descendants of the Moors, to leave the kingdom within the space of thirty days, under the penalty of death. These remains of the ancient conquerors of Spain were chiefly employed in commerce and agriculture; and the principal reason assigned for this barbarous decree was, that they were still Mahometans in their hearts, though they conformed outwardly to the rites of Christianity, and therefore might corrupt the true faith, as well as disturb the peace of the state. Persecution prompted them to undertake what they had hitherto shown no disposition to attempt. They chose themselves a king, and endeavoured to oppose the execution of the royal mandate; but being almost utterly unprovided with arms, they were soon obliged to submit, and all banished the kingdom.(4)

By this violent and impolitic measure, Spain lost near a million of industrious inhabitants;(5) and as that kingdom was already depopulated by long and bloody foreign wars, by repeated emigrations to the New World, and enervated by luxury, it now sunk into a state of languor, out of which it has never since fully recovered. The remembrance of its former strength, however, still made it terrible; and associations were formed for restraining the exorbitant power of Spain, after Spain had ceased to be powerful.

(1) Bentivoglio.

(2) Grotius. Bentivoglio. Winwood.

(3) Grotius, lib. xvii.

(4) Fonseca. *Traycion de Morescoes.*(5) Geddes, *Hist. Expuls. Moresc.*

LETTER LXXII.

The domestic History of England, from the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1588, to the Death of Elizabeth, with some Particulars of Scotland and Ireland.

THE execution of the queen of Scots, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada, freed Elizabeth from all apprehensions in regard to the safety of her crown. What part she took in the affairs of France and of the United Provinces, and what attempts she made by naval armaments to annoy the Catholic king, we have already seen. We must now, my dear Philip, take a view of her domestic policy, and her domestic troubles; and of her transactions with Scotland and Ireland, from this great era of her guilt and her glory to that of her death, which left vacant the throne of England to the house of Stuart.

The leading characteristics of Elizabeth's administration were economy and vigour. By a strict attention to the first, she was able to maintain a magnificent court, and to support the persecuted Protestants in France and the Low Countries, without oppressing her people, or involving the crown in debt; and by a spirited exertion of the second, she humbled the pride of Spain, and gave stability to her throne, in spite of all the machinations of her enemies. After informing her parliament of the necessity of continuing the war against Philip, and how little she dreaded the power of that monarch, even though he should make a greater effort than that of his Invincible Armada, she concluded thus:—"But I am informed, that when he attempted this last invasion, some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance—but I swear unto you, by God! if I knew those persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them feel what it is to be fearful in so urgent a cause."(1)

Elizabeth's frugality in the administration of government seems less, however, to have proceeded from lenity to her people than from a fear of bringing herself under the power of the commons by the necessity of soliciting larger supplies, and thereby endangering her royal prerogative, of which she was always remarkably jealous, and which she exercised with a high hand. Numberless instances of this occur during her reign. Besides erecting the Court of High Commission, which was vested with almost inquisitorial powers, and supporting the arbitrary decrees of the Star Chamber, she granted to her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies, which put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts, and enabled those who possessed them to raise commodities to what price they pleased. Salt, in particular, was raised from sixteen pence a bushel to fourteen or fifteen shillings,(2) and several other articles in proportion. Almost all the necessities of life were thus monopolized; which made a certain member cry out ironically, when the list was read over in the house, "Is not bread among the number?"(3)

These grievances were frequently complained of in parliament, but more especially by the *Puritans*; a religious sect, who maintained, as the name imports, that the church of England was not yet sufficiently purged from the errors of popery, and who carried the same bold spirit that dictated their theological opinions into their political speculations. But such complaints were made at the peril of the members, who were frequently committed to custody for undue liberty of speech; and all motions to remove those enormous grievances were suppressed, as attempts to invade the royal prerogative. The queen herself, by messages to the house, frequently admonished the commons "not to meddle with what nowise belonged to them (matters of

(1) D'Ewes, *Journal of Parliament*.(2) *Ibid.*(3) *Ibid.*

state or religion), and what did not lie within the compass of their understanding;" and she warned them "since neither her commands nor the example of their wiser brethren (those devoted to the court) could reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly, that some other species of correction must be found for them." (1)

These messages were patiently received by the majority of the house Nay, it was asserted, "that the royal prerogative was not to be canvassed, nor disputed, nor examined, and did not even admit of any limitation; that absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, were a species of divinity; that it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or statutes, since, by her dispensing power, she could loosen herself at pleasure!" (2) But the Puritans, who alone possessed any just sentiments of freedom, and who, employed all their industry to be elected into parliament, still hazarded the utmost indignation of Elizabeth, in vindicating the natural rights of mankind. They continued to keep alive that precious spark of liberty which they had rekindled; and which, burning fiercer from confinement, broke out into a blaze under the two succeeding reigns, and, agitated but not smothered by opposition, consumed the church and monarchy; from whose ashes, like the fabled phoenix, singly to arrest the admiration of ages, sprung our present glorious and happy constitution.

Among the subjects which Elizabeth prohibited the parliament from taking into consideration, was the succession to the crown. But as all danger from, a rival claim had expired with the queen of Scots, a motion was made by Peter Wentworth, a Puritan, for petitioning her majesty to fix the succession; which, though in itself sufficiently respectful, incensed the queen to such a degree, that she ordered Wentworth to be sent to the tower, and all the members who seconded him to the fleet. (3) Her malignity against Mary seems to have settled upon her son James; for she not only continued to avoid acknowledging him as her successor, though a peaceable and unambitious prince, but refused to assist him in suppressing a conspiracy of some Catholic noblemen, in conjunction with the king of Spain, their common enemy. (4) She endeavoured to keep him in perpetual dependence, by bribing his ministers, or fomenting discontents among his subjects; and she appears to have been at the bottom of a conspiracy, formed by the earl of Gowrie, for seizing the king's person; (5) though not, as commonly supposed, with a design to take away his life.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth's attention was much occupied with the affairs of Ireland, where the English sovereignty had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obedience to a power which they were not able to resist; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in submission, they still relapsed into their former state of barbarous independency. Other reasons conspired to prevent a cordial union. The small army which was maintained in Ireland never being regularly paid, the officers were obliged to give their soldiers the privilege of free quarters upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered; and that, together with the old opposition of manners, laws, and interests, was now heightened by religious animosity, the Irish being still Catholics, and in a great measure savages. (6)

The romantic and impolitic project of the English princes for subduing France occasioned this inattention to the affairs of Ireland; a conquest pregnant with many solid advantages, and infinitely more suited to their condition. Elizabeth early saw the importance of that island, and took several measures for reducing it to a state of greater order and submission. Besides furnishing her deputies, or governors of Ireland, with a stronger force, she founded a university in Dublin, with a view of introducing arts and learning into that capital and kingdom, and of civilizing the barbarous manners of the people. (7)

(1) D'Ewes, ubi sup.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Spotswood.

(5) Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* vol. ii.

(6) Spenser's *Account of Ireland*.

(7) Sir John Davis. Camden

But unhappily, sir John Perrot, in 1585, being then lord-deputy, put arms into the hands of the inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the English government, to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders; and Philip II. having, about the same time, engaged many of the Irish gentry to serve in his armies in the Low Countries, Ireland, thus provided both with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war, and became more formidable to England.

Hugh O'Neale, the head of a potent clan, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but preferring the pride of barbarous license and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, he secretly fomented the discontents of his countrymen, and formed the project of rendering himself independent. Trusting, however, to the influence of his deceitful oaths and protestations, as he was not yet sufficiently prepared, he surrendered himself into the hands of sir William Russel, who had been appointed the queen's deputy in Ireland; and being dismissed, in consequence of these protestations of his pacific disposition, and retiring into his own country, he embraced the daring resolution of rising in open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity and imprudence of his enemies. His success exceeded his most sanguine hopes. After amusing sir John Norris, sent over to reduce him to obedience, with treacherous promises and proposals of accommodation, by means of which the war was spun out for some years, he defeated the English army under sir Henry Bagnal, who had succeeded to the command on the death of the gallant Norris, and who was left dead on the field, together with fifteen hundred men.(1)

This victory, which mightily animated the courage of the Irish, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who now assumed the title of Deliverer of his Country, made Elizabeth sensible of the necessity of pushing the war by vigorous measures. And she appointed, at his own request, her reigning favourite the earl of Essex, ever ambitious of military fame, governor of Ireland, under the title of lord-lieutenant; vested him with powers almost unlimited; and, in order to ensure him success against the rebels, she levied an army of sixteen thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse. But Essex, unacquainted with the country, and misled by interested councils, disappointed the expectations of the queen and the nation; and, fearing the total alienation of her affections, by the artifices of his enemies, he embraced the rash resolution of returning home, expressly contrary to her orders, and arrived at court before any one was apprized of his intentions.(2)

The sudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite, whose impatience carried him to her bedchamber, where he threw himself at her feet, and kissed her hand, at first disarmed the resentment of Elizabeth. She was incapable, in that moment of soft surprise, of treating him with severity; hence Essex was induced to say, on retiring, he thanked God, that though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home.(3)

Elizabeth, however, had no sooner leisure for recollection, than her displeasure returned. All Essex's faults again took possession of her mind, and she thought it necessary, by some severe discipline, to subdue that haughty and imperious spirit, which, presuming on her partiality and indulgence, had ventured to disregard her instructions, and disobey her commands. She ordered him to be confined; and, by a decree of the privy council, he was deprived of all his employments, except that of master of the horse, and sentenced to remain a prisoner during her majesty's pleasure.

Humbled by this sentence, but still trusting to the queen's tenderness, Essex wrote to her, that he kissed her majesty's hand, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness, till she deigned to admit him to that presence, which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment. He had now resolved, he

(1) Sir John Davis. Camden.

(2) Winwood, vol. i.

(3) Sydney's Letters, vol. II.

added, to make amends for his past errors ; to retire into a rural solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field, let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding." (1)

Elizabeth, who had always declared to the world, and even to Essex himself, that the purpose of her severity was to correct, not to ruin him, was much pleased with these sentiments ; and replied, that she heartily wished his actions might correspond with his expressions. Every one expected that he would soon be restored to his former degree of credit and favour ; nay, as is usual in reconciliations proceeding from tenderness, that he would acquire an additional ascendant over his fond mistress. But Essex's enemies, by whom she was continually surrounded, found means to persuade the queen, that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued ; and, as a farther trial of his submission, she refused to renew a patent, which he possessed, for a monopoly of sweet wines. She even accompanied her refusal with an insult. "An ungovernable beast," added she, "must be stinted in its provender." (2)

Essex, who had with difficulty restrained his proud heart so long, and whose patience was now exhausted, imagining, from this fresh instance of severity, that the queen was become inexorable, gave full rein to his violent disposition, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Already high in the public favour, he practised anew every art of popularity. He indulged himself in great liberties of speech ; particularly in regard to the queen's person, which was still an object of her vanity, and on which she allowed herself to be complimented, though approaching to her seventieth year. And what was, if possible, still more mortifying to Elizabeth, he made secret applications to the king of Scotland, her heir and presumptive successor, offering to extort an immediate declaration in his favour. (3)

But James, although sufficiently desirous of securing the succession of England, and though he had negotiated with all the courts of Europe, in order to procure support to his hereditary title, did not approve of the violent means which Essex proposed to employ for that end. His natural timidity of temper made him averse against any bold expedient ; and he was afraid, if the attempt should fail, that Elizabeth might be induced to take some extraordinary step to his prejudice. Essex, however, continued to make use of that prince's claim, as a colour for his rebellious projects. A select council of malecontents was formed ; and it was agreed to seize the palace, to oblige the queen to remove all Essex's enemies, to call a parliament, and to settle the succession, together with a new plan of government. (4)

Elizabeth had some intimation of these desperate resolutions. Essex was summoned to attend the council ; but he received a private note, which warned him to provide for his safety. He concluded that all his conspiracy was discovered ; excused himself to the council, on account of a pretended indisposition ; and, as he judged it impracticable to seize the palace without more preparations, he sallied forth, at the head of about two hundred followers, and attempted to raise the city. But the citizens, though much attached to his person, showed no disposition to join them. In vain did he tell them, that his life was in danger, and that England was sold to the Spaniards. They flocked about him in amazement, but remained silent and inactive : and Essex, despairing of success, retreated with difficulty to his own house. There he seemed determined to defend himself to the last extremity, and rather to die, like a brave man, with his sword in his hand, than ignominiously by the hands of the executioner ; but, after some parley, his resolution failed him, and he surrendered at discretion. (5)

Orders were immediately given for the trial of Essex, and the most considerable of the other conspirators. Their guilt was too notorious to admit of any doubt, and sentence was pronounced accordingly. The queen, who had behaved with the utmost composure during the insurrection, now appeared all

(1) Camden.

(2) Ibid

(3) Birch's *Memoirs*, vol. ii.

(4) Camden.

(5) Ibid

agitation and irresolution. The unhappy condition of Essex awakened her fondness afresh: resentment and affection shared her breast at turns; the care of her own safety, and concern for her favourite. She signed the warrant for his execution, she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death, she felt a new return of tenderness. She waited impatiently for the intercession of a friend, to whom she might yield that forgiveness, which of herself she was ashamed to grant. No such friend appeared; and Elizabeth, imagining this ungrateful neglect to proceed from Essex's haughtiness—from a pride of spirit, which disdained to solicit her clemency, at last permitted the sentence to be put in execution.(1) He was privately beheaded in the tower, to prevent the danger of a popular insurrection.

Such was the untimely fate of Robert d'Evreux, earl of Essex. Brave, generous, affable, incapable of disguising his own sentiments or of misrepresenting those of others, he possessed the rare felicity of being at once the favourite of his sovereign, and the darling of the people. But this so fortunate circumstance proved the cause of his destruction. Confident of the queen's partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtiness which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and, when his rashness, imprudence, and violence had exposed him to her resentment, he hoped, by means of his popularity, to make her submit to his imperious will. But the attachment of the people to his person was not strong enough to shake their allegiance to the throne. He saw his mistake, though too late; and his death was accompanied with many circumstances of the most humiliating penitence. But his remorse unhappily took a wrong direction. It made him ungenerously publish the name of every one to whom he had communicated his treasonable designs.(2) He debased his character, in attempting to make his peace with Heaven; and, after all, it is much to be questioned, whatever he might imagine in those moments of affliction, whether, in bemoaning his crimes, he did not secretly mourn his disappointed ambition, and in naming his accomplices hope to appease his sovereign. But however that might be, it is sincerely to be lamented that a person possessed of so many noble virtues should have involved not only himself, but many of his friends in ruin.

The king of Scotland, who had a great regard for Essex, though he neglected his violent counsels, no sooner heard of his criminal and unsuccessful enterprise, than he sent two ambassadors to the court of England, in order to intercede for his life, as well as to congratulate the queen on her escape from the late insurrection and conspiracy. But these envoys arrived too late to execute the first part of their instructions, and therefore prudently concealed it. Elizabeth received them with all possible marks of respect; and, during their residence in England, they found the dispositions of men as favourable as they could wish to the Scottish succession. They even entered into a private correspondence with secretary Cecil, son of the late lord treasurer Burleigh, whose influence, after the fall of Essex, was uncontrolled.(3) That profound courtier thought it prudent to acquire, by this policy, the confidence of a prince, who might soon become his master: and James, having gained the man whose opposition he had hitherto chiefly feared, waited in perfect security till time should bring about that event which would open his way to the English throne.(4)

While these things were transacting in Britain, lord Mountjoy, who succeeded Essex in Ireland, had restored the queen's authority in that kingdom. He defeated the rebels near Kinsale, though supported by six thousand Spaniards, whom he expelled the island; and many of the chieftains, after skulking for some time in the woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions as the deputy was pleased to prescribe. Even Tyrone petitioned for terms; which being denied him, he was obliged to throw himself on the queen's clemency.(5)

But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any pleasure from this

(1) Birch. Bacon. Camden.

(3) Osborne. (4) Spotswood.

(2) Winwood, vol. i.

(5) Camden.

fortunate conclusion of the war, which had long occupied her councils, exhausted her treasury, and disturbed her domestic peace. Though in her seventieth year, she had hitherto enjoyed a good state of health; but the infirmities of old age at length began to steal upon her, and with them that depression of spirits by which they are naturally accompanied. She had no offspring to inherit her extensive dominions; no son, no daughter, to whom she could transmit her sceptre, and the glories of her illustrious reign; no object of affection to alleviate her sorrows, or on whom she could repose her increasing cares. There lay the source of her most dangerous disease. A deep melancholy, which nothing could dissipate, and which rendered her dead to every human satisfaction, had settled on her mind.

Essex, as I have already observed, had been consigned to the executioner solely on a suspicion that the obstinacy and haughtiness of his spirit, still disdaining submission, would not permit him to implore the queen's clemency. His criminal designs would have been forgiven, as the extravagances of a great soul; but his want of confidence in the affection of an indulgent mistress, or his sullen contempt of her mercy, were unpardonable. His enemies knew it: they took advantage of it, to hasten his destruction; and his friends were afraid to interpose, lest they should be represented as the abettors of his treason. But no sooner was the fatal blow struck, than, fear and envy being laid asleep, his merits were universally confessed. Even his sentiments of duty and loyalty were extolled. Elizabeth became sensible she had been deceived, and lamented her rashness, in sacrificing a man on whose life her happiness depended. His memory became daily more dear to her, and she seldom mentioned his name without tears.⁽¹⁾ Other circumstances conspired to heighten her regret. Her courtiers having no longer the superior favour of Essex to dread, grew less respectful and assiduous in their attendance, and all men desirous of preferment seemed to look forward to her successor. The people caught the temper of the court, the queen went abroad without the usual acclamations. And as a farther cause of uneasiness, she had been prevailed on, contrary to her most solemn declarations and resolutions, to pardon Tyrone, whose rebellion had created her so much trouble, and whom she regarded as the remote cause of all her favourite's misfortunes. An unexpected discovery completed her sorrow, and rendered her melancholy mortal.

While Essex was in high favour with Elizabeth, she had given him a ring as a pledge of her affection; and accompanied it with a promise, that into whatever disgrace he might fall, or whatever prejudices she might be induced, by his enemies, to entertain against him, on producing that ring he might depend on her for forgiveness. This precious gift he had reserved for the final extremity. All his misfortunes had not been able to draw it from him; but after his condemnation he resolved to try its efficacy, and committed it to the countess of Nottingham, in order to be delivered to the queen. The countess communicated the matter to her husband, one of Essex's most implacable enemies, who persuaded her to act an atrocious part; neither to deliver the ring to the queen nor return it to the earl. Elizabeth, who had anxiously expected that last appeal to her tenderness, imputed an omission, occasioned by the countess's treachery, to the disdainful pride of her favourite; and she was chiefly induced, by the resentment arising from that idea, to sign the warrant for his execution.⁽²⁾

Conscience discovered what it could not prevent. The countess of Nottingham falling ill, and finding her end fast approaching, was seized with remorse on account of her perfidy. She desired to see the queen, in order to reveal to her a secret, without disclosing which she could not die in peace. When the queen entered her apartment, she presented the fatal ring; related the purpose for which she received it, and begged forgiveness. All Elizabeth's affection returned, and all her rage was roused. "God may forgive you," cried she, "but I never can!" shaking the dying countess in her bed, and rushing out of the room.⁽³⁾

(1) Birch's Mem. vol. ii.

(2) Birch's *Memoirs and Negotiations*.

(3) *Ibid*.

Few and miserable, after this discovery, were the days of Elizabeth. Her spirit left her, and existence itself seemed a burden. She rejected all consolation: she would scarcely taste food, and refused every kind of medicine, declaring that she wished to die, and would live no longer. She could not even be prevailed on to go to bed; but threw herself on the carpet, where she remained, pensive and silent, during ten days and nights, leaning on cushions, and holding her finger almost continually in her mouth, with her eyes open, and fixed upon the ground. Her sighs, her groans, were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to utter, and which preyed upon her life. At last, her death being visibly approaching, the privy council sent to know her will, in regard to her successor. She answered with a feeble voice, that as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor; and on Cecil's desiring her to explain herself, she said, "who should that be but my nearest kinsman, the king of Scots?" She expired soon after, without a struggle, her body being totally wasted by anguish and abstinence.⁽¹⁾

History does not afford a more striking lesson on the unsubstantial nature of human greatness, than in the close of this celebrated reign. Few sovereigns ever swayed a sceptre with more dignity than Elizabeth: few have enjoyed more uniform prosperity, and none could be more beloved by their people; yet this great princess, after all her glory and popularity, lived to fall into neglect, and sunk to the grave beneath the pressure of a private grief, accompanied by circumstances of distress, which the wretch on the torture might pity, and which the slave who expires at the oar does not feel. But the reign of Elizabeth yields other lessons. It shows to what a degree of wealth and consequence a nation may be raised in a few years, by a wise and vigorous administration: and what powerful efforts may be made by a brave and united people, in repelling or annoying an enemy, how superior soever in force.

The character of Elizabeth herself has been too often drawn to admit of any new feature, and is best delineated in her conduct. To all the personal jealousy, the coquetry, and little vanities of a woman, she united the sound understanding and firm spirit of a man. A greater share of feminine softness might have made her more agreeable as a wife or a mistress, though not a better queen; but a less insidious policy would have reflected more lustre on her administration, and a less rigid frugality, on some occasions, would have given more success to her arms. But as she was, and as she acted, she must be allowed to have been one of the greatest sovereigns that ever filled a throne, and may perhaps be considered, as the most illustrious female that ever did honour to humanity.

LETTER LXXIII.

France, from the Peace of Vervins, in 1598, to the Death of Henry IV., in 1610, with some Account of the Affairs of Germany, under Rodolph II.

No kingdom, exempt from the horrors of war, could be more wretched than France, at the peace of Vervins. The crown was loaded with debts and pensions; the country barren and desolated; the people poor and miserable; and the nobility, from a long habit of rebellion, rapine, and disorder, had lost

(1) Camden. Birch. Strype. In this account of the death of Elizabeth, I have differed, in some particulars, from the crowd of historians. But, in conformity with general testimony, I have mentioned her nomination of the king of Scotland as her successor; yet a respectable eye and ear-witness tells us, That she was speechless before the question relative to the succession was proposed by the privy council. He candidly adds, however, "that by putting her hand to her head, when the king of Scots was named to succeed her, they all knew he was the man she desired should reign after her." (*Memoirs of the Life of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth*, written by himself, p. 141.) The late John earl of Corke, editor of Carey's Memoirs, gives a less liberal interpretation of this sign: he supposes it might be the effect of pain Pref. p. x.

all sense of justice, allegiance, or legal submission. They had been accustomed to set at nought the authority of the prince, to invade the royal prerogative, and to sport with the lives and property of the people.

Happily, France was favoured with a king, equally able and willing to remedy all these evils. Henry IV., to a sincere regard for the welfare of his subjects, added a sound head and a bold heart. His superiority in arms, to which he had been habituated from his most early years, gave him great sway with all men of the military profession; and his magnanimity, gallantry, and gayety, recommended him to the nobility in general; while his known vigour and promptitude, together with the love of his people, curbed the more factious spirits, or enabled him to crush them before their designs were ripe for execution.

But to form a regular plan of administration, and to pursue it with success, amid so many dangers and difficulties, required more than the wisdom of one head, and the firmness of one heart. Henry stood in need of an able and upright minister, on whom he might devolve the more ordinary cares of government, and with whom he might consult on the most important matters of State. Such an assistant he found in his servant, the marquis de Rosni, whom he created duke of Sully, in order to give more weight to his measures.

Sully seemed formed to be the minister of Henry IV. Equally brave in the field, and penetrating in the cabinet, he possessed more coolness and perseverance than that great prince, whose volatility and quickness of thought did not permit him to attend long to any one object.⁽¹⁾ Attached to his master's person by friendship, and to his interest and the public good by principle, he employed himself with the most indefatigable industry to restore the dignity of the crown, without giving umbrage to the nobility, or trespassing on the rights of the people. His first care was the finances; and it is inconceivable in how little time he drew the most exact order out of that chaos, in which they had been involved by his predecessors. He made the king perfectly master of his own affairs; digesting the whole system of the finances into tables, by the help of which, Henry could see, almost at a single glance, all the different branches of his revenue and expenditure. He levied taxes in the shortest and most frugal manner possible; for he held, that every man so employed, was a citizen lost to the public, and yet maintained by the public. He diminished all the expenses of government; but, at the same time, paid every one punctually, and took care that the king should always have such reserve, as not to be obliged, on any emergency, either to lay new impositions on his people, or to make use of credit.⁽²⁾ By these prudent measures, he paid, in the space of five years, all the debts of the crown; augmented the revenue four millions of livres, and had four millions in the treasury, though he had considerably reduced the taxes.⁽³⁾

Sully's attention, however, was not confined merely to the finances. He had the most sound notions of policy and legislation; and he endeavoured to convert them into practice. "If I had a principle to establish," says he, "it would be this; *that good morals and good laws are reciprocally formed by each other.*" No observation can be more just, or of more importance to society; for if the government neglect the manners, a relaxation of manners will lead to a neglect of laws; and the evil will go on, always increasing, until the community arrive at the highest degree of corruption, when it must reform or go to ruin. "Hence," adds Sully, "in the affairs of men, the excess of evil is always the source of good."⁽⁴⁾ In consequence of this mode of thinking, he co-operated warmly with the king's wishes, in restoring order and justice throughout all parts of his dominions, and in getting such laws enacted as were farther necessary for that purpose.

But Sully's maxims, though in general excellent, were better suited in some respects to a poor and small republic, than to a great and wealthy

(1) Mezeray.
(2) *Mem. de Sully*, tom. iv.

(3) Thuanus.
(4) *Id. ibid.*

monarchy. Sensible that a fertile country, well cultivated, is the principal source of the happiness of a people, and the most solid foundation of national prosperity, he gave great encouragement to agriculture. But the austerity of his principles made him an enemy to all manufactures connected with luxury, although it is evident that a prosperous people will possess themselves of such manufactures; and that, if they cannot fabricate them, they must be purchased from foreigners with the precious metals, or with the common produce of the soil, which might otherwise be employed in the maintenance of useful artisans.

Henry himself, whose ideas were more liberal, though generally less accurate than those of his minister, had juster notions of this matter. He accordingly introduced the culture and the manufacture of silk, contrary to the opinion of Sully: and the success was answerable to his expectations. Before his death, he had the satisfaction to see that manufacture not only supply the home consumption, but bring more money into the kingdom than any of the former staple commodities.⁽¹⁾

Henry also established, at great expense, manufactures of linen and tapestry. The workmen for the first he drew from the United Provinces; for the last, from the Spanish Netherlands. He gave high wages and good settlements to all.⁽²⁾ Hence his success. He was sensible that industrious people would not leave their native country without the temptation of large profit; and that after they had left it, and become rich, they would be inclined to return, in order to enjoy the company of their friends and fellow-citizens, unless fixed by such advantages as should overbalance that desire. In order to facilitate commerce, and promote the conveniency of his subjects, he built the Pont-Neuf, and cut the canal of Briare, which joins the Seine and Loire; and he had projected the junction of the two seas, when a period was put to his life, and, with that, to all his other great designs.

In the prosecution of these wise and salutary measures, which raised France from the desolation and misery in which she was involved to a more flourishing condition than she had ever enjoyed, Henry met with a variety of obstructions, proceeding from a variety of causes. A heart too susceptible of tender impressions was continually engaging him in new amours, destructive at once of his domestic peace and of the public tranquillity; and, what is truly extraordinary in a man of gallantry, the last attachment appeared always to be the strongest. His sensibility, instead of being blunted, seemed only to become keener by the change of objects. Scarce had death relieved him from the importunities of Gabriel d'Estrees, whom he had created dutchess of Beaufort, and who possessed such an absolute ascendant over him that he seemed resolved to marry her contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors—no sooner was he extricated from this embarrassment, than he gave a promise of marriage to Henrietta d'Entragues, though not yet divorced from Margaret of Valois, his first queen, whose licentious amours had disgusted him, though perhaps as excusable as his own. That artful wanton had drawn this promise from him, before she would crown his wishes. He showed the obligation to Sully, when ready to be delivered; and that faithful servant, transported with zeal for his master's honour, tore it in pieces. "I believe you are turned a fool!" said Henry. "I know it," replied Sully; 'and wish I were the only fool in France.'⁽³⁾

Sully now thought himself out of favour for ever; and remained in that opinion, when the king surprised him, by adding to his former employments that of master of the ordinance. The sentence of divorce, which Henry had long been soliciting at Rome, was procured in 1599; and he married, in order to please his subjects, Mary of Medicis, niece to the great duke of Tuscany. But this step did not put an end to his gallantries, which continued to embroil him perpetually either with the queen or his mistress, created marchioness of Verneuil. And Sully, whose good offices were always required on such

(1) Sir G. Carew's *Relation of the State of France under Henry IV*
(3) *Mém. de Sully*, tom. ii.

(2) P. Matthieu

occasions, often found the utmost difficulty in accommodating these amorous quarrels, which greatly agitated the mind of Henry.(1)

But Henry's most alarming troubles proceeded from the intrigues of the court of Spain. By these the duke of Savoy was encouraged to maintain war against him; and, after that prince was humbled, the duke of Biron was drawn into a conspiracy, which cost him his head. Other conspiracies were formed through the same instigation: the queen herself was induced to hold a secret correspondence with Spain, and a Spanish faction began to appear in the king's councils.(2)

These continued attempts to disturb the peace of his kingdom, and sap the foundation of his throne, made Henry resolve to carry into execution a design which he had long meditated, of humbling the house of Austria, and circumscribing its powers in Italy and Germany. While he was maturing that great project, a dispute concerning the succession to the dutchies of Cleves and Juliers afforded him a pretext for taking arms: and this circumstance naturally leads us to cast an eye on the state of the empire.

We have already brought down the affairs of Germany to the death of Maximilian II. His son Rodolph II., who inherited, as has been observed,(3) the pacific disposition of his father, succeeded him on the imperial throne in 1576; and, although more occupied about the heavens than the earth (being devoted both to astronomy and astrology, which he studied under the famous Tycho Brahe), the empire during his long reign enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity. The equity of his administration compensated for its weakness. The chief disturbances which he met with proceeded from his brother Matthias, whom we have seen governor of the United Provinces. The Turks, as usual, had invaded Hungary; Matthias had been successful in opposing their progress; and a peace had been concluded, in 1606, with sultan Achmet, successor of Mahomet III. The Hungarians thus relieved, become jealous of their religious rights, conferred their crown upon Matthias, their deliverer, who granted them full liberty of conscience, with every other privilege which they could desire.(4) Matthias afterward became master of Austria and Moravia, on the same conditions: and the emperor Rodolph, in order to avoid the horrors of civil war, confirmed to him those usurpations, together with the succession to the kingdom of Bohemia, where the Lutheran opinions had taken deep root.(5)

In proportion as the reformed religion gained ground in Hungary and Bohemia, the Protestant princes of the empire became desirous of securing and extending their privileges; and their demands being refused, they entered into a new confederacy called the Evangelical Union. This association was opposed by another, formed to protect the ancient faith, under the name of the Catholic League. The succession to the dutchies of Cleves and Juliers roused to arms the heads of the two parties, who may be said to have slumbered since the peace of Passau.

John William, duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, having died without issue, several competitors arose for the succession, and the most powerful prepared to support their title by the sword. In order to prevent the evils which must have been occasioned by such violent contests, as well as to support his own authority, the emperor cited all the claimants to appear before him, within a certain term, to explain the nature of their several pretensions. Meanwhile, he sequestered the fiefs in dispute, and sent his cousin Leopold, in quality of governor, to take possession of them, and to rule them in his name, till the right of inheritance should be settled. Alarmed at this step, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuberg, two of the competitors, united against the emperor, whom they suspected of interested views. They were supported by the elector Palatine, and the other princes of the Evangelical Union, as the emperor was by the elector of Saxony, one of the

(1) *Mém. de Sully*, tom. iv. lib. xxv. It was a satirical survey of this weak side of Henry's character which induced the sage Bayle to say, That he would have equalled the greatest heroes of antiquity, if he had been early deprived of his virility.

(2) *Dupleix*. Mezeray.

(3) *Letter LXXVIII*

(4) *Heiss*, *Hist. de l'Emp.* liv. iii. chap. vii.

(5) *Id. ibid.* Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tom. ix.

claimants, and the princes of the Catholic League; and in order to be a match for their enemies, who were in alliance with the pope and the king of Spain, they applied to the king of France.(1)

Henry, as has been observed, wanted only a decent apology for breaking openly with the house of Austria. That apology was now furnished him. The Protestant envoys found him well disposed to assist them: and a domestic event contributed to confirm his resolution. The king was enamoured of the princess of Condé.(2) Her husband, in a fit of jealousy, carried her to Brussels. The archduke Albert afforded them protection, notwithstanding a message from the French court, demanding their return. This new injury, which Henry keenly felt, added to so many others, inflamed his rage against the house of Austria to the highest pitch; and he began instantly to put in motion all the wheels of that vast machine, which he had been constructing for many years, in order to erect a balance of power in Europe.

Historians are as much divided in regard to the nature of Henry's *Grand Design* (for so it is commonly called) as they are agreed about its object. The plan of a Christian commonwealth, as exhibited in Sully's Memoirs, by dividing Europe into fifteen associated states, seems a theory too romantic even for the visionary brain of a speculative politician. Yet it is not impossible but Henry might, at times, amuse his imagination with such a splendid idea: the soundest minds have their reveries, but he never could seriously think of carrying it into execution. Perhaps he made use of it only as a gay covering to his real purpose of pulling down the house of Austria; and of making himself by that means the arbiter of Christendom.

But whatever may have been the scheme on which Henry valued himself so much, and from which he expected such extraordinary consequences, his avowed resolution now was, to give law to the German branch of the Austrian family, by supporting the Evangelical Union. His preparations were vigorous, and his negotiations successful. The duke of Savoy, his old enemy, and the most politic prince in Europe, readily entered into his views. The Italian powers in general approved of his design, and the Swiss and the Venetians took part in the alliance. He himself assembled an army of forty thousand men, chiefly old troops; and a more excellent train of artillery was prepared than had ever been brought into the field. Sully assured him there were forty millions of livres in the treasury; "and," added he, "if you do not increase your army beyond forty thousand, I will supply you with money sufficient for the support of the war, without laying any new tax upon your people."(3)

The king of France proposed to command his army in person, and was impatient to put himself at its head; but the queen, appointed regent during his absence, insisted on being solemnly crowned before his departure. Henry, if we may believe the duke of Sully, was more disquieted at the thoughts of this ceremony than by any thing that had ever happened to him in his life. He was not only displeased with the delay which it occasioned, but he is said to have been conscious of an inward dread; arising, no doubt, from the many barbarous attempts which had been made upon his person, the rumours of new conspiracies, and the opportunity which a crowd afforded of putting them in execution. He agreed, however, to the coronation, notwithstanding these apprehensions, and even to be present at it. On that occasion he escaped: but next day, his coach being obstructed in a narrow street, Ravailiac, a blood-thirsty bigot, who had long sought such an opportunity, mounted the

(1) Heiss et Barre, ubi sup.

(2) Henry's passion for that lady, of the family of Montmorency, commenced before her marriage; and he seems only to have connected her with the prince of Condé in order more securely to gratify his desires "When I first perceived," says Sully, "this growing inclination in Henry, I used my utmost endeavours to prevent the progress of it, as I foresaw much greater inconveniences from it than from any of his former attachments. And although these endeavours proved ineffectual, I renewed them again, when the king proposed to me his design of marrying Mademoiselle Montmorency to the prince of Condé; for I had no reason to expect Henry would exert, in such circumstances, that generous self-denial which some lovers have shown themselves capable of, when they have taken this method to impose upon themselves the necessity of renouncing the object of a tender affection." *Mem. de Sully*, liv. xvii.

(3) *Mem. de Sully*, liv. xxvii.

wheel of his carriage, and stabbed him to the heart with a knife, over the duke d'Espernon's shoulder, and amid six more of his courtiers. The assassin, like some others of that age, thought he had done an acceptable service to God in committing murder; especially as the king was going to assist the Protestants, and consequently was still a heretic in his heart. He accordingly did not offer to make his escape, and seemed much surprised at the detestation in which his crime was held.(1) He persisted to the last, that it was entirely his own act, and that he had no accomplice.

Thus perished Henry IV., one of the ablest and best princes that ever sat upon the throne of France. A more melancholy reflection cannot enter the human mind than is suggested by his untimely fall; that a wretch, unworthy of existence, and incapable of one meritorious action, should be able to obstruct the most illustrious enterprises, and to terminate a life necessary to the welfare of millions!—Henry's chief weakness was his inordinate passion for women, which led him into many irregularities. But even that was rather a blemish in his private, than in his public character. Though no man was more a lover, he was always a king. He never suffered his mistresses to direct his councils, or to influence him in the choice of his servants. But his libertine example had unavoidably a pernicious effect upon the manners of the nation: it produced a licentious gallantry that infected all orders of men, and which his heroic qualities only could have counteracted, or prevented from degenerating into the most enervating sensuality.(2) It was productive, however, of consequences abundantly fatal. Four thousand French gentlemen are said to have been killed in single combats, chiefly arising from amorous quarrels, during the first eighteen years of Henry's reign.(3) "Having been long habituated to the sight of blood, and prodigal of his own," says Sully, "he could never be prevailed on strictly to enforce the law against duelling."(4)

LETTER LXXIV.

A general View of the Continent of Europe, from the Assassination of Henry IV. to the Treaty of Prague, in 1635.

THE greater part of the European continent, during the period that followed the death of Henry IV. was a scene of anarchy, rebellion, and bloodshed. Germany continued for many years involved in those disputes which he was preparing to settle. Religious controversies, which generally mingle themselves with civil affairs, distracted the United Provinces, and robbed them of the sweets of that liberty which they had so gallantly earned by their valour and perseverance. And France, under the minority of Lewis XIII. and the weak regency of his mother, Mary of Medicis, returned to that state of disorder and wretchedness, out of which it had been raised by the mild and equitable, but vigorous, government of Henry the Great.

The transactions of this turbulent period, to the peace of Westphalia, when the harmony of the empire was established, and tranquillity, in some measure, restored to Europe, I propose to comprehend in two extensive sketches; and in order to prevent confusion, as well as to preserve the general effect, I shall be sparing in particulars. The consideration of the affairs of England, from the accession of the house of Stuart to the subversion of the monarchy, with the grand struggle between the king and parliament, and the narration of the complicated transactions on the continent during the reign of Lewis XIV., whose ambition gave birth to a series of wars, intrigues, and negotiations, unequalled in the history of mankind, I shall defer till some future occasion, when you may be supposed to have digested the materials already before

(1) *Mem. de Sully*, liv. xxvii. Prefixe. Matthieu. L'Etoile.

(2) *Mem. de Sully*, liv. xxv. *Galanteries des Rois de France*.

(3) *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de France*.

(4) *Mem.* liv. xxii.

you; observing, in the mean time, that soon after the peace of Westphalia, which may be considered as the foundation of all subsequent treaties, society almost every where assumed its present form.—I must begin with a view of the troubles of Germany.

The two great confederacies, distinguished by the names of the Catholic League and Evangelical Union, which had threatened the empire with a furious civil war, appeared to be dissolved with the death of Henry IV. But the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg still maintained their claim to the succession of Cleves and Juliers; and being assisted by Maurice prince of Orange, and some French troops, under the mareschal de la Chatre, they expelled Leopold, the sequestrator, and took possession by force of arms. They afterward, however, disagreed between themselves: but were again reconciled from a sense of mutual interest. In this petty quarrel Spain and the United Provinces interested themselves, and the two greatest generals in Europe were once more opposed to each other;—Spinola on the part of the duke of Neuburg, who had renounced Lutheranism in order to procure the protection of the Catholic king; and Maurice on the side of the elector of Brandenburg, who introduced Calvinism into his dominions, more strongly to attach the Dutch to his cause.(1)

Meantime, Rodolph II. died, and was succeeded by his brother Matthias. The Protestants, to whom the archduke had been very indulgent, in order to accomplish his ambitious views, no sooner saw him seated on the imperial throne, than they plied him with memorials, requiring an extension of their privileges, while the Catholics petitioned for new restrictions; and to complete his confusion, the Turks entered Transylvania. But the extent of the Ottoman dominions, which had so long given alarm to Christendom, on this, as well as on former occasions, proved its safety. The young and ambitious Achmet, who hoped to signalize the beginning of his reign by the conquest of Hungary, was obliged to recall his forces from that quarter, to protect the eastern frontier of his empire; and Matthias obtained, without striking a blow, a peace as advantageous as he could have expected after the most successful war. He stipulated for the restitution of Agria, Pest, Buda, and every other place held by the Turks in Hungary.(2)

Matthias was now resolved to pull off the mask, which he had so long worn on purpose to deceive the Protestants, and to convince them that he was their master. Meanwhile, finding himself advancing in years, and declining in health, he procured, in order to strengthen his authority, his cousin Ferdinand de Gratz, duke of Stiria, whom he intended as his successor in the empire, to be elected king of Bohemia, and acknowledged in Hungary; neither himself nor his brothers having any children: and he engaged the Spanish branch of the house of Austria to renounce all pretensions which it could possibly have to those crowns.(3)

This family compact alarmed the Evangelical Union, and occasioned a revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians. The malecontents in Hungary were soon appeased; but the Bohemian Protestants, whose privileges had been invaded, obstinately continued in arms, and were joined by those of Silesia, Moravia, and Upper Austria. The confederates were headed by count de la Tour, a man of abilities, and supported by an army of German Protestants, under the famous count Mansfeldt, natural son of the Flemish general of that name, who was for a time governor of the Spanish Netherlands. Thus was kindled a furious civil war, which desolated Germany during thirty years, interested all the powers of Europe, and was not finally extinguished until the peace of Westphalia.

Amid these disorders died the emperor Matthias, without being able to foresee the event of the struggle, or who should be his successor. The imperial dignity, however, went according to his destination. Ferdinand de Gratz was raised to the vacant throne, notwithstanding the opposition of the

(1) *Mercur. Gallo. Belg.* tom. x. liv. iii.

(2) *Heiss*, liv. lii. chap. viii.

(3) *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

elector Palatine, and the states of Bohemia; and with a less tyrannical disposition he would have been worthy that high station.

The election of Ferdinand II., instead of intimidating the Bohemians, roused them to more vigorous measures. They formally deposed him, and chose Frederic V., elector Palatine, for their king. Frederic, seduced by his flatterers, unwisely accepted of the crown, notwithstanding the remonstrances of James I. of England, his father-in-law, who used all his influence in persuading him to reject it, and protested that he would give him no assistance in such a rash undertaking.

This measure confirmed the quarrel between Ferdinand and the Bohemians. Frederic was seconded by all the Protestant princes, except the elector of Saxony, who still adhered to the emperor, in hopes of obtaining the investiture of Cleves and Juliers. Bethlem Gabor, vaivode of Transylvania, also declared in favour of the Palatine; entered Hungary, made himself master of many places, and was proclaimed king by the Protestants of that country. (1)

Frederic was farther supported by two thousand four hundred English volunteers, which James permitted to embark in a cause of which he disapproved; and by a body of eight thousand men, under prince Henry of Nassau, from the United Provinces. But Ferdinand, assisted by the Catholic princes of the empire, by the king of Spain, and the archduke Albert, was more than a match for his enemies. Spinola led twenty-five thousand veterans from the Low Countries, and plundered the Palatinate, in defiance of the English and Dutch; while Frederic himself, unable to protect his new kingdom of Bohemia, was totally routed, near Prague, by the imperial general Buquoy, and his own Catholic kinsman, the duke of Bavaria. (2)

The Palatine and his adherents were now put to the ban of the empire; and the Bohemian rebels being reduced, an army was despatched under Buquoy into Hungary against Bethlem Gabor, who consented to resign his title to that crown, on obtaining conditions otherwise advantageous. In the mean time, the conquest of the Palatinate was finished by the imperialists under count Tilly. Frederic was degraded from his electoral dignity, which was conferred on the duke of Bavaria; and his dominions were bestowed by Ferdinand, "in the fulness of his power," upon those who had helped to subdue them. (3)

While the house of Austria was thus extending its authority in Germany a project, no less ambitious and bloody, was concerted for rendering the Spanish branch of that family absolute in Italy. The duke d'Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, the marquis de Villa Franca, governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedomar, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, conspired to subject the Venetians, and with them the rest of the Italian states, under the dominion of their master. For this purpose they had formed a horrid plot, which would infallibly have put them in possession of Venice. That city was to have been set on fire in different parts, by a band of ruffians already lodged within its walls; while a body of troops, sent from Milan, should attack it on one side, and some armed vessels from Naples on the other. But this atrocious design was discovered by the vigilance of the senate in 1618, when it was almost ripe for execution. The greater part of the conspirators were privately drowned; and Bedomar, who had violated the law of nations, being secretly conducted out of the city, was glad to make his escape. (4)

Another project was formed, in 1620, for extending the Spanish dominions in Italy, by the duke of Feria, who had succeeded the marquis de Villa Franca in the government of Milan. He encouraged the popish inhabitants of the Valteline to revolt from the Grisons; and the king of Spain, as protector of the Catholic faith, supported them in their rebellion. The situation of the Valteline rendered it of infinite importance, as it facilitated the correspondence between the two branches of the house of Austria, shut the Swiss out of Italy, kept the Venetians in awe, and was a bridle on all the Italian states. (5)

In the midst of these ambitious schemes (to which of himself he was little

(1) Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tom. ix.

(2) *Hist. d'Autriche*, tom. ix.

(3) Barre, tom. ix.

(4) Abbe St. Real. Batt. Nani, *Hist. della Repubblica Veneta*.

(5) Batt. Nani, ubi sup.

inclined) died Philip III. Philip IV., his son and successor, was a prince of a more enterprising disposition; and the abilities of Olivares, the new minister, were infinitely superior to those of the duke of Lerma, who had directed the measures of government during the greater part of the former reign. The ambition of Olivares was yet more lofty than his capacity. He made his master assume the surname of Great, as soon as he ascended the throne, and thought himself bound to justify the appellation. He hoped to raise the house of Austria to that absolute dominion in Europe, for which it had been so long struggling. In prosecution of this bold plan, he resolved to maintain the closest alliance with the emperor; to make him despotic in Germany; to keep possession of the Valteline; to humble the Italian powers, and reduce the United Provinces to subjection, the truce being now expired.(1)

Nor was this project so chimerical as it may at first sight appear. The emperor had already crushed the force of the Protestant league; France was distracted by civil wars, and England was amused by a marriage treaty, between the prince of Wales and the infanta, which, more than every other consideration, actually prevented James from taking any material step in favour of the Palatine, till he was stripped of his dominions. But France, notwithstanding her intestine commotions, was not lost to all sense of danger from abroad; and the match with the infanta being broken off, by a quarrel between Buckingham, the English minister, and Olivares, the Spanish minister, an alliance was entered into between France and England, in conjunction with the United Provinces, for restraining the ambition of the house of Austria; and recovering the Palatinate.(2)—The affairs of Holland now demand our attention.

After a truce in 1609, the United Provinces, as I have already noticed, became a prey to religious dissensions. Gomar and Arminius, two professors at Leyden, differed on some abstract points in theology, and their opinions divided the republic. Gomar maintained, in all their austerity, the doctrines of Calvin in regard to grace and predestination; Arminius endeavoured to soften them. The Gomarists, who composed the body of the people, ever carried towards enthusiasm, were headed by prince Maurice; the Arminians by the pensionary Barneveldt, a firm patriot, who had been chiefly instrumental in negotiating the late truce, in opposition to the house of Orange. The Arminian principles were defended by Grotius, Vossius, and the learned in general. But prince Maurice and the Gomarists at last prevailed. The Arminian preachers were banished, and Barneveldt was brought to the block in 1619, for “vexing the church of God!” as his sentence imported, at the age of seventy, and after he had served the republic forty years in the cabinet, with as much success as Maurice had in the field. He was a man of eminent abilities and incorruptible integrity, and had espoused the cause of the Arminians chiefly from a persuasion that Maurice meant to make use of his popularity with the Gomarists, and of their hatred of the other sect, in order to enslave that people whom he had so gloriously protected from the tyranny of Spain.(3)

This opinion appears to have been well founded: for Maurice, during those religious commotions, frequently violated the rights of the republic; and so vigorous an opposition only could have prevented him from overturning its liberties. The ardour of ambition at once withered his well-earned laurels and disappointed itself. The death of Barneveldt opened the eyes of the people. They saw their danger, and the iniquity of the sentence, notwithstanding their religious prejudices. Maurice was detested as a tyrant, at the very time that he hoped to be received as a sovereign. The deliverer of his country, when he went abroad, was saluted with groans and murmurs; and, as he passed, the name of Barneveldt sounded in his ears from every street.(4)

But amid all their civil and religious dissensions, the Dutch were extending their commerce and their conquests in both extremities of the globe. The

(1) *Anecdotes du Condé Duc d'Olivares*
(3) Grotius. Le Clerc.

(2) Rushworth. Clarendon
(4) *Id. ibid*

city of Batavia was founded, and the plan of an empire laid in the East Indies, infinitely superior in wealth, power, and grandeur to the United Provinces. They had already cast their eyes on Brasil, which they conquered soon after the expiration of the truce, and they carried on a lucrative trade with the European settlements in the West Indies. The prospect of hostilities with their ancient masters composed their domestic animosities. They laid aside their jealousy of Maurice, as he seemed to do his ambitious views. Every one was more zealous than another to oppose and to annoy the common enemy; and Spinola was obliged, by his old antagonist, to relinquish the siege of Bergen-op-zoom, in 1622, after having lost ten thousand of his best troops in the enterprise.(1)

In France, during this period, both civil and religious disputes were carried much higher than in Holland. Lewis XIII. being only nine years of age, in 1610, when his father Henry IV. was murdered, Mary of Medicis, the queen-mother, was chosen regent. New councils were immediately adopted, and the sage maxims of Sully despised. He, therefore, resigned his employments and retired from court. The regent was entirely guided by her Italian favourites, Concini and his wife Galligai. By them, in concert with the pope and the duke of Florence, was negotiated, in 1612, a union between France and Spain, by means of a double marriage; of Lewis XIII. with Anne of Austria, the eldest infant; and of Elizabeth, the king's sister, with the prince of Asturias, afterward Philip IV. The dissolution of the alliances formed under the late reign, and the ruin of the Protestants, were also among the projects of Mary's Italian ministers.(2)

The nobility, dissatisfied with the measures of the court, and with the favour shown to foreigners, entered into cabals; they revolted in 1613; and the treasures collected by Henry IV. in order to humble the house of Austria, were employed by a weak administration to appease those factious leaders. The prince of Condé, who had headed the former faction, revolted anew in 1615. He and his adherents were again gratified, at the expense of the public; and fresh intrigues being suspected, he was sent to the Bastille.(3)

The imprisonment of the prince of Condé alarmed many of the nobles, who retired from court, and prepared for their defence; or, in other words, for hostilities. Meantime, Concini, who still maintained his influence, received a blow from a quarter whence he little expected it. Albert Luines, who had originally recommended himself to the young king's favour by rearing and training birds for his amusement, found means to make him jealous of his authority. He dwelt on the ambition of the queen-mother, and the mal-administration of her foreign favourites, to whom the most important affairs of state were committed, and whose insolence, he affirmed, had occasioned all the dissatisfactions among the great.(4)

Lewis, struck with the picture set before him, and desirous of seizing the reins of government, immediately ordered Concini to be arrested; and Vitri, captain of the guards, to whom that service was intrusted, executed it, in 1617, entirely to the wishes of Luines. Concini was shot, under pretence of resistance. The sentence of treason was passed on his memory; and Galligai, his widow, being accused of sorcery and magic, was condemned by the parliament to suffer death, for treason *divine* and *human*. When asked what spell she had made use of to fascinate the queen-mother, she magnanimously replied, "that ascendant which a superior mind has over a feeble spirit!" The regent's guards were instantly removed, and the king's placed in their stead. She was confined for a time to her apartment, and afterward exiled to Blois.(5)

That indignation which Concini and his wife had excited was suddenly transferred to Luines, enriched by their immense spoils, and who engrossed in a still higher degree the royal favour. His avarice and ambition knew no bounds. From a page and gentleman of the bed-chamber, he became, in

(1) Neuville, *Hist. de Hollande*.

(2) Duplex. Mezeray.

(3) *Id. ibid.*(4) *Mém. des Affaires de France, depuis 1610, jusqu'en 1620.* Mezeray, *Hist. du Père et de Fils*(5) *Id. ibid.*

rapid succession, a mareschal, duke, and peer of France; constable, and keeper of the seals. Meanwhile, a conspiracy was formed for the release of the queen-mother, and carried into execution by the duke d'Espernon, whose power had first exalted her to the regency. The court, for a time, talked loudly of violent measures: but it was judged proper, in 1619, to conclude a treaty advantageous to the malecontents, and avoid proceeding to extremities. This lenity encouraged the queen-mother to enter into fresh cabals; and a new treaty was agreed to by the court, no less indulgent than the former.(1)

These cabals in opposition to the court were chiefly conducted by Richelieu, bishop of Luçon. He had risen to notice through the influence of Galligai: he had been disgraced with Mary of Medicis, the queen-mother, and with her he returned into favour, as well as consequence. At her solicitation he obtained a cardinal's hat, a seat in the council, and soon after a share in the administration.(2) But hypocrisy was necessary to conceal, for a season, from envy and jealousy, those transcendent abilities which were one day to astonish Europe.

In the mean time, a new civil war was kindled, more violent than any of the former. Lewis XIII. having united, by a solemn edict, the principality of Bearn, the hereditary estate of the family, to the crown of France, in 1620, attempted to re-establish the Catholic religion in that province, where there were no Catholics,(3) and to restore to the clergy the church lands, contrary to the stipulations of Henry IV. The Hugonots, alarmed at the impending danger, assembled at Rochelle, in contempt of the king's prohibition: and concluding that their final destruction was resolved upon, they determined to throw off the royal authority, and establish a republic, after the example of the Protestants in the Low Countries, for the protection of their civil and religious liberties. Rochelle was to be the capital of the new commonwealth, which would have formed a separate state within the kingdom of France.(4)

The constable Luines, equally ignorant and presumptuous, imagining he could subdue this formidable party, had immediately recourse to arms. Nor was intrigue neglected. After seducing, by bribes and promises, several of the Protestant leaders, among whom was the duke of Bouillon, and reducing some inconsiderable places, the king and Luines laid siege to Montauban in 1621. The royal army consisted of twenty-five thousand men, animated by the presence of their sovereign; but the place was so gallantly defended by the marquis de la Force, that Lewis and his favourite, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, were obliged to abandon the enterprise. Luines died soon after this shameful expedition; and the brave and ambitious Lesdiguiers, who had already deserted the Hugonots, on solemnly renouncing Calvinism, was honoured with the constable's sword.(5)

The loss which the Protestant cause sustained by the apostacy of Lesdiguiers, and the defection of the duke of Bouillon, was made up by the zeal and abilities of the duke of Rohan and his brother Soubise; men not inferior (especially the duke) either in civil or military talents, to any of the age in which they lived. Soubise, however, was defeated by the king in person, who continued to carry on the war with vigour. But the duke still kept the field; and Lewis having laid siege to Montpellier, which defended itself as gallantly as Montauban, peace was concluded with the Hugonots, in 1622, to prevent a second disgrace. They obtained a confirmation of the edict of Nantes; and the duke of Rohan, who negotiated the treaty, was gratified to the utmost of his wish.(6)

The French councils now began to assume more vigour. Cardinal Richelieu no sooner got a share in the administration, which, in a short time he entirely governed, than, turning his eyes on the state of Europe, he formed three mighty projects; to subdue the turbulent spirit of the French nobility,

(1) Mezeray, ubi sup. *Vie du Duc d'Espernon*.

(3) Dupleix, *Hist. Louis XIII.*

(6) *Mém. du Duc de Rohan*.

(4) *Id. ibid.*

(2) Aubert, *Hist. du Card. Rich.*

(5) *Hist. du Connétable de Lesdig*

to reduce the rebellious Hugonots, and to curb the encroaching power of the house of Austria. But in order to carry these great designs into execution, it was necessary to preserve peace with England. This Richelieu perceived; and accordingly negotiated, in spite of the courts of Rome and Madrid, a treaty of marriage between Charles prince of Wales and Henrietta of France, sister of Lewis XIII. He also negotiated between the two crowns, in conjunction with the United Provinces, that alliance which I have already noticed, and which brought on hostilities with Spain.

In consequence of these negotiations, a body of six thousand men was levied in England, and sent over to Holland, commanded by four young noblemen, who were ambitious of distinguishing themselves in so popular a cause, and of acquiring military experience under so renowned a captain as Maurice. Count Mansfeldt was engaged in the English service; and an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, under his command, was embarked at Dover, in order to join the League, formed in Low Saxony, for the restoration of the Palatine, and of which Christian IV. king of Denmark was declared chief. About the same time a French army, in concert with the Venetians and the duke of Savoy, recovered the Valteline, which had been sequestered to the pope, and restored it to the Grisons.(1)

Meanwhile, the house of Austria was neither inactive nor unfortunate in other quarters. Spinola reduced Breda, one of the strongest towns in the Netherlands, in spite of all the efforts of prince Maurice, who died of chagrin before the place surrendered. The English had failed in an attempt upon Cadiz: the embarkation under count Mansfeldt had proved abortive; and the king of Denmark was defeated by the imperialists near Northen.(2)

The miscarriages of the English cooled their ardour for foreign enterprises; and cardinal Richelieu found, for a time, business enough to occupy his genius at home. He had not only to quiet the Hugonots, who had again rebelled, and to whom he found it necessary to grant advantageous conditions, but he had a powerful faction at court to oppose. Not one prince of the blood was heartily his friend. Gaston duke of Orleans, the king's brother, was his declared enemy; the queen-mother herself was become jealous of him; and Lewis XIII. was more attached to him from fear than affection. But the bold and ambitious spirit of Richelieu triumphed over every obstacle; it discovered and dissipated all the conspiracies formed against him, and at length made him absolute master of the king and kingdom.

During these cabals in the French cabinet, the Hugonots showed once more a disposition to render themselves independent: and in that spirit they were encouraged by the court of England, which voluntarily took up arms in their cause. The reason assigned by some historians for this step is very singular.

As Lewis XIII. was wholly governed by cardinal Richelieu, and Philip IV. by Olivares, Charles I. was in like manner governed by the duke of Buckingham, the handsomest and most pompous man of his time, but not the deepest politician. He was naturally amorous, bold, and presumptuous; and when employed to bring over the princess Henrietta, he is said to have carried his addresses even to the queen of France. The return which he met with from Anne of Austria, whose complexion was as amorous as his own, encouraged him to project a new embassy to the court of Versailles; but cardinal Richelieu, reported to have been his rival in love as well as in politics, made Lewis send him a message that he must not think of such a journey. Buckingham, in a romantic passion, swore he would "see the queen in spite of all the power of France:"(3)—and hence is supposed to have originated the war in which he involved his master.

Rash and impetuous, however, as Buckingham was, he appears to have had better reasons for that measure. Cardinal Richelieu was still meditating the destruction of the Hugonots: they had been deprived of many of their

1) Aubert. Duplex, ubi sup.

(2) Heiss. Le Clerc. Rushworth

(3) Clarendon, *Hist.* vol. 1. *Mém. de Mad. Motteville*, tom. 1.

cautionary towns; and forts were erecting, in order to bridle Rochelle, their most considerable bulwark. If the Protestant party should be utterly subdued, France would soon become formidable to England. This consideration was of itself sufficient to induce Buckingham to undertake the defence of the Hugonots.

But, independent of such political forecast, and of his amorous quarrel with Richelieu, the English minister had powerful motives for such a measure. That profound statesman had engaged the duke to send some ships to act against the Rochelle fleet, under promise that, after the humiliation of the Hugonots, France should take an active part in the war between England and Spain. This ill-judged compliance roused the resentment of the English commons against Buckingham, and had been made one of the grounds of an impeachment. He then changed his plan; procured a peace for the Hugonots, and became security to them for its performance; but finding the cardinal would neither concur with him in carrying on the war against Spain, nor observe the treaty with the Hugonots, he had no other course left for recovering his credit with the parliament and people (especially after the miscarriage of the expedition against Cadiz) but to take arms against the court of France, in vindication of the rights of the French Protestants.(1)

Buckingham's views, in undertaking this war, are less censurable than his conduct in carrying them into execution. He appeared before Rochelle with a fleet of a hundred sail, and an army of seven thousand men; but so ill-concerted were his measures, that the inhabitants of that city shut their gates against him, and refused to admit allies of whose coming they were not previously informed.(2) They were but a part of the Protestant body, they observed, and must consult their brethren before they could take such a step. This blunder was followed by another. Instead of attacking Oleron, a fertile island, and defenceless, Buckingham made a descent on the isle of Rhé, which was well garrisoned and fortified. All his military operations showed equal incapacity and inexperience. He left behind him the small fort of Prie, which covered the landing place; he allowed Thorias, the governor, to amuse him with a deceitful negotiation, till St. Martin, the principal fort, was provided for a siege; he attacked it before he had made any breach, and rashly threw away the lives of his soldiers; and he so negligently guarded the sea, that a French army stole over in small divisions, and obliged him to retreat to his ships. He was himself the last man that embarked; and having lost two-thirds of his land forces, he returned to England, totally discredited both as an admiral and a general, bringing home with him no reputation but that of personal courage.(3)

This ill-concerted and equally ill-conducted enterprise proved fatal to Rochelle and to the power of the French Protestants. Cardinal Richelieu, under pretence of guarding the coast against the English, sent a body of troops into the neighbourhood, and ordered quarters to be marked out for twenty-five thousand men. The siege of Rochelle was regularly formed and conducted with vigour by the king, and even by the cardinal in person. Neither the duke of Rohan nor his brother Soubise were in the place; yet the citizens, animated by civil and religious zeal, and abundantly provided with military stores, determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. Under the command of Guiton, their mayor, a man of experience and fortitude, they made an obstinate resistance, and baffled all attempts to reduce the city by force. But the bold genius of Richelieu, which led him to plan the greatest undertakings, also suggested means, equally great and extraordinary, for their execution. Finding it impossible to take Rochelle while the communication remained open by sea, he attempted to shut the harbour by stakes and by a boom. Both these methods, however, proving ineffectual, he recollected what Alexander had performed in the siege of Tyre, and projected and finished a mole of a mile's length, across a gulf into which the sea rolled with an impetuosity that seemed to bid defiance to all the

(1) Clarendon. Duplex.

(2) Rushworth, vol. i.

(3) Clarendon. Rushworth

works of man. The place being now blockaded on all sides, and every attempt for its relief failing, the inhabitants were obliged to surrender, after suffering all the miseries of war and famine, during a siege of almost twelve months. They were deprived of their extensive privileges, and their fortifications were destroyed; but they were allowed to retain possession of their goods, and permitted the free exercise of their religion.(1)

Cardinal Richelieu did not stop in the middle of his career. He marched immediately towards the other provinces, where the Protestants possessed many cautionary towns, and were still formidable by their numbers. The duke of Rohan defended himself with vigour in Languedoc; but seeing no hopes of being able to continue the struggle, England, his only natural ally, having already concluded a peace with France and Spain, he at last had recourse to negotiation, and obtained very favourable conditions, both for himself and his party. The Protestants were left in possession of their estates, of the free exercise of their religion, and of all the privileges granted by the edict of Nantes; but they were deprived of their fortifications or cautionary towns, as dangerous to the peace of the state.(2)

From this era we may date the aggrandizement of the French monarchy in latter times, as well as the absolute dominion of the prince. That authority which Lewis XI. had acquired over the great, and which was preserved by his immediate successors, had been lost during the religious wars; which raised up, in the Hugonots, a new power, that almost divided the strength of the kingdom, and at once exposed it to foreign enemies and domestic factions. But no sooner was this formidable body humbled, and every order of the state, and every sect, reduced to pay submission to the lawful authority of the sovereign, than France began to take the lead in the affairs of Europe, and her independent nobles to sink into the condition of servants of the court.

Richelieu's system, however, though so far advanced, was not yet complete. But the whole was still in contemplation; nor did he ever lose sight of one circumstance that could forward its progress. No sooner had he subdued the Protestants in France than he resolved to support them in Germany, that he might be enabled, by their means, more effectually to set bounds to the ambition of the house of Austria. And never was the power of that house more formidable, or more dangerous to the liberties of Europe.

Ferdinand II., whom we have seen triumphant over the Palatine and the Evangelical Union, continued to carry every thing before him in Germany. The king of Denmark, and the League in Lower Saxony, were unable to withstand his armies, under Tilley and Walstein. After repeated defeats and losses, the Danish monarch was obliged to sue for peace; and the emperor found himself, at length, possessed of absolute authority.(3)

But, fortunately for mankind, Ferdinand's ambition undid itself, and saved Europe, as well as the empire, from that despotism with which both were threatened. Not satisfied with an uncontrolled sway over Germany, he attempted to revive the imperial jurisdiction in Italy. Vincent II. duke of Mantua and Montferrat, having died without issue, Charles de Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, his kinsman, claimed the succession, in virtue of a matrimonial contract, as well as the vicinity of blood. But Cæsar de Gonzaga, duke of Guastalla, had already received, from the emperor, the eventual investiture of those ancient fiefs. The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have supplanted the two former, and the king of Spain hoped to exclude all three, under pretence of supporting the latter. Ferdinand's desire of aggrandizing the house of Austria was well known, as well as his scheme of extending the imperial jurisdiction: and both were now made more evident. He put the disputed territories in sequestration, till the cause should be decided at Vienna; and while the Spaniards and the duke of Savoy ravaged Montferrat, a German army took and pillaged the city of Mantua.(4)

Ferdinand now thought the time was come for realizing that idea which he

(1) *Mem. de Duc de Rohan.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Barre, tom. ix. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

(4) *Niger. Disquisit. de Mant. Ducat*

had long revolved, of reducing the electoral princes to the condition of grantees of Spain, and the bishops to the state of imperial chaplains. Sensible, however, of the danger of alarming both religions at once, he resolved to begin with the Protestants; and accordingly issued an edict, ordering them to restore, without loss of time, all the benefices and church lands, which they had held since the peace of Passau.(1)

But it was easier to issue such an edict than to carry it into execution; and Ferdinand, though possessed of an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, under two of the ablest generals in Europe, found reason to repent of his temerity. France gave the first check to his ambition. Cardinal Richelieu had early interested himself in the affairs of Mantua: Lewis, in person, had forced the famous pass of Susa, during the siege of Modena. And peace was no sooner concluded with the Hugonots than the cardinal crossed the Alps at the head of twenty thousand men, gained several advantages over the Spaniards and imperialists, chased the duke of Savoy from his dominions, and obliged the emperor to grant the investiture of Mantua and Montferrat to the duke of Nevers.(2) The duke of Savoy, during these transactions, died of chagrin; and Spinola, who had failed to reduce Casal, is supposed to have perished of the same distemper. The accommodation between France and the empire, which terminated this war, was partly negotiated by Julio Mazarine, who now first appeared on the theatre of the world as a priest and politician, having formerly been a captain of horse.(3)

Meanwhile, the elector of Saxony, and other princes of the Augsburg Confession, remonstrated against the edict of *Restitution*: they maintained that the emperor had no right to command such restitution, which ought to be made the subject of deliberation in a general diet. A diet was accordingly held at Ratisbon; and the greater part of the Catholic princes exhorted the emperor to quiet the Protestants, by granting them, for a term of forty years, the enjoyment of such benefices as they had possessed since the treaty of Passau. But this advice being vigorously opposed by the ecclesiastical electors, who made use of arguments more agreeable to the views of Ferdinand, he continued obstinate in his purpose; and the Protestants, in order to save themselves from that robbery with which they were threatened, and which was already begun in many places, secretly formed an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden.(4)—But before I introduce this extraordinary man, we must take a retrospective view of the northern kingdoms, which had hitherto had no connexion with the general system of Europe, and had scarce offered any thing interesting since the death of Gustavus Vasa.

Eric Vasa, the son and successor of Gustavus, proving a dissolute and cruel prince, was dethroned and imprisoned by the States of Sweden, in 1568. He was succeeded by his brother John; who, after attempting in vain to re-establish the Catholic religion, died in 1592, and left the crown to his son Sigismund, already elected king of Poland. Sigismund, like his father, being a zealous Catholic, and the Swedes no less zealous Lutherans, they deposed him in the year 1600, and raised to the sovereignty his uncle Charles IX., who had been chiefly instrumental in preserving their religious liberties. The Poles attempted in vain to restore Sigismund to the throne of Sweden. Charles swayed the sceptre till his death, which happened in 1611. He was succeeded in the throne by his son, the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus.(5)

Russia, during that period, was a prey to civil wars. John Basilowitz II., dying in 1584, left two sons, Theodore and Demetrius. Theodore succeeded his father on the throne; and at the instigation of Boris, his prime minister, ordered his brother Demetrius to be murdered. He himself died soon after; and Boris, though suspected of poisoning his master, was proclaimed king. Meanwhile, a young man appeared in Lithuania, under the name and character of the prince Demetrius, pretending that he had escaped out of the hands of

(1) Barre, ubi sup. Barchelius, p. 185. Puffend. *Comment. Reb. Suec.* lib. 1.

(2) Aubert, *Hist. du Card. Rich.*

(4) Puffend. ubi sup. Barre, tom. ix

(3) Id. ibid. Gualdo, *Vita di Mazarini*

(5) Loccen. *Hist. Suec.* lib. vii

the assassin. Assisted by a Polish army, he entered Moscow in 1605, and was proclaimed czar without opposition; the mother and son of Boris, who was now dead, being dragged to prison by the populace. The rage of that populace was soon turned against Demetrius. He was slain on his marriage day, together with most of his Polish attendants, who had rendered him obnoxious to the Russians. A body, said to be his, was exposed to public view; and Zuski, a nobleman, who had fomented the insurrection, was declared his successor. But scarce was Zuski seated on the throne, when a second Demetrius made his appearance; and after his death, a third. Poland and Sweden took part in the quarrel. Zuski was delivered up to the Poles, and Demetrius was massacred by the Tartars. But a fourth, and even a fifth, Demetrius appeared: and Russia, during these struggles, was repeatedly ravaged by opposite factions and foreign troops. At length, Michael Theodorowitz, son of Romanow, bishop of Rostow, afterward patriarch, related by females to the czar John Basilowitz, was raised to the throne; and this prince, having concluded a peace with Sweden and Poland, in 1618, restored tranquillity to Russia, and transmitted the crown to his descendants.(1)

Denmark affords nothing that merits our attention, during the reign of Frederic II., who succeeded his father, Christian III., in 1558; nor during the reign of his son and successor, Christian IV., before he was chosen general of the League in Lower Saxony. And the transactions of Christian IV., even while vested with that command, are too unimportant to merit a particular detail. The issue of his operations has been already related.

Sweden alone, during those times, of all the northern kingdoms, yields a spectacle worthy of observation. No sooner was Gustavus seated on the throne, though only eighteen years of age at his accession, than he signalized himself by his exploits against the Danes, the ancient enemies of his crown. Profiting afterward by peace, which he had found necessary, he applied himself to the study of civil affairs; and by a wise and vigorous administration, supported with salutary laws, he reformed many public abuses, and gave order, prosperity, and weight to the state. In a war against Russia, he subdued almost all Finland, and secured to himself the possession of his conquests by a treaty. His cousin Sigismund, king of Poland, treating him as a usurper, and refusing peace, when offered by Gustavus, he overran Livonia, Prussia, and Lithuania.(2) An advantageous truce of six years, concluded with Poland, in 1629, gave him leisure to take part in the affairs of Germany, and to exhibit more fully those heroic qualities which will ever be the admiration of mankind.

Gustavus had many reasons for making war against the emperor. Ferdinand had assisted his enemy the king of Poland; he treated the Swedish ambassador with disrespect; and he had formed a project for extending his dominion over the Baltic. If the king of Sweden looked tamely on, till the German princes were finally subjected, the independency of the Gothic monarchy, as well as that of the other northern kingdoms, would be in danger.

But the motives which chiefly induced Gustavus to take up arms against the head of the empire, were the love of glory and zeal for the Protestant religion. These, however, did not transport him beyond the bounds of prudence. He laid his design before the States of Sweden; and he negotiated with France, England, and Holland, before he began his march. Charles I., still desirous of the restoration of the Palatine, agreed to send the king of

(1) Ludolf. Puffendorf. Petreus.

(2) Loccen. lib. viii. Puffend. lib. ii. During this war, the practice of duelling rose to such a height, both among officers and private men, in the Swedish army, as induced Gustavus to publish a severe edict, denouncing death against every offender; and by a strict execution of that edict the evil was effectually removed. (Hart's *Life of Gustavus*, vol. i.) When two of the generals demanded permission to decide a quarrel by the sword, he gave a seeming consent, and told them he would himself be an eye-witness of their valour and prowess. He accordingly appeared on the ground, but accompanied by the public executioner, who had orders to cut off the head of the conqueror. The high-spirited combatants, subdued by such firmness, fell on their knees at the king's feet; were ordered to embrace, and continued friends to the end of their lives. Scheffer. *Memorand. Suec. Gent.*

Sweden six thousand men. These troops were raised in the name of the marquis of Hamilton, and supposed to be maintained by that nobleman, that the appearance of neutrality might be preserved.(1) The people were more forward than the king. The flower of Gustavus's army, and many of his best officers, by the time he entered Germany, consisted of Scottish and English adventurers, who thronged over to support the Protestant cause, and to seek renown under the champion of their religion;(2) so that the conquests even of this illustrious hero may partly be ascribed to British valour and British sagacity!

The most necessary supply, however, that Gustavus received, was an annual subsidy from cardinal Richelieu, of twelve hundred thousand livres; a small sum in our days, but considerable at that time, especially in a country where the precious metals are still scarce. The treaty between France and Sweden is a masterpiece in politics. Gustavus agreed, in consideration of the stipulated subsidy, to maintain in Germany an army of thirty-six thousand men; bound himself to observe a strict neutrality towards the duke of Bavaria, and all the princes of the Catholic League, on condition that they should not join the emperor against the Swedes; and to preserve the rights of the Romish church, wherever he should find it established.(3) By these ingenious stipulations, which do so much honour to the genius of Richelieu, the Catholic princes were not only freed from all alarm on the score of religion, but furnished with a pretext for withholding their assistance from the emperor, as a step which would expose them to the arms of Sweden.

Gustavus had entered Pomerania when this treaty was concluded, and soon after made himself master of Frankfort upon the Oder, Colberg, and several other important places. The Protestant princes, however, were still backward in declaring themselves, lest they should be separately crushed by the imperial power, before the king of Sweden could march to their assistance. In order to put an end to this irresolution, Gustavus summoned the elector of Brandenburg to declare himself openly in three days; and on receiving an evasive answer, he marched directly to Berlin. This spirited conduct had the desired effect: the gates were thrown open, and Gustavus was received as a friend. He was soon after joined by the landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, who, being persecuted by the Catholic League, put themselves under his protection. Gustavus now marched towards Leipsic, where Tilly lay encamped. That experienced general advanced into the plain of Breitenfeld to meet his antagonist, at the head of thirty thousand veterans. The king of Sweden's army consisted nearly of an equal number of men; but the Saxon auxiliaries being raw and undisciplined, fled at the first onset; yet did Gustavus, by his superior conduct, and the superior prowess of the Swedes, gain a complete victory over Tilly and the imperialists.(4)

This blow threw Ferdinand into the utmost consternation; and if the king of Sweden had marched immediately to Vienna, it is supposed he could have made himself master of that capital. But it is impossible for human foresight to discern all the advantages that may be reaped from a great and singular stroke of good fortune. Hannibal wasted his time at Capua, after the battle of Cannæ, when he might have led his victorious army to Rome; and Gustavus Adolphus, instead of besieging Vienna, or laying waste the emperor's hereditary dominions, took a different route, and had the satisfaction of erecting a column on the opposite bank of the Rhine, in order to perpetuate the progress of his arms.(5)

The consequences of the battle of Leipsic, however, were great; nor did Gustavus fail to improve that victory which he had so gloriously earned. He was instantly joined by all the members of the Evangelical Union, whom his success had inspired with courage. The measures of the Catholic League were utterly disconcerted; and the king of Sweden made himself master of

(1) Bushworth, vol. i.
 (2) Burnet, *Mém. of the House of Hamilton*, vol. i.
 (3) Condorcet, *Act. Pub.* tom. iv.
 (4) Harte's *Life of Gustavus*, vol. ii.
 (5) *Mercur. Franc.* à l'An. 1631. Harte, *ut sup.*

the whole country from the Elbe to the Rhine, comprehending a space of near one hundred leagues, full of fortified towns.

The elector of Saxony, in the mean time, entered Bohemia, and took Prague. Count Tilly was killed in disputing with the Swedes the passage of the Lech: and Gustavus, who by that passage gained immortal honour, soon after reduced Augsburg, and there re-established the Protestant religion. He next marched into Bavaria, where he found the gates of almost every city thrown open on his approach. He entered the capital in triumph, and had there an opportunity of displaying the liberality of his mind. When pressed to revenge on Munich the cruelties (too horrid to be described) which Tilly had perpetrated at Magdebourg, to give up the city to pillage, and reduce the elector's magnificent palace to ashes, "No!" replied he: "let us not imitate the barbarity of the Goths, our ancestors, who have rendered their memory detestable by abusing the rights of conquest, in doing violence to humanity, and destroying the precious monuments of art." (1)

During these transactions, the renowned Walstein, who had been for some time in disgrace, but was restored to the chief command with unlimited powers, soon after the defeat at Leipsic, had recovered Prague, and the greater part of Bohemia. Gustavus offered him battle near Nuremburg; but that cautious veteran prudently declined the challenge, and the king of Sweden was repulsed in attempting to force his intrenchments. The action lasted for ten hours, during which every regiment in the Swedish army, not excepting the body of reserve, was led on to the attack.

The king's person was in imminent danger; the Austrian cavalry sallying out furiously from their intrenchments on the right and left, when the efforts of the Swedes began to slacken; and a masterly retreat only could have saved him from a total overthrow. That service was partly performed by an old Scotch colonel of the name of Hepburn, who had resigned his commission in disgust, but was present at this assault. To him Gustavus applied in his distress, seeing no officer of equal experience at hand, and trusting to the colonel's natural generosity of spirit. He was not deceived. Hepburn's pride overcame his resentment. "This," said he (and he persevered in his resolution), "is the last time that ever I will serve so ungrateful a prince!"—Elated with the opportunity that was offered him of gathering fresh laurels, and of exalting himself in the eye of a master, by whom he thought himself injured, he rushed into the thickest of the battle, delivered the orders of the king of Sweden to his army, and conducted the retreat with so much order and ability, that the imperialists durst not give him the smallest disturbance. (2)

This severe check, and happy escape from almost inevitable ruin, ought surely to have moderated the ardour of Gustavus. But it had not sufficiently that effect. In marching to the assistance of the elector of Saxony, he again gave battle to Walstein with an inferior force, in the wide plain of Lutzen, and lost his life in a hot engagement, which terminated in the defeat of the imperial army. That engagement was attended with circumstances sufficiently memorable to merit a particular detail.

Soon after the king of Sweden arrived at Naumburg, he learned that Walstein had moved his camp from Weissensels to Lutzen: and although that movement freed him from all necessity of fighting, as it left open his way into Saxony by Degaw, he was keenly stimulated with an appetite for giving battle. He accordingly convened, in his own apartment, his two favourite generals, Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar, and Kniphausen, and desired them to give their opinions freely, and without reserve, in regard to the eligibility of such a measure. The youthful and ardent spirit of the duke, congenial to that of the king, instantly caught fire, and he declared in favour of an engagement. But the courage of Kniphausen, matured by

(1) Harte, vol. ii. *Le Vassor, Hist. Louis XIII.*

(2) *Mod. Univ. Hist. art. Sued. sect. viii.* This anecdote relative to Hepburn is told somewhat differently by Mr. Harte: who, jealous of the honour of his hero Gustavus, seems scrupulous in admitting the merit of the Scottish and English officers.

reflection, and chastised by experience, made him steadily and uniformly oppose the hazarding of an action at that juncture, as contrary to the true principles of the military science. "No commander," said he, "ought to encounter an enemy greatly superior to him in strength, unless compelled so to do by some pressing necessity. Now your majesty is neither circumscribed in place, nor in want of provisions, forage, or warlike stores." (1)

Gustavus seemed to acquiesce in the opinion of this able and experienced general; yet he was still greatly ambitious of a new trial at arms with Walstein. And no sooner was he informed, on his nearer approach, that the imperial army had received no alarm, nor the general any intelligence of his motions, than he declared his resolution of giving battle to the enemy. That declaration was received with the strongest demonstrations of applause and the most lively expressions of joy. At one moment the whole Swedish army made its evolutions, and pointed its course towards the imperial camp. No troops were ever known to advance with so much alacrity; but their ardour was damped, and their vigour wasted, before they could reach their hostile antagonists. By a mistake in computing the distance, they had eight miles to march instead of five, and chiefly through fresh-ploughed lands, the passage of which was difficult beyond description; the miry ground clinging to the feet and legs of the soldiers, and reaching, in some places, almost as high as the knee. (2)

Nor were these the only difficulties the Swedes had to encounter before they arrived at Lutzen. When they came within two miles of the spot, where they hoped for a speedy termination of all their toils, they found a marshy swamp, formed by a stagnating brook, over which lay a paltry bridge, so narrow that only two men could march over it abreast. In consequence of this new obstacle, it was sunset before the whole Swedish army could clear the pass; and Walstein, having been by that time informed of the approach of Gustavus, was employed in fortifying his camp, and in taking every other measure for his own safety and the destruction of his enemy that military skill could suggest.

The situation of the king of Sweden was now indeed truly perilous. He saw himself reduced to the necessity of giving battle under the most adverse circumstances: or of running the hazard of being routed in attempting a retreat, with the troops fatigued, and almost fainting for want of food. Yet was a retreat thought expedient by some of his generals. But Gustavus, in a tone of decision, thus silenced their arguments:—"I cannot bear to see Walstein *under my beard*, without *making some animadversions* upon him: I long to *unearth him*," added he, "and to *behold* with my *own eyes* how he can *acquit himself* in the *open field*." (3)

Conformable to these sentiments, the king of Sweden came to a fixed resolution of giving battle to the imperial army next morning; and of beginning the action two hours before day. But the extreme darkness of the night rendered the execution of the latter part of his plan impracticable; and when morning began to dawn, and the sun to dispel the thick fog that had obscured the sky, an unexpected obstacle presented itself. Across the line, on which the Swedish left wing proposed to advance, was cut a deep ditch too difficult for the troops to pass; so that the king was obliged to make his whole army move to the right, in order to occupy the ground which lay between that ditch and Walstein's camp. (4)

This movement was not made without some trouble and a considerable loss of time. Having at length completed it, between eight and nine in the morning, Gustavus ordered two hymns to be sung; and riding along the lines with a commanding air, he thus harangued his Swedish troops:—"My companions and friends! show the world this day what you really are. Acquit yourselves like disciplined men, who have seen and been engaged in service; observe your orders, and behave intrepidly, for your own sakes as well as for mine. If you so respect yourselves, you will find the blessing of heaven on the point of your swords, and reap deathless honour, the sure and inestimable

(1) Harte, vol. ii.

(2) *Ibid.*(3) *Sold. Suet.*

(4) Harte, vol. ii.

reward of valour. But if, on the contrary, you give way to fear, and seek self-preservation in flight, then infamy is as certainly your portion, as my disgrace and your destruction will be the consequence of such a conduct.”(1)

The king of Sweden next addressed his German allies, who chiefly composed the second line of his army; lowering a little the tone of his voice, and relaxing his air of authority:—“Friends, officers, and fellow-soldiers,” said he, “let me conjure you to behave valiantly this day. You shall fight not only under me, but with me. My blood shall mark the path you ought to pursue. Keep firmly, therefore, within your ranks, and second your leader with courage. If you so act, victory is ours, together with all its advantages, which you and your posterity shall not fail to enjoy. But if you give ground, or fall into disorder, your lives and liberties will become a sacrifice to the enemy.”(2)

On the conclusion of these two emphatical speeches, one universal shout of applause saluted the ears of Gustavus. Having disposed his army in order of battle, that warlike monarch now took upon himself, according to custom, the particular command of the right wing, and drew his sword about nine in the morning; being attended by the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, Crailsham, grand-master of his household, a body of English and Scottish gentlemen, and a few domestics. The action soon became general, and was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides. But the veteran Swedish brigades of the first line, though the finest troops in the world, and esteemed *invincible*, found the passing of certain ditches, which Walstein had ordered to be hollowed and lined with musketeers, so exceedingly perplexing and difficult, that their ardour began to abate, and they seemed to pause, when their heroic prince flew to the dangerous station; and, dismounting, snatched a partisan from one of the officers, and said in an austere tone, accompanied with a stern look,—

“If after having passed so many rivers, scaled the walls of numberless fortresses, and conquered in various battles, your native intrepidity hath at last deserted you, stand firm at least for a few seconds:—have yet the courage to behold your master die—in a manner worthy of himself!”—And he offered to cross the ditch.

“Stop, Sire! for the sake of heaven,” cried all the soldiers, “spare that invaluable life!—Distrust us not, and the business shall be done.”(3)

Satisfied, after such an assurance, that his brave brigades in the centre would not deceive him, Gustavus returned to the head of the right wing, where his presence was much wanted; and making his horse spring boldly across the last ditch, set an example of gallantry to his officers and soldiers, which they thought themselves bound to imitate.

Having cast his eye over the enemy’s left wing that opposed him, as soon as he found himself on the farther side of the fosse, and seen there three squadrons of imperial cuirassiers completely clothed in iron, the king of Sweden called colonel Stalhaus to him, and said, “Stalhaus! charge home these black fellows; for they are the men that will otherwise undo us.”(4)

Stalhaus executed the orders of his royal master with great intrepidity and effect. But in the mean time, about eleven o’clock, Gustavus lost his life. He was then fighting sword in hand at the head of the Smaland cavalry, which closed the right flank of the centre of his army, and is supposed to have outstripped, in his ardour, the invincible brigades that composed his main body. The Swedes fought like roused lions, in order to revenge the death of their king: and many and vigorous were their struggles; and the approach of night alone prevented Kniphausen and the duke of Saxe-Weymar from gaining a decisive victory.(5)

During nine hours did the battle rage with inexpressible fierceness. No field was ever disputed with more obstinacy than the plain of Lutzen, where the Swedish infantry not only maintained their ground against a brave and greatly superior army, but broke its force, and almost completed its destruc-

(1) *Soldat. Suedois. Merc. Franc. Swedish Intelligencer.*

(3) *Theat. Europ.* fol. 747

(2) *Chemnitz, de Bell. Suec. German.*

(4) *Harte, vol. ii.*

(5) *Ib. id.*

tion. Nor could the flight of the Saxons, or the arrival of Pappenheim, one of the ablest generals in the imperial service, with a reinforcement of seven thousand fresh troops, shake the unconquerable fortitude of the Swedes. The gallant death of that great man served but to crown their glory, and immortalize their triumph. "Tell the Walstein," said he, presuming on the consequences that would result from the death of the Swedish monarch, "that I have preserved the Catholic religion, and made the emperor a free man!"(1)—The death of Gustavus deserves more particular notice.

The king of Sweden first received a ball in his left arm. This wound he either felt not, or disregarded for a time, still pressing on with intrepid valour. Yet the soldiers perceived their leader to be wounded, and expressed their sorrow on that account: "Courage, my comrades!" cried he, "the hurt is nothing; let us resume our ardour, and maintain the charge."(2) At length however, perceiving his voice and strength to fail him, he desired his cousin, the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, to convey him to some place of safety.

In that instant, as the warlike king's brave associates were preparing to conduct him out of the scene of action, an imperial cavalier advanced unobserved, and crying aloud, "Long have I sought thee!" transpierced Gustavus through the body with a pistol ball.(3) But this bold champion did not long enjoy the glory of his daring exploit; for the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg's master of the horse shot him dead, with the vaunting words yet recent on his lips.(4)

Piccolomini's cuirassiers now made a furious attack upon the king of Sweden's companions. Gustavus was held upon his saddle for some time; but his horse having received a wound in the shoulder, made a furious plunge, and flung the rider to the earth. His majesty's military followers were soon after utterly dispersed, but his personal attendants remained with him. His two faithful grooms, though mortally wounded, threw themselves over their master's body; and one gentleman of the bed-chamber, who lay on the ground, having cried out in order to save his sovereign's life, that he was king of Sweden, was instantly stabbed to the heart by an imperial cuirassier.(5)

Gustavus being afterward asked who he was, replied with heroic firmness and magnanimity, "I am the king of Sweden! and seal with my blood the Protestant religion and liberties of Germany."(6) The imperialists gave him five barbarous wounds, and a bullet passed through his head; yet had he strength left to exclaim, "My God! my God!"(7) His body was recovered by Stalhaus, in spite of the most vigorous efforts of Piccolomini, who strove to carry it off.

No prince, ancient or modern, seems to have possessed in so eminent a degree as Gustavus Adolphus the united qualities of the hero, the statesman, and the commander; that intuitive genius which conceives, that wisdom which plans, and that happy combination of courage and conduct which gives success to an enterprise. Nor was the military progress of any leader ever equally rapid, under circumstances equally difficult; with an inferior force, against warlike nations and disciplined troops, commanded by able and experienced generals. His greatest fault, as a king and a commander, was an excess of valour. He usually appeared in the front of the battle, mounted on a horse of a particular colour; which, with his large and majestic stature, surpassing that of every other Swede, made him known both to friends and foes.(8)

But Gustavus had other qualities besides those of the military and political kind. He was a pious Christian, a warm friend, a tender husband, a dutiful son, an affectionate father. And the sentiments suited to all these softer characters are admirably displayed, in a letter from the Swedish monarch to his minister Oxenstiern, written a few days before the battle of Lutzen. "Though the cause in which I am engaged," said he, "is just and good, yet

(1) Riccius de Bell. Germ.

(2) Merc. Franc.

(3) Harte, vol. ii.

(4) Id. *ibid.* This promptitude, and other collateral circumstances, seem to prove that the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg is by no means chargeable with the death of Gustavus, notwithstanding all the attempts that have been made to criminate him.(5) Id. *ibid.*(6) Id. *ibid.*(7) Id. *ibid.*(8) Harte *ubi sup.*

the event of war, because of the vicissitudes of human affairs, must ever be deemed doubtful. Uncertain, also, is the duration of mortal life; I therefore require and beseech you, in the name of our blessed Redeemer! to preserve your fortitude of spirit, though events should not proceed in perfect conformity to my wishes.

"Remember likewise," continued Gustavus, "how I should comfort myself in regard to you, if, by divine permission, I might live till that period when you should have occasion for my assistance of any kind. Consider me as a man, the guardian of a kingdom, who has struggled with difficulties for twenty years, and passed through them with reputation, by the protection of heaven; as a man who loved and honoured his relations and mercy, who neglected life, riches, and happy days, for the preservation and glory of his country and faithful subjects; expecting no other recompense than to be declared, *The prince who fulfilled the duties of that station which Providence had assigned him in this world.*

"They who survive me," added he, "for I, like others, must expect to feel the stroke of mortality, are, on my account, and for many other reasons, real objects of your commiseration:—they are of the tender and defenceless sex,—a helpless mother who wants a guide, and an infant daughter who needs a protector!—Natural affection forces these lines from the hand of a son and a parent."⁽¹⁾

The death of the king of Sweden presaged great alterations in the state of Europe. The elector Palatine, who was in hopes of being restored not only to his hereditary dominions, but to the throne of Bohemia, died soon after of chagrin. The German Protestants, now without a head, became divided into factions; the imperialists, though defeated, were transported with joy, and prepared to push the war with vigour; while the Swedes, though victorious, were overwhelmed with sorrow for the loss of their heroic prince, whose daughter and successor, Christina, was only six years of age. A council of regency, however, being appointed, and the management of the war in Germany committed to the chancellor Oxenstiern, a man of great political talents, the Protestant confederacy again wore a formidable aspect. The alliance between France and Sweden was renewed, and hostilities were pushed with vigour and success by the duke of Saxe-Weymar and the generals Bannier and Horn.

Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, the war became every day more burthensome and disagreeable, both to the Swedes and their German allies; and Oxenstiern, who had hitherto successfully employed his genius in finding resources for the support of the common cause, saw it in danger of sinking, when an unexpected event gave new hopes to the confederates. The emperor, become jealous of the vast powers he had granted to Walstein, whose insolence and ambition knew no bounds, resolved to deprive him of the command; and Walstein, in order to prevent his disgrace, is said to have concerted the means of a revolt. It is at least certain, that he attempted to secure himself by winning the attachment of his soldiers; and Ferdinand, afraid of the delay of a legal trial, or having no proof of his treason, and dreading his resentment, had recourse to the dishonourable expedient of assassination.⁽²⁾

But the fall of this great man, who had chiefly obstructed the progress of the Swedish arms, both before and since the death of Gustavus, was not followed by all those advantages which the confederates expected from it. The Imperialists, animated by the presence of the king of Hungary, the emperor's eldest son, who succeeded Walstein in the command of the army,

(1) Loccen. *Hist. Succ.* It is not a little surprising that Gustavus, in this memorable letter, makes no mention of his beloved consort Eleanor; in parting from whom, when he began his march for Saxony, he was so much affected that he could only say, "God bless you!"—and in bewailing whose widowed condition (his ejaculation to the Deity excepted) his last words were employed.—"Alas, my poor queen!" sighed he, in his dying moments:—"Alas, my poor queen!" Harte, vol. ii.

(2) Barre, tom. ix. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. Harte, vol. ii. If Walstein had formed any treasonous design, it seems to have been after he discovered his ruin to be otherwise inevitable. He was too great and haughty for a subject; and the death of Gustavus had rendered him less necessary to the emperor

made up in valour what their general wanted in experience. Twenty thousand Spanish and Italian troops arrived in Germany under the duke of Feria; the cardinal infant, the new governor of the Low Countries, likewise brought a reinforcement to the Catholic cause; the duke of Lorraine, a soldier of fortune, joined the king of Hungary with ten thousand men; and the duke of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the Palatinate, also found himself under the necessity of uniting his forces with those of the emperor.

Meanwhile, the Swedish generals, Bannier, Horn, and the duke of Saxe-Weymar, maintained a superiority on the Oder, the Rhine, and the Danube; and the elector of Saxony in Bohemia and Lusatia. Horn and the duke of Saxe-Weymar united their forces, in order to oppose the progress of the king of Hungary, who had already made himself master of Ratisbon. They came up with him near Nordlingen, where was fought one of the most obstinate and bloody battles recorded in history, and where the Swedes were totally routed, in spite of their most vigorous efforts. (1) In vain did the duke of Saxe-Weymar remind them of Leipsic and Lutzen: though a consummate general, he wanted that all-inspiring spirit of Gustavus, which communicated his own heroism to his troops, and made them irresistible, unless when opposed to insuperable bulwarks.

This defeat threw the members of the Evangelical Union into the utmost consternation and despair. They accused the Swedes, whom they had lately extolled as their deliverers, of all the calamities which they felt or dreaded; and the emperor, taking advantage of these discontents and his own success, did not fail to divide the confederates yet more by negotiation. The elector of Saxony first deserted the alliance; and a treaty with the court of Vienna, to the following purport, was at length signed at Prague by all the Protestant princes, except the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. "The Protestants shall retain for ever the mediate ecclesiastical benefices, which did not depend immediately upon the emperor, and were seized before the pacification of Passau; and they shall retain, for the space of forty years, the immediate ecclesiastical benefices, though seized since the treaty of Passau, if actually enjoyed before the 12th day of November, in the year 1627: the exercise of the Protestant religion shall be freely permitted in all the dominions of the empire, except the kingdom of Bohemia, and the provinces belonging to the house of Austria: the duke of Bavaria shall be maintained in possession of the Palatinate, on condition of paying the jointure of Frederic's widow, and granting a proper subsistence to his son, when he shall return to his duty; and there shall be, between the emperor and the confederates of the Augsburg confession, who shall sign this treaty, a mutual restitution of every thing taken since the irruption of Gustavus into the empire." (2)

In consequence of this pacification, almost the whole weight of the war devolved upon the Swedes and the French, between whom a fresh treaty had been concluded by Richelieu and Oxenstiern; and a French army marched into Germany, in order to support the duke of Saxe-Weymar. But the success of these new hostilities, which France, Sweden, and the United Provinces maintained against both branches of the house of Austria, must furnish the subject of another Letter.

LETTER LXXV.

The general View of the European Continent continued, from the Treaty of Prague, in 1635, to the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648.

WHILE Germany was a scene of war and desolation, cardinal Richelieu ruled France with a rod of iron. Though universally hated, he continued to hold the reins of government. Several conspiracies were formed against

(1) Loccen. lib. ix. Puffend. lib. vi.

(2) *Truceurp. Act. Pub.* tom. iv. Du Mont, *Corp. Diplom.* tom. v.

him, at the instigation of the duke of Orleans and the queen-mother; but they were all defeated by his vigilance and vigour, and terminated in the ruin of their contrivers. The widow of Henry IV. was banished the kingdom; her son Gaston was obliged to beg his life; the mareschals Marillas and Montmorency were brought to the block; and the gibbets were every day loaded with inferior criminals, condemned by the most arbitrary sentences, and in a court erected for the trial of the cardinal's enemies. In order to render himself more necessary to the throne, as well as to complete his political scheme, he now resolved to engage France in open hostilities with the whole house of Austria; and had this step been taken while the power of the Swedes was unbroken, and the Protestant princes united, it could not have failed of extraordinary success. But Richelieu's jealousy of Gustavus prevented him, during the life of that monarch, from joining the arms of France to those of Sweden; and Oxenstiern, before the unfortunate battle of Nordlingen, was unwilling to give the French any footing in Germany. That overthrow altered his way of thinking: he offered to put Lewis XIII. immediately in possession of Philipsburg and Alsace, on condition that France should take an active part in the war against the emperor. Richelieu readily embraced a proposal that corresponded so entirely with his views. He also concluded an alliance with the United Provinces, in hopes of sharing the Low Countries; and he sent a herald to Brussels, in the name of his master, to denounce war against Spain.⁽¹⁾ A treaty was at the same time entered into with the duke of Savoy, in order to strengthen the French interest in Italy.

If France had not taken a decided part in the war, the treaty of Prague would have completed the destruction of the Swedish forces in Germany. But Lewis XIII. or rather cardinal Richelieu, now began to levy troops with great diligence, and five considerable armies were soon in the field. The first and largest of these was sent into the Low Countries, under the mareschals de Chatillon and Breze; the second, commanded by the duke De la Force, marched into Lorraine; the third took the route of the dutchy of Milan, under the mareschal de Crequi; the duke of Rohan led the fourth into the Valteline; and the fifth acted upon the Rhine, under Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar. In order to oppose the operations of the French on the side of Lorraine, the emperor sent thither general Galas, an experienced officer, at the head of a powerful army, to join the duke of that territory, who intended to besiege Colmar, and had already made himself master of almost all the towns in its neighbourhood. The design against Colmar, however, was defeated by the severity of the season; and La Force obliged the duke of Lorraine to abandon Burgundy, which he had entered in the spring, with a view of reducing Monbelliard. This check, and the fatigues of his march, diminished the duke's army so much, that he was not able during the campaign to attempt any new enterprise.

Meanwhile, Galas, the imperial general, had fixed his head-quarters at Worms, whence he sent detachments to ravage the country, and surprise the towns that were garrisoned by the Swedes. Mentz was blocked up by count Mansfeldt; and although the preservation of the place was of the utmost consequence to the confederates, as it secured their communication with both sides of the Rhine, the duke of Saxe-Weymar was in no condition to raise the blockade. He was still more interested in preserving Keisar-Louter, where he had deposited all the booty which he had taken since the beginning of the war. That place, however, though defended with such obstinacy that the greater part of the garrison had fallen in the breach, during the different assaults which it had sustained, was taken by storm, before the duke could afford it relief. Galas, who had reduced it, afterward sat down before Deux Ponts; but Weymar's army being by this time reinforced with eighteen thousand French troops, under the cardinal La Valette, the imperial general was

(1) Auberi, *Hist. du Card. Rich.* Le Vassor, *Hist. Louis XIII.* This is said to be the last declaration of war made by a herald-at-arms. Since that time each party has thought it sufficient to publish a declaration at home, without sending into an enemy's country a cartel of defiance.

obliged to abandon his undertaking. Mansfeldt's lines were also forced, and supplies thrown into Mentz.(1)

While the confederates lay under the cannon of that city, Galas assembled an army of thirty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Worms; and by sending detachments to occupy Sarbruck, and several other places, reduced the French and Swedes to the greatest extremity for want of provisions. In this emergency they repassed the Rhine at Bingen, on a bridge of boats, as if their route had been for Coblenz, though their real design was to reach Vaudervange, where there was a French garrison. With this view they marched night and day, without refreshment or repose; yet Galas, who had crossed the Rhine at Worms, in order to harass them in their retreat, overtook them with his cavalry at the river Glann, between Odernheim, and Messenheim, where the imperialists were repulsed. Not discouraged, however, by this check, Galas put himself at the head of nine thousand horse, traversed the dutchy of Deux Ponts, passed the Sarre, entered Lorrain, and waited for the confederates in a defile between Vaudervange and Boulai. There an obstinate engagement ensued, in which the imperial cavalry were routed. The French afterward retired to Pont-a-Mousson, and the Swedes to Moyenvie, with the wreck of their several armies; which, although victorious, were both greatly reduced. Meantime, Galas, being joined by his main body, made himself master of Vaudervange, and encamped near Zagermunde, between the Sarre and the Wilde, that he might be ready to join the duke of Lorrain.(2)

The French and their allies were yet less successful in other quarters. Nothing effectual was done in Italy, where the duke of Parma had the misfortune to see himself stripped of the best part of his dominions by the Spaniards, notwithstanding the efforts of Crequi and the duke of Savoy, who, in one battle, gained a considerable advantage over the enemy. In the Low Countries, where the highest hopes had been formed, the disappointment of cardinal Richelieu was still greater. He had computed on the entire conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, and a scheme of partition was actually drawn up, whereby the dutchy of Luxemburg, the counties of Namur, Hainault, Courtray, Artois, and Flanders, as far as Blackenberg, Damme, and Ruppelmonde, were assigned to France; while Brabant, Guelderland, the territory of Waes, the lordship of Mecklin, and all the rest of the Spanish Netherlands, were to be annexed to the republic of Holland. This scheme, however, proved as vain as it was ambitious. The Dutch were jealous of the growing power of France, and the prince of Orange had a personal pique at cardinal Richelieu. Therefore, although the mareschals Brezé and Châtillon were so fortunate as to defeat the Flemish army detached by the cardinal infant to give them battle, before their junction with the forces of the United Provinces, nothing of consequence was effected after that junction was formed. The French commanders were under the necessity of leading back the miserable remains of their army, wasted with fatigue and diseases; and the prince of Orange spent the latter part of the campaign in recovering the strong fortress of Schenck, which had been reduced by the enemy. Nor was this all: the cardinal infant, perceiving that, in consequence of the many designs formed on all sides, the frontier of Picardy lay in a manner open, sent an army under the celebrated generals Piccolomini and John de Wert to enter France on that side. This army took La Chapelle, Catelet, and Corbie; and the Parisians, perceiving the enemy within three days' march of their gates, were thrown into the utmost consternation: but, by the vigorous measures of Richelieu, a body of fifty thousand men were suddenly assembled and the Spaniards and Flemings found themselves obliged to evacuate France.(3)

Having surmounted this danger, the French minister took the most effectual steps to secure the success of the ensuing campaign. In order to recover the friendship of Henry prince of Orange, whom he had offended by his

(1) Barre, tom. ix. Puffend. lib. viii.

(2) Id *ibid.*

(3) Aubert, *Hist. du Card. Rich.*

haughtiness, he honoured him with the title of *Highness* instead of *Excellency*,—a flattery which had the desired effect. And he concluded a treaty with the duke of Saxe-Weymar, in which it was stipulated, That, in consideration of an annual subsidy, the duke should maintain an army of eighteen thousand men, which he should command in person, as general of the troops belonging to the German princes in alliance with the French king, to whom he should take the oath of allegiance, and that Lewis should cede in his favour all the claims of France to Alsace. In consequence of this treaty, the duke being joined by a French army, under the cardinal La Valette, began the campaign with the siege of Saverne, which had been taken towards the close of the former year. The place made a gallant defence, in hopes of being relieved by Galas, who had promised to march against the besiegers. Perceiving, however, the impracticability of such an attempt, Galas made an irruption into Franche-Compte, in conjunction with the duke of Lorraine. Meanwhile, La Valette and Weymar, having recovered Saverne, omitted nothing that could obstruct or harass the imperialists in their march : and their endeavours were so successful, that Galas lost about seven thousand men before he entered Burgundy. He continued his march nevertheless, and undertook the siege of St. Jean de Laon, which he was obliged to abandon, in consequence of the overflowing of the adjacent rivers ; and being fast followed by the viscount de Turenne, he lost above five thousand men, and the greater part of his baggage, in his retreat.(1)

During these transactions in Lorraine, Alsace, and Franche-Compte, a decisive battle was fought in Upper Germany, between the Swedes under general Bannier, and the imperialists commanded by the elector of Saxony. After watching the motions of each other for some time, they halted in the plains of Wislock, where both armies prepared for battle. The imperial camp was pitched on an eminence, and fortified with fourteen redoubts, under which the troops stood ready to engage. Desirous of drawing the enemy from that advantageous post, Bannier ordered part of his cavalry to advance and skirmish. This feint having in some measure the intended effect, Bannier ordered colonel Gun, who commanded the right wing of the Swedes, to attack the enemy, and advanced himself at the head of five brigades to support that wing ; while general Statens, with the left wing, wheeled round the hill, in order to charge the imperialists in flank. These attacks were executed with such vigour, that the whole Austrian and Saxon infantry was broken or cut down. Five thousand men fell on the field or in the pursuit ; seven thousand were taken, together with thirty pieces of cannon, one hundred and fifty ensigns, and an incredible number of wagons.(2)

The battle of Wislock, which restored the lustre of the Swedish arms, raised Bannier to the highest degree of military reputation, and gave a signal blow to the imperial power, was followed by the demise of Ferdinand II. He died at Vienna, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign, and was succeeded in the imperial throne by his son Ferdinand III. The accession of this prince made little alteration in the state of the war : for although the first year of the new reign was distinguished by no memorable enterprise, the greater part of it being wasted in fruitless negotiations, the next campaign was remarkably active and bloody ; as if the contending powers had only been resting themselves, in order to renew, with more destructive rage, the work of death. The duke of Saxe-Weymar, who had already fully revenged the injuries of his family upon the house of Austria, advanced towards Rhinfeld early in the spring, and resolved to besiege it in form. It was accordingly invested ; but the defence was so obstinate, that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of valour and military skill, the imperialists had time to come to its relief, under general Savelli and the famous John de Wert. Both armies were immediately ranged in order of battle, and Weymar's right wing fell with such fury upon the enemy's left, commanded by Wert in person, that it was quickly broken. The left wing of

(1) Puffend. lib. viii. Le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*(2) Id. *ibid.*

Weymar's army was not equally successful. On the contrary, it was repulsed; but he collected his cavalry, and repeated the charge with such vigour, that the enemy must have been totally routed, had they not retired under cover of the shades of night. The battle was renewed next day, when the defeat of the imperialists was completed, and both their generals made prisoners, together with a great number of inferior officers.(1)

The duke, after his victory, returned to the siege of Rhinfeld, to which he granted an honourable capitulation, in consideration of its gallant defence. Newburg, Rottelen, and Friburg, the capital of Brisgaw, were also reduced; and the siege of Brisac was undertaken, with the greatest confidence of success. Here the duke of Lorraine, and Goetz the imperial general, attempted to interrupt Weymar's career, by attacking his intrenchments, but without effect. They always found him upon his guard; and Brisac was forced at last to surrender, after it had been reduced to such extremity by famine, that the governor was obliged to set a guard upon the burying places, in order to prevent the inhabitants from digging up and devouring the dead.(2)

The news of this important conquest no sooner reached Paris, than Lewis XIII. formed the scheme of annexing Brisac to the crown of France, and made Weymar very advantageous proposals on the subject. But that negotiation, if pushed, would have proved very difficult, as the duke had set his heart upon the county of Brisgaw, which he meant to keep in his own possession, that it might be a thorn in the side of the house of Austria, against which his hatred was inextinguishable, on account of the indignities offered to his great-grandfather, John Frederick, by the emperor Charles V. He thought the conquest of Brisac would secure Brisgaw, of which he intended to make an establishment that would not easily be shaken. He therefore gallantly replied, when pressed by the French minister to explain himself on this point: "To part with my conquest, would be to sacrifice my honour: ask a virgin to deliver up her chastity!" He endeavoured, however, to amuse the court of France with a pretended negotiation, which was managed with so much dexterity by Erlach, his lieutenant, that Lewis agreed to furnish him with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, although nothing had been concluded in regard to Brisac.(3)

While the duke of Saxe-Weymar thus triumphed over the imperialists in Alsace, the Swedish general Bannier prosecuted his conquest in Pomerania. After the victory obtained at Wislock, he reduced Gartz, Loets, Demmin, and Wolgast; and, understanding that Galas had extended his army, he sent Stalans and Torstenson, two gallant officers, with a reconnoitring detachment, that surprised and cut in pieces two regiments of imperial horse. But Charles Lewis, prince Palatine, son of the expelled elector, who had assembled some troops, and burned with impatience to re-establish himself by the sword, was less fortunate in Westphalia. Count Hasfeld, the emperor's lieutenant-general, in that province, advanced against him with a powerful army, in order to raise the siege of Lemgau, the capital of the county of Lippe. Lewis, sensible that he was in no condition to defend his lines against such a force, retreated towards Minden; but Hasfeld coming up with him in the valley of Astheim, an action ensued, in which victory continued long doubtful, but at last declared in favour of the imperialists. The Palatine's little army was almost utterly cut off, his artillery was lost, and his brother Robert made prisoner.(4)

In the beginning of next campaign, the two victorious commanders, Bannier and Weymar, concerted measures for penetrating into the heart of the Austrian dominions. Bannier accordingly crossed the Elbe, and made an irruption into the territories of Anhalt and Halberstadt. Leaving his infantry and cannon behind him, he pushed on with his cavalry, and surprised Salis, grand-master of the imperial ordnance, in the neighbourhood of Oelnitz. The

(1) Puffend. lib. viii. Barre, tom. ix.
(3) Barre, tom. ix. Harte, vol. I.

(2) *Mercur. de France*, à l'Ann 1636
(4) *Id. ibid.*

conflict was obstinate and bloody; no less than seven regiments of imperialists were cut in pieces. The Swedish general next entered Saxony, and advanced as far as the suburbs of Dresden; where he defeated four Saxon regiments, and obliged a larger body of the enemy to take refuge under the cannon of that city. But understanding that Hasfeld, the imperial general, was marching from Westphalia to interrupt his operations, he returned towards Zeitz, to join his infantry. While he remained there, intelligence was brought him, that the Saxons were encamped near Chemnitz, where they expected soon to be joined by the army under Hasfeld.

In order to prevent that junction, Bannier attacked the Saxon army; and, after a terrible conflict, obtained a complete victory. This success was followed by several others. He made an irruption into Bohemia, and laid great part of the country under contribution; then returning, crossed the Elbe, and fell upon general Hofskirk, encamped near Brandeiz, with ten regiments of imperial horse and seven battalions of foot. The action was maintained with great obstinacy: both sides fought with incredible intrepidity; but, at length, the imperialists were forced to relinquish the field to the superior fortune of the Swedes, with the loss of two thousand men. Bannier pursued them to the walls of the Prague, and took the imperial generals, Hofskirk and Monticuculi, prisoners.

On purpose to carry the war into Silesia and Moravia, the Swedish general repassed the Elbe, and marched towards those countries. But he met not there with the success he expected. The enemy's forces multiplied daily, and it was impossible for him, with an inferior army, to succour every place that required his protection. The Protestants had promised him great assistance, but they were overawed by the presence of the imperial troops. No insurrection appeared in his favour; yet he was not discouraged. He defeated a body of imperialists at Glatz, and drove the Saxons three several times from their camp at Tirn.(1)

But all the aspiring hopes of Bannier and the Swedes were suddenly blasted, by the immature death of Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar. He had begun the campaign with the siege of Thau, which he ordered to be battered with red-hot bullets; a mode of attack which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that they surrendered almost instantly, though they had before baffled all the efforts of Guebriant the French general. Bernard's character was now so high, and his army so formidable to the imperial throne, that Ferdinand made some secret attempts to detach him from the French interest. But instead of listening to such proposals, which he considered as insidious, or slackening in his operations, he vigorously exerted himself in taking measures for passing the Rhine. While thus employed, he fell sick at Hunninguen, whence he was transported by water to Newburg, and there expired in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He is supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy and ambition of cardinal Richelieu, who was not only desirous of getting possession of Brisac, but afraid that this scheme of humbling the house of Austria might be defeated, if the duke of Saxe-Weymar should close with the emperor's proposals. Puffendorf not only supports this opinion, but positively affirms, that the duke was taken off by poison, and that his body had all the marks of it.(2)

The death of Weymar was no sooner known, than a violent contest arose who should possess his army. Endeavours were used by the Swedish agents in Germany to engage the officers and soldiers to join general Bannier: the emperor took every measure in his power to draw them into his service, and regain possession of the places which the duke had conquered; and Charles Lewis, prince Palatine, the re-establishment of whose family had been the chief cause of the war, attempted to gain them through the influence of England and Holland. But cardinal Richelieu ordered Lewis to be arrested at Moulins, in his return from London, and carried prisoner to the castle of Vincennes, where he was confined, till a treaty was concluded between

(1) Puffend. lib. xi. Loccen. lib. ix.

(2) Comment. de Reb Succ. lib. xi. c. xxxix

France and the Weymarian officers. It was stipulated, that the troops of Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weymar, should constitute a separate body, under the direction of the officers named in his will for that purpose; that the French king should keep this body always effective, by the payment of a certain annual sum for raising recruits; that he should continue to the principal officers the same appointments which they had enjoyed under the duke, furnish them with bread, ammunition, and all other necessities of war, and ratify the several donations which Bernard had made to his officers and soldiers; that the troops should receive their orders from the duke of Longueville, through the medium of their own commanders, who should be summoned to all councils held for the service of the common cause; that the conquered places should be put into the hands of his most Christian majesty, who might at pleasure appoint governors for Brisac and Friburg, but that the garrisons should consist of an equal number of French and German soldiers, and the governors of the other places be chosen from the Weymarian army. (1)

In consequence of this important negotiation, which rendered the king of France sovereign of almost all Alsace, and a great part of Brisgaw, the duke of Longueville with the Weymarian army, mareschal Guebriant with the French troops, and the troops of Lunenburg commanded by general Klitzing, joined Bannier at Erfurt. Nothing farther was now necessary to ensure success to the confederates besides unanimity, but that unfortunately was wanting. All claiming superiority, none chose to be directed, as each entertained a high opinion of his own merit, and sought to display his judgment by proposing some new plan of operations; so that Bannier found, that, although he had increased his numbers, he had acquired little additional strength. Perhaps his real force might rather be said to be diminished, as he was no longer allowed to follow the suggestions of his own genius, and strike those sudden and unexpected blows which distinguish the consummate general.

After long debates, it was agreed to attack Piccolomini, the imperial general, in his camp at Saltzburg. With this view the confederates seized upon an eminence, whence they began a violent cannonading, and afterward attacked the enemy's intrenchments sword in hand; but Piccolomini was so advantageously posted, that the attempt to force his camp was found impracticable. It was accordingly laid aside; and both armies continued in sight of each other, until scarcity began to reign in each camp. There seemed to be a kind of rivalry, who could longest endure the pressure of famine. But, on the side of the confederates, this inaction proceeded from irresolution, and a division of counsels; whereas, on that of the imperialists, it was dictated by a prudent caution. Bannier, however, tired of such languid delay, set out for Franconia, in order to seize some advantageous post upon the Maine. But as he advanced towards the river Sala, he perceived that the enemy occupied the opposite bank. They were there intrenched; so that it was impossible for him to force a passage: he was therefore under the necessity of marching through the langraviate of Hesse, where his army suffered greatly by famine.

Piccolomini now endeavoured to penetrate into Lunenburg, but Bannier's diligence baffled all his efforts. He prevented the imperialists from crossing the Weser, and refreshed his own army in that duchy, which had not yet been exhausted by the ravages of war. Pinched with famine, and harassed by the perpetual alarms of the Hessians, Piccolomini determined to lead his forces into Franconia. But, on his march thither, he was attacked by the Weymarian army, under the duke of Longueville; and, although not totally

(1) *Londorp. Act. Pub.* vol. iv. Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar was a soldier of fortune, and one of the generals formed under Gustavus. After the death of that monarch, and the fatal battle of Nordlingen, where the Swedes under his command were cut off almost to a man, he collected an army of Germans, which was properly his own, and which he supported partly by the practice of war, and partly by the subsidy that he received from France. Notwithstanding his immature death, and the defeat at Nordlingen, he may be ranked among the greatest modern commanders. Turenne always acknowledged him to have been his master in the military science. *Mem. de la Farre.*

defeated, he could scarce have suffered more by such disaster.(1) It must, however, be considered as very honourable for that general, to have been able to make head against the combined forces of the confederates, and even to oblige them to quit the imperial dominions.

But the house of Austria was less fortunate in other quarters, during the year 1640. The affairs of Philip IV. went backward in Italy: Catalonia revolted, and Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke. The Catalans were desirous of forming a republic; but too feeble to support themselves against the power of a tyrannical master, they were obliged to throw themselves into the arms of France, and ultimately to submit to the dominion of Spain. The Portuguese were more successful in their struggle for independency. Boiling with national hate, and irritated by despotic rule, they had long sought to break their chains. A law to compel the nobility, under pain of the forfeiture of their estates, to take up arms for the subjection of Catalonia, completed the general disaffection: and other circumstances conspired to hasten a revolution. An impenetrable plot had been forming, for upwards of three years, in favour of the duke of Braganza, whose grandfather had been deprived of his right to the crown of Portugal by Philip II. The conspirators now resolved to carry their design into execution, and effected it with incredible facility.

Olivares had been so imprudent as to recall the Spanish garrison from Lisbon: very few troops were left in the whole realm of Portugal; the oppressed people were ripe for an insurrection; and the Spanish minister, in order to amuse the duke of Braganza, whose ruin he meditated, had given him the command of the arsenal. The dutchess of Mantua, who had been honoured with the empty title of vice-queen, was driven out of the kingdom without a blow. Vasconcellos, the Spanish secretary, and one of his clerks, were the only victims sacrificed to public vengeance. All the towns in Portugal followed the example of the capital, and almost on the same day. The duke of Braganza was unanimously proclaimed king, under the name of John IV. A son does not succeed more quietly to the possessions of his father in a well regulated state. Ships were immediately despatched from Lisbon to all the Portuguese settlements in Asia and Africa, as well as to those in the islands of the eastern and western ocean; and they all, with one accord, expelled their Spanish governors.(2) Portugal became again an independent kingdom; and by the recovery of Brazil, which, during the Spanish administration, had been conquered by the Dutch, its former lustre was in some measure restored.

While all Europe rung with the news of this singular revolution, Philip IV., shut up in the inmost recesses of the Escorial, lost in the delirium of licentious pleasure, or bewildered in the maze of idle amusement, was utterly ignorant of it. The manner in which Olivares made him acquainted with his misfortune is truly memorable. "I come," said that artful minister, "to communicate good news to your majesty: the duke of Braganza's whole fortune is become yours. He has been so presumptuous as to get himself declared king of Portugal; and, in consequence of this folly, your majesty is entitled to the forfeiture of all his estates."—"Let the sequestration be ordered!" replied Philip, and continued his dissipations.(3)

The emperor Ferdinand III. was of a less patient, or rather of a less indolent temper. He had convoked a diet at Ratisbon, in order to concert measures for carrying on the war, though he pretended to be desirous of peace. Bannier formed the design of dispersing this assembly, and even of surprising the city. Having joined the French army under Guebriant at Erfurt, he arrived at Hoff on the sixth of January; and detaching thence five regiments of cavalry to Egra, under the command of major-general Wittemberg, who had orders to join the army at Porew, he advanced to Awerbach. The confederates next proceeded to Schwendorf, crossed the Danube upon the ice and

(1) Puffend. lib. xii. Barre, tom. ix. Le Vassor, *Hist. Louis XIII.*

(2) Vertot *Hist. de la Révolut. du Portugal.*

(3) *Anecdotes du Duc d'Olivares*

captured above fifteen hundred of the enemy's horse. The emperor himself, who intended to devote that day to the chase, narrowly escaped being made prisoner. His advanced guard and equipage were taken.

The approach of the French and Swedish armies filled Ratisbon with consternation, as it was utterly unprovided against a siege, and full of strangers and suspected persons. The design of the confederates was to take advantage of the frost, in order to block up and starve the town; but the weather unexpectedly becoming more mild, it was resolved to repass the Danube, before the ice should be thawed. Bannier, however, would not retire until he made an attempt to dissolve the diet. With that view, he approached Ratisbon, on the sixth of February; and Guebriant, who commanded the vanguard, placing his artillery on the banks of the Rugen, which ran between the town and the confederates, saluted the emperor with five hundred shot; an insult, which stung Ferdinand so keenly, that he seemed bereft of all the powers of reason and recollection.(1)

During the deliberations of the diet at Ratisbon, the counts D'Avaux and Salvius, the plenipotentiaries of France and Sweden, were negotiating at Hamburg the preliminaries of a general peace with Lutza, one of Ferdinand's aulic counsellors. After certain difficulties had been removed, it was agreed by these celebrated statesmen, that a congress for a general peace should be held at Munster and Osnaburg, the garrisons of which should march out; that the inhabitants should be released from their oath of allegiance to either party, and observe a strict neutrality during the time of negotiation; that both cities should be guarded by their own burghers and soldiers, commanded by the magistrates, who should be accountable for the effects, persons, and attendants of the negotiators; that the two conferences should be considered as only one congress, and the roads between the two cities be safe for all goers and comers, together with the intermediate places, where the negotiators might think proper to confer with each other; that in case the negotiation should be interrupted before a treaty could be concluded, Munster and Osnaburg should return to the same situation in which they were before the congress, but that the neutrality should be observed six weeks after the conferences were broken off; that all the safe-conducts on each side should be exchanged at Hamburg, through the mediation of the Danish ambassador, in the space of two months after the date of the agreement; that the emperor and king of Spain should grant safe-conducts to the ministers of France, Sweden, and their allies in Germany and elsewhere, and receive the same security from his most Christian majesty; and that Sweden should grant safe-conducts to the emperor's plenipotentiaries, as well as to those of the electors of Mentz and Brandenburg.(2) It was farther agreed, that France should treat at Munster, and Sweden at Osnaburg; and that each crown should have a secretary where the other's plenipotentiary was, in order to communicate their mutual resolutions.

The emperor refused to ratify this convention, which he said was prejudicial to his honour, as well as to the interests of the Germanic body; and certain unexpected events, fatal to the hopes of the confederates, confirmed him in his resolution of continuing the war. After the ineffectual attempt upon Ratisbon, the French separated themselves from the Swedes, and marched towards Bamberg, under Guebriant, while Bannier took the route of Chamb, with a view of penetrating into Misnia through Bohemia. Meanwhile, the emperor, flaming with rage, issued orders for assembling a body of troops, with all possible despatch, in order to revenge the insult he had suffered.

A powerful army was speedily formed by the activity of Piccolomini and the archduke Leopold. One part of it, under mareschal Gleen, went in pursuit of Bannier, while the other, commanded by Piccolomini, besieged Newmarck, which was defended by an officer of the name of Slang; who, after having sustained five assaults, was obliged to surrender prisoner of war.

(1) *Hist. du Gueh.* liv. iv.(2) Dumont, *Corps Diplomat.* tom. xi

On the reduction of that place, Piccolomini rejoined Gleen, in order to pursue Bannier, who retreated across the forest of Bohemia. Having reached the other side of it, he found his progress impeded by the swelling of the river Pleis, but collected a number of boats, in which he embarked his troops with such expedition, that he had carried over his whole army before Piccolomini appeared upon the opposite bank. Neither this disappointment, however, the interposing stream, nor the presence of the enemy, retarded the progress of the imperialists. The Austrian cavalry swam across the river; and the Swedes being now hemmed in between the Pleis and the Moldaw, Bannier's ruin seemed inevitable, when he extricated himself by one of those efforts of military genius which redound more to the honour of a general than the acquisition of the greatest victory, as fortune has no share in the success.

Finding himself thus circumstanced, the Swedish general posted some troops at a mill below Presnitz; where they made such an obstinate and vigorous resistance, when attacked by Piccolomini, that the main body of the army had time to retire to Zickaw, whither their baggage and artillery also were conveyed in the night. Here Bannier was joined by Guebriant, who had put himself in motion, as soon as he received intelligence of the reduction of Newmark; so that the confederates were now in a condition to make head against the imperialists. But before any step could be taken for that purpose, Bannier fell sick at Zickaw, in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone in his march, and expired at Halberstadt, in the forty-first year of his age, to the infinite loss and inexpressible regret of his country, as well as of her allies. Besides his knowledge in the art of war, which he had acquired under the great Gustavus, to whom he was scarcely inferior as a commander, he was distinguished by his moderation and humanity towards those whom he had vanquished. He always avoided the effusion of blood, as far as circumstances would admit; and, being robust, patient, indefatigable, and active, he was adored by the soldiery, whose toils and dangers he cheerfully shared. (1)

The death of Bannier raised the spirits of the imperialists, in proportion as it depressed those of the confederates, and the most dangerous consequences were apprehended from it; for his army was composed almost entirely of Germans, who were retained in the service of Sweden solely by the reputation and authority of their general. But the troops, though at first inclined to mutiny, were preserved in obedience by the vigilance of the other Swedish commanders, Wrangel, Koningsmark, Wittemberg, and Psuhl, notwithstanding the solicitations of the emperor, and their own necessitous condition, until the arrival of Torstenson—another general formed under Gustavus, and not unworthy of so great a master. In order to give him more influence over the army, he was furnished with a large sum of money by the treasury of Sweden, and accompanied with a strong reinforcement.

Before this reinforcement arrived, the Swedes and French, under the command of Guebriant, had defeated the imperial army, led by the archduke and Piccolomini, near Wolfenbuttle. Four thousand imperialists were slain upon the spot, and a great number taken prisoners. (2) No other event of consequence distinguished the latter part of the campaign, which was chiefly spent in waiting for Torstenson, at an encampment near Stadt; and soon after he assumed the command, the French and Swedish armies separated, by order of cardinal Richelieu. Guebriant entered Westphalia, and Torstenson led his troops into Bohemia, where he proposed to winter; and attempt, as soon as the season should permit, to prove himself worthy of the confidence of his country.

Meanwhile, a new treaty was concluded between France and Sweden, and the most vigorous resolutions were taken for prosecuting the war. Mareschal Guebriant accordingly crossed the Rhine early in the spring, upon a bridge of boats, built at Wesel: marched to Ordinguen, which surrendered at dis-

(1) *æuffend Comment. Rel. Suec lib. xli*

(2) *Barre, tom. ii. Puffend. lit. xlii.*

cretion; and understanding that Hasfeld was on his march to join Lamboy, another imperial general, whose quarters were near Kœnpen, he resolved to prevent their junction, by attacking the latter in his intrenchments. With this view he left his baggage at Ordinguen, advanced towards the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle, and proceeded to the assault. After an obstinate struggle, the Austrian infantry was broken, and the camp forced; and Lamboy, who rallied his troops, and returned to the charge, was surrounded and made prisoner, together with general Merci. Of the whole imperial army not above six hundred escaped.

This victory was followed by the reduction of Lintz, Bevert, Berthem, Caster, and Guewembruck; so that Guebriant saw himself master, in a short time, of almost the whole electorate of Cologne. His next step was to besiege Kempen, which was defended with great gallantry and skill; but a large breach being at length made in the fortifications, the governor, convinced that it would be impossible to sustain an assault, capitulated upon honourable terms.(1)

The defeat of Lamboy, and the rapid success of the French general, did not, however, divert the archduke and Piccolomini, who commanded the imperialists in Moravia, from marching against Torstenson. They intended to surprise him in his camp; but finding all their attempts and expectations defeated, by the vigilance of the Swedish general—in the true spirit of Italian policy—Piccolomini had recourse to treachery, by which he hoped to earn the reward of valour and military skill. With this view he corrupted one Sekendorf, a Swedish colonel, who promised to admit the imperialists into the camp by night. Fortunately, the design was discovered, and the traitor punished: nor did his employers escape chastisement. The duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, who had marched towards Schwents, in order to check the progress of Torstenson, in Silesia, was defeated and mortally wounded; and in that condition was taken prisoner with the greater part of his officers, three thousand of his men being left dead on the field.

Soon after this victory, Torstenson passed the Elbe, with an intention to besiege Leipsic; and having seized two posts, the possession of which might facilitate that enterprise, he ordered general Koningsmark to invest the place. But the approach of the imperialists, under the archduke and Piccolomini, obliged him to convert the siege into a blockade, and make preparations for receiving the enemy. Meanwhile, they advanced in such a form, as the Swedes were between the imperial army and the town; and Torstenson finding himself exposed to two fires, filed off his troops into the plain of Breitenfeld, about three miles distant from Leipsic. The imperial generals, imagining his design was to avoid an action, endeavoured to harass his rear; but the Swedish commander, who wished for nothing more than such an opportunity, faced about immediately. A mutual cannonading ensued, and soon after a close engagement. Wittemberg, who commanded the right wing of the Swedes, charged the left of the imperialists with such impetuosity, that it was instantly broken. Their right wing, however, behaved with more firmness; and the Swedish cavalry, commanded by Koningsmark, was in danger, for a time, of being routed by the emperor's cuirassiers. But the latter were obliged at length to give way.

While the cavalry of both armies thus disputed the victory, the infantry in the centre fought with inexpressible rage and resolution. At length the Swedish foot, animated by the example of the horse, and supported by a body of reserve, which advanced in the heat of action, obliged the imperialists to quit the field, and retreat into a wood, with the loss of their cannon. Torstenson pursued the left wing as far as Leipsic; Koningsmark gave no quarter to the right: and the Austrian infantry, being driven from the wood into which they had retired, were surrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces.(2)

In this battle, which was fought near the same spot that had beheld the

(1) Barre, tom. ix. Puffend. lib. xiii.

(2) Puffend. lib. xiv. Barre, tom. ix.

glory of the Swedes under Gustavus, a few years before, the imperialists lost eight thousand good soldiers; and three hundred officers were found among the slain. The conquerors, who had engaged with very inferior numbers, did not lose above a thousand men. Besides the slaughter of the enemy, they took three thousand prisoners, together with forty-six pieces of cannon, one hundred and sixteen pair of colours, and six hundred wagons.(1)

A defeat so total overwhelmed the imperial court with consternation. General Enkenford was ordered to make new levies with all possible expedition: Hasfeld and Wahl were sent for to Vienna; Goltaker and Galtz exerted their utmost diligence to join the archduke and Piccolomini in Bohemia, whither they had retired to reassemble the wreck of their army. All the troops in the Austrian service were collected to stop the progress of the victorious Torstenson.

That general had again invested Leipsic, and carried on his approaches with such vigour, that the place was under the necessity of surrendering, notwithstanding the valour of the garrison, which excited the admiration of the besiegers. Torstenson was less fortunate in his attempt upon Fridberg, where he understood the enemy had collected large magazines: for although considerable breaches were made in the fortifications, and an assault given, the garrison sustained it with such unshaken resolution, that he was obliged to recall his troops: and while he was making preparations for a final effort, he learned that Piccolomini, at the head of a considerable army, was approaching to the relief of the place. On this intelligence, he ranged his troops in order of battle, and put himself in motion to meet the enemy; but Piccolomini, penetrating his design, took a different route, threw supplies into the town, and retired with the utmost expedition. Now despairing of being able to reduce Fridberg, Torstenson marched into Lusatia, in order to wait for the reinforcements which he expected from Pomerania and Lower Saxony; and Guebriant, the French general, having passed the Maine at Gemund, established quarters of refreshment on the Taubet, and marched towards the Necker.(2)

While the confederates were thus making progress in Germany, the arms of France had been equally successful on the side of Spain. A French army had entered Roussillon, and reduced Colima and Perpignan. Meantime, the affairs of the kingdom were in the greatest confusion, and Paris itself was in danger. Francisco de Melo, a man of valour and abilities, who had succeeded the cardinal infant in the government of the Low Countries, having suddenly assembled a body of twenty-five thousand men, threatened France with two inroads; routed the count de Guiche, who attempted to oppose him, and would have appeared before the capital, to which he had opened a passage, had he not received a letter from Olivares, ordering him to withdraw his troops, under pretence that the enterprise was too hazardous. But the true reason for such order was a secret treaty between the Spanish minister and the duke of Orleans, who, with the duke of Bouillon, Cinqmars, master of the horse, and M. de Thou, had conspired the ruin of Richelieu, whom they had already brought into discredit with the king.

Fortunately, however, for the cardinal, whose life was at once in danger from violence and disease, he got intelligence of the treaty with Spain, nearly at the same time that Louis received the news of Guiche's defeat. In the perplexity occasioned by that disaster, the king paid a visit to Richelieu. The cardinal complained of ill usage; Louis confessed his weakness; a reconciliation took place, and the conspirators were arrested. The duke of Orleans was disgraced; Cinqmars and De Thou lost their heads; and the duke of Bouillon, in order to save his life, was obliged to yield up the principality of Sedan to the crown.(3) Thus victorious over all his enemies, Richelieu, though still on the verge of the grave, entered Paris in a kind of triumph, a breach being made in the walls, in order to admit the superb litter on which he was carried. While on his way, and hardly able to hold the

(1) Puffend. lib. xiv. Barro, tom. ix

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Batt. Nanl, lib. xii.

pen, he wrote to the king the following short letter, which is highly expressive of his haughty character: "Your enemies are dead, and your troops in possession of Perpignan!"(1)

So many losses, the confederates expected, would have disposed the house of Austria sincerely to listen to terms of accommodation; but as the courts of Vienna and Madrid foresaw that France and Sweden, at such a juncture, would necessarily be high in their demands, they seemed very indifferent about renewing the negotiations. It was at length, however, agreed to open the conferences for a general peace, in the month of July the year following; and the preliminaries being published, all the unhappy people who had been so long exposed to the calamities of war, congratulated themselves on the pleasing prospect of tranquillity, when the death of cardinal Richelieu, and also of his master, Louis XIII., once more discoloured the scene. The Swedes, who were doubtful of the politics of the new administration, began to think of concluding a separate treaty with the emperor. But their fears were soon dispelled by the steady measures of cardinal Mazarine, who showed himself no unworthy successor of Richelieu, whose plan he pursued with vigour. All the operations of war were concerted with as much judgment as formerly; supplies of every kind were furnished with equal punctuality; and a young hero sprung up to do honour to France during the minority of Lewis XIV. This hero was the celebrated duke d'Enguien, afterward honoured with the title of the Great Condé. He cut to pieces, in the plains of Rocroi, the famous Walloon and Castilian infantry, with an inferior army; and took Thionville, into which the Spanish general, Francisco de Melo, after his defeat, had thrown a reinforcement of ten thousand men. Nine thousand Spaniards and Walloons are said to have fallen in the battle of Rocroi.(2)

The arms of France were less fortunate in Germany. The duke of Lorraine renounced his alliance with that kingdom, and took upon himself the command of the Bavarian troops; and Guebriant being mortally wounded before Rotwell, which however was reduced, a misunderstanding after his death prevailed among the principal officers of the French army. This was followed by its natural consequence, a relaxation in discipline, the usual forerunner of a defeat. The count de Rantzau, who had succeeded Guebriant in the chief command, marched to the neighbourhood of Dutlingen, in Suabia. There the count de Merci, the Bavarian general, surprised, routed, and took him prisoner, with the greater part of his officers, and about four thousand private men. The remains of the French army retreated to Alsace, where they were happily collected by mareschal Turenne, who was sent thither for that purpose.(3)

The eyes of all Europe were now turned towards the negotiations at Munster and Osnaburg. The plenipotentiaries named by the emperor were, the count d'Aversperg, and the baron de Krane, with Henry duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, who was chief of the embassy: France deputed the count d'Avaux and de Servien, counsellor of state: Sweden, Salvius, assisted by a son of the celebrated chancellor Oxenstiern; and Spain, the marquis de Castel Roderigo and Diego de Saavedra. Deputies were also named by the other European powers interested in the negotiations. The Swedish garrison quitted Osnaburg, which, together with Munster, was, by the baron de Krane, released from the oath that the citizens had taken to the emperor; and the regencies of both cities swore that they would observe an exact neutrality, and protect the persons and effects of the negotiators.(4)

In the midst of these advances towards peace, Torstenson was ordered by the court of Sweden to carry war into the dutchy of Holstein; the regency being incensed against the king of Denmark, whom they accused of concealing all the hostile intentions of an enemy under the mask of a mediator. He had taken several Swedish vessels in the sound, and refused to give satisfaction to the regency, which complained of these acts of hostility. It was

(1) Auberi, *Hist. du Card. Rich.* *Mem. de Madame Motteville.*

(2) *Mem. de Comte Brienne*, tom. ii.

(3) *Id. ibid.* Barre. tom. ix

(4) Du Mont, *Corps Diplom.* tom. vi.

therefore resolved, in a general assembly of the states of Sweden, to make reprisals. That resolution, however, was not publicly known till the moment that Torstenson invaded Holstein. In that dutchy he reduced Oldisloe, Kiel, and several other places of importance.(1)

Christian IV., alarmed at this irruption, complained of it to Torstenson as a palpable infringement of the treaty lately concluded between Denmark and Sweden. But finding that the Swedish general, instead of paying any regard to such remonstrance, penetrated into Jutland, and made himself master of almost all the towns in that province, his Danish majesty had recourse to the emperor, who ordered Galas to march to his assistance in the depth of winter. The imperialists, though much retarded by the snow, which rendered the road almost impassable, at length appeared on the frontier of Holstein, where a resolution was taken to starve the Swedes in Jutland, by occupying the defiles between Stockholm and Sleswick. This design, however, was rendered abortive by the vigilance of Torstenson, who marched towards Rendsburg, with an intention to give Galas battle, in case he should dispute the passage; and as the imperialists did not think proper to give him the least molestation, he quitted Holstein, intercepted some of their convoys, and encamped near Ratzburg.(2)

Meanwhile, France, finding the general negotiations disturbed by the war between Sweden and Denmark, sent M. de la Thuillerie to Copenhagen, in order to bring about an accommodation. His proposals, however, met with little attention, until the retreat of the imperialists, and an advantage gained by the Swedes over their northern neighbours at sea made the Danish monarch more tractable. Despairing of being able to obtain fresh succours from the emperor, the haughty and violent Christian now listened to the mediation of France. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Bromsbo, by which Sweden restored to Denmark all the towns Torstenson had taken in Holstein; and Christian, on his part, ceded to Sweden, Jemptie, Halland, the island of Gothland, and the citadel and town of Wisbie, with all the isles depending upon it. Besides this treaty, which enabled Sweden to act with all her forces against the house of Austria, Thuillerie concluded an alliance between France and Denmark, by which Christian agreed to yield no assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of France or those of her allies.(3)

The emperor was not in a condition to prevent the ratification of these treaties. Turenne had retrieved the affairs of France upon the Rhine, which he crossed at Brisac, and advancing with a small army towards the source of the Danube, routed the imperialists, commanded by the baron de Merci. He afterward attempted the relief of Friburg, which was invested by the Bavarian army, under the count de Merci, brother of the baron; but finding himself too weak to act with vigour against the enemy, he retired, and fortified a camp within a league of the town, whence he had the mortification to see it surrender. Meantime, cardinal Mazarine, informed that the French army was very inferior in strength to the Bavarians, ordered the celebrated Lewis de Bourbon, duke d'Enguien, whom I have already had occasion to mention, and who was son to the prince of Condé, to join Turenne with a reinforcement. These two generals attacked the count de Merci near Friburg, with such impetuosity, that notwithstanding his advantageous situation, which seemed to place him beyond the reach of danger, he was obliged to retire with the loss of three thousand men.

This action, which lasted seven hours, was immediately followed by another, in which the Bavarians gained at first some advantage. But the duke d'Enguien rallied his troops, which seemed disposed to quit the field: and boldly marching against the enemy, drove them three times from their intrenchments, which they as often regained; and victory at last remained undecided, as neither party quitted his ground. Merci, however, who had lost one-half of his army, resolved to avoid a third shock by a quick retreat. This he effected in good order, notwithstanding all the attempts of the French

to break his rear ; and resolutely continuing his march, he safely reached the country of Wurtemberg with the remains of his forces, leaving to the enemy his artillery and baggage, with all the towns situated between the Rhine and the Moselle, from Mentz to Landaw.(1)

Nor were France and Sweden the only foreign powers that incommoded the emperor. Mazarine and Oxenstiern, in order the better to command the negotiations, as well as to furnish employment for Ferdinand, while the Swedes were engaged in the Danish war, had formed an alliance with Ragotski, vaivode of Transylvania ; and that prince, with the consent of the grand seignior, to whom he was tributary, entered Hungary at the head of thirty thousand men, and took Cassovia. In justification of his conduct he published a manifesto, addressed to the Hungarian nobility, in which he assured them that his sole view in taking up arms was to defend their liberties and privileges against the ambition of the emperor, who intended to make that elective kingdom hereditary in his family. This manifesto was answered by Ferdinand, who sent a body of veteran troops, under General Goeutz, to expel the Transylvanian prince ; and Ragotski's troops being raw and undisciplined, he durst not hazard an engagement, though superior in number to the enemy. Other circumstances conspired to hasten his retreat. He received intelligence that the grand vizier, the chief support of his interest at the court of Constantinople, was dead, and that the king of Poland intended to declare war against him. He was eagerly pursued by Goeutz : but the country being destitute of provisions, the imperial troops were wasted with famine and fatigue, and afterward totally ruined at the siege of Cassovia, where the vaivode had left five regiments which defended the place with singular bravery. That defence, and the loss of the imperialists, inspired Ragotski with fresh courage. He rejected with disdain the terms of peace offered him by Ferdinand ; and was of infinite service to Sweden by dividing the forces of the empire, while her troops were employed in Holstein against the king of Denmark.(2)

Torstenson, whom we have seen commanding in Holstein, pursued into Lower Saxony, Galas, the imperial general, whose army there experienced a fate similar to that under Goeutz in Hungary ; it being almost utterly destroyed by famine, fatigue, and the sword of the Swedes. Having now no enemy to oppose him, Torstenson entered Bohemia, and marched directly towards Prague, in hopes of surprising that city, and taking prisoners the emperor and the archduke Leopold, who had resided there for some time. In this bold attempt, however, he was disappointed. Ferdinand was no sooner apprized of the march of the Swedes, than he ordered all the troops that could be assembled to approach the place of his residence, under Galas, Hasfeld, John de Wert (who had at last obtained his liberty), and the counts Brouay and Montecuculi. But all these forces, commanded by such able generals, not being sufficient to dissipate his fears, the emperor retired with the archduke to Vienna.(3)

Meantime, the imperial army, being completely formed, encamped between Thabor and Budewis, at a small distance from the Swedes, and each party watched the motions of the other with equal diligence and address. Here the superior genius of Torstenson was conspicuous. In order to decoy the imperialists from their advantageous position, he spread a report that he intended to march into Moravia, and actually took the route to that province ; but finding he had gained his point, as the enemy were in motion to follow him, he returned and encamped near Strockwitz. Soon after he passed the Moldaw, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Thabor, whither he was followed by the enemy. Nothing passed for some days but slight skirmishes ; for although both armies were eager to engage, neither would quit the post it had seized, in order to attack the other. At length, however, Torstenson, trusting to the valour of his troops, resolved to give the imperialists battle. He accordingly advanced towards their camp, in a threatening posture, about

(1) Barre, tom. ix.
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(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x. Barre, tom. ix

break of day, when a brisk cannonading began ; and by seven in the morning both armies were engaged in close fight, which was continued for the space of four hours with incredible obstinacy. In the beginning of the action, the left wing of the Swedes began to give ground ; but being supported in time, the battle was restored, and Torstenson charged the imperialists with such fury, that their cavalry was broken, and their infantry cut in pieces. General Goeutz, and about three thousand men, were left dead on the field ; twenty-six pieces of cannon were taken, together with sixty-three pair of colours, and four thousand prisoners, among whom was general Hasfeld, and several other officers of distinction. The pursuit was no less bloody than the battle. Twelve hundred of the imperial infantry were slain in one body, and a great number taken prisoners, together with three thousand horse.(1)

Struck with terror by these repeated misfortunes, Ferdinand pressed the elector of Bavaria to assist him with troops ; and that prince sent four thousand men to Vienna, excusing himself from furnishing a greater number, as he was obliged to protect his own dominions against the insults of the French, who threatened the Upper Palatinate. Galas, at the same time, collected the broken remains of the imperial army in Bohemia ; set on foot new levies ; and having formed a respectable body of troops, encamped under the cannon of Pilsen, in order to observe the motions of Torstenson ; who, in consequence of his late victory, had reduced Leipzig, Pilgran, Iglaw, and several other places. The town of Krembs, Stein, and the fort of Tyrnstein, also submitted to the conquerors ; so that the Swedes were now masters of the Danube on the side of Moravia : and all the towns in that province surrendered at discretion, except Brinn, which Torstenson besieged, as the reduction of it seemed necessary to facilitate his junction with Ragotski, on which was supposed to depend the fate of Hungary and Austria.

This enterprise occasioned such alarm at the court of Vienna, that the emperor retired to Ratisbon, and the empress and her attendants fled for refuge to Gratz in Stiria. All the most valuable furniture was removed from the capital, the suburbs were pulled down, and the bastions and ramparts repaired. Some old regiments threw themselves into the city ; the inhabitants were armed ; the magazines filled, and preparations made for supporting a long siege. Torstenson, however, had no thoughts of such an enterprise. He found sufficient employment at Brinn ; which, by its gallant defence, afforded Ferdinand leisure to put his affairs in some order. The archduke Leopold was declared commander-in-chief of the imperial forces ; and Galas, who served under him in quality of lieutenant-general, assembled the militia from all quarters to augment the army, that he might be able to prevent the Swedes from crossing the Danube. Nor was the elector of Bavaria less busy in taking measures to oppose the progress of the French.

General Merci having received intelligence that mareschal Turenne, after quitting his winter quarters at Spire, had established his head post at Mariendal, and that his troops were dispersed in the neighbouring towns for the convenience of subsistence, resolved to attack him by surprise, in hopes of defeating him before he could assemble his forces. Extending himself, with this view, in the plain of Mariendal, Merci drew up his army in order of battle. He placed his foot in the centre, and his cavalry on the two wings. After cannonading the French for some time, he put himself at the head of his infantry, and marched to the attack of a small wood that covered their front ; a post which it was absolutely necessary for him to possess, before his left wing, commanded by John de Wert, could act to advantage. Turenne at the same time, with his cavalry, charged the right wing of the imperialists, which he broke and penetrated, as far as the second line. But, during these efforts, three thousand French troops, under the command of general Rose, were routed and dispersed by the Bavarians ; and De Wert, perceiving their confusion, advanced with his left wing, in order to take Turenne in the rear. Sensible of the risk he ran of being surrounded, the mareschal ordered his cavalry

(1) Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x. Barre, tom. ix.

to wheel about, and retire across the wood; at the other side of which being joined by three fresh regiments of foot, and fifteen hundred horse, that had been already engaged, he ranged them in order of battle, with a view of attacking the enemy, should they pass the wood. Merci, however, did not think proper to try the experiment; so that the French general, having collected his broken troops, retired in the face of the enemy; crossed the Maine in their despite, and reached the frontier of Hesse, where he found that he had lost great part of his infantry, twelve hundred horse, and his whole baggage.⁽¹⁾

Elated with this advantage, the elector of Bavaria made very lofty proposals of peace to France; and Mazarine, without regard to them, sent a reinforcement of eight thousand men to Turenne, under the conduct of the duke d'Enguien. These two commanders resolved to bring the Bavarians to a general action. With this view, Turenne, whose day it was to lead, advanced at the head of his cavalry to engage the enemy. But they had taken post upon a rising ground, so inaccessible, that it seemed hazardous to attack them at such disadvantage. The duke d'Enguien being afterward invested with the chief command, determined therefore to advance towards the Danube, and was prosecuting his march to Nordlingen, when he received intelligence that the Bavarians were come up with him. He immediately ranged his army in order of battle, upon the same plain where the Swedes had suffered a melancholy defeat soon after the death of Gustavus; giving the command of the right wing to the mareschal de Gramont, and that of the left to Turenne. Marsin, an officer of reputation, was placed at the head of the first line of infantry; the second, composed chiefly of Hessians, was commanded by major-general Geiss; and the sieur de Chabot conducted the corps-de-reserve.

The Bavarians were drawn up on an eminence of easy ascent. Their right wing, composed solely of infantry, was posted upon the higher ground, and their main body intrenched below. Still lower lay a village, and on their left wing, commanded by John de Wert, stood a castle which they had taken care to garrison. The action was begun by the duke d'Enguien, who ordered Marsin to attack the village; but he being dangerously wounded, and the troops under his command giving way, the French general sent in his room the marquis de Moussau with a reinforcement. This body also was broken, and would have been utterly destroyed, had not the duke in person led on the whole French infantry to the assistance of the marquis. Nor could their utmost efforts turn the tide of battle, until the count de Merci was slain at the head of his conquering troops. Even after the death of that great captain, all the intrepidity of the duke d'Enguien, who displayed the most heroic valour, could not prevent the destruction of great part of the French infantry. And to increase the misfortunes of the future Condé, the left wing of the Bavarians fell with such fury upon the French cavalry, that they were totally routed, and mareschal de Gramont made prisoner; while John de Wert, attacking the corps-de-reserve, defeated Chabot, and penetrated as far as the baggage.

During these disasters, Turenne assailed the right wing of the enemy; and having reached the top of the eminence in good order, a terrible conflict ensued, in which the first line of the Bavarians was broken; but general Gleen advancing with the second, the French were ready to give way in their turn, when the duke d'Enguien came seasonably to the support of his left wing. He obliged the Bavarians to retire, and leave behind them their cannon, which were pointed against the part of their right wing drawn up near the village. Turenne now charged the enemy in flank, and drove them beyond the village, after having taken general Gleen prisoner. Meantime, John de Wert, partly informed of what had passed upon the hill, hastened thither with his victorious left wing; but he came too late to retrieve the honour of the day, every thing being already in confusion. All that he could do, therefore, was to lead off the remains of the Bavarian army to Donawert, whither

(1) Puffend. lib. xvi. Barre, tom. ix.

they escaped under the cover of night, though pursued as far as the banks of the Danube.(1)

This victory, if such it may be called, was dearly purchased by the French, four thousand of their best troops being left dead upon the spot. Nordlingen and some neighbouring places, indeed, opened their gates to the conquerors; but they were soon recovered by the Bavarians, who received a strong reinforcement under the archduke Leopold. Turenne, however, after the departure of the duke d'Enguien, who went to Paris to receive the applause due to his valour, had the honour of closing the campaign with re-establishing the elector of Triers in his dominions. That prince, after a captivity of ten years, had obtained his liberty, in consequence of a second treaty with Ferdinand, by which he submitted to the articles of the peace of Prague, and other rigorous conditions. But as he signed this treaty with no other view than to deliver himself from a tedious and grievous imprisonment, he threw himself upon the protection of France, as soon as he was enlarged, and cardinal Mazarine ordered Turenne to effect his restoration. The mareschal accordingly invested Triers: the garrison was obliged to capitulate, and the elector entered his capital amid the acclamations of his subjects.(2)

During these transactions, the elector of Saxony, finding himself unable to stop the progress of the Swedes under Koningsmark, who had reduced a number of towns in Thuringia and Misnia, had recourse to a negotiation, and concluded a truce with that general for six months, as a prelude to a peace with Sweden. This treaty was the more disagreeable to the house of Austria, as it enabled Koningsmark, after laying Bohemia under contribution, to form a junction with Torstenson, who had carried his depredations to the very gates of Vienna, in spite of all the efforts of the archduke. The emperor, however, in some degree counterbalanced the defection of the elector of Saxony, by a peace with Rigotski. He acknowledged that prince sovereign of Transylvania, and restored to him certain possessions in Hungary, which had belonged to his predecessor, Bethlem Gabor.(3)

Torstenson, after his junction with Koningsmark, proposed to undertake the siege of Prague; but the archduke Leopold, being joined by the count de Bouchain, took such effectual measures for securing that city, as rendered the attempt impracticable. Chagrined at this disappointment, and greatly afflicted with the gout, Torstenson retired to his own country. He was succeeded in the chief command by general Wrangel, who supported the reputation of the Swedish arms, and in conjunction with Turenne ravaged Franconia, Silesia, and Moravia, laying the country every where under contribution.

In order to secure his dominions against these ravages, the elector of Bavaria withdrew his troops from the service of the emperor, and concluded a separate peace with France. His example was followed by the archbishop of Cologne; and the archbishop of Mentz, and the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, were reduced to the necessity of taking the same step by the victorious Turenne. He laid waste their dominions, and struck all Germany with the terror of his arms. Nor were the Swedes inactive. Having garrisoned the towns they possessed in Westphalia and Upper Suabia, they made themselves masters of Schweinfurt, which had cut off the communication between these two provinces; and again entering Bohemia, reduced Egra in presence of the imperial army.(4)

The confederates were less successful in other quarters. Nothing of consequence had been effected either in Italy or the Low Countries, during the two last campaigns, and in Spain the reputation of two celebrated French generals had been tarnished. In 1646, the count d'Harcourt, viceroy of Catalonia, besieged Lerida. The garrison was not strong, nor was the place in a state of defence. But Don Antonio de Brito, the governor, had the address to make the French believe that his condition was yet more desperate than he found it; so that they did not press the siege so vigorously as they otherwise

(1) Barre, tom. ix. Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x. Aubert, *Hist. du Card. Mazarine. Hist. du Prince de Condé*

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) *Annal. de l'Emp. tom. ii.*

(4) Barre, tom. ix. Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x. *Hist. du Vic de Turenne*

might, from a persuasion that he would surrender at discretion. Meanwhile, the marquis de Legonez, the Spanish general, who knew exactly the state of the garrison, caused a great convoy to be provided. When it was near ready, he advanced towards Lerida, seemingly with an intention to relieve the place; but, after lying some days within sight of the French army, he decamped, as if he had abandoned his design. Having forwarded the convoy, he marched directly back to the town; and appeared unexpectedly, in order of battle, on one side of the French lines; while, on the other, the convoy with a strong reinforcement safely entered the place, during the hurry of the besiegers to receive the enemy. Harcourt, therefore, found himself under the necessity of raising the siege; a disappointment which chagrined him so much, that he resigned the command, and returned to France, where he was very coldly received by Mazarine.(1)

The prince of Condé, formerly duke d'Enguien, was now appointed viceroy of Catalonia; the Catalans, as already observed, having put themselves under the protection of France. Elated with past success, he resolved to distinguish the beginning of his administration by the reduction of Lerida, in which his predecessor had failed. Fortunately, he found the lines of the count d'Harcourt so little damaged, that they were easily repaired, and the trenches were opened with a flourish of violins. The conduct of Don Antonio de Brito, who was well supplied with every necessary, and had a garrison of three thousand men, was the very reverse of what it had been the year before. He harassed the enemy with continual sallies, and disputed with obstinacy every inch of ground. The French ascribed this change of conduct to his being sensible that they had made the attack in the weakest place, and concluded that he would be obliged to surrender as soon as they had made themselves masters of the outworks; but, in the midst of these sanguine expectations, peculiar to the French nation, the engineers found their progress obstructed by a rock. It was impossible to proceed—it was too late to begin again; the troops were diminished by fatigue—the heats were coming on. The Spanish army, under the marquis d'Aitona, advanced to the relief of the place, and the prince of Condé was obliged to raise the siege.(2) The rest of the campaign was spent in fruitless marches and countermarches.

The conclusion of the year 1647 was not more fortunate for the confederates in Germany. The elector of Bavaria was prevailed upon to renounce the alliance he had concluded with France, and reunite him to the emperor; and, in consequence of the union of the Bavarian and imperial forces, Wrangel was obliged to abandon Bohemia. After being harassed by the Austrian general Melander, in a long and difficult march, he took up his winter-quarters in the dutchy of Brunswick.

Early in the spring, however, the Swedish general led out his army, with an intention to surprise the enemy in their cantonments; but they were apprized of his design, and had assembled their troops. In order to atone for this failure, Wrangel advanced, in conjunction with Turenne, against the Austrians and Bavarians, at Zusmarhausen, or Zummerhausen, near the Danube. There a furious battle was fought; and the imperial forces were defeated, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Montecuculi and Wittemberg. These able generals were only able to save the remains of the army, by a masterly retreat to Augsburg.(3)

Piccolomini arriving soon after from the Netherlands, assumed the chief command of the imperial forces, in the room of Melander, who was slain. His presence seemed to infuse new spirit into the troops; but he could not prevent the confederates from passing the Lech, and penetrating into Bavaria, where they laid the whole country under contribution, and obliged the elector to quit his capital, and take refuge in Saltzburg.

Nor was the victory at Zummerhausen the only advantage the confederates

(1) Quincy, *Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV. Mem. de Madame de Motteville.*

(2) Martiniere, *Hist. Gen. d'Espagne. Quincy, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV.*

(3) Barre, tom. ix. *Hist. du Vie de Turenne.* Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x.

had gained since the opening of the campaign. The Hessians had defeated the baron Lamboy near Grevenburg, in the dutchy of Juliers; and Königs-mark had surprised the new city of Prague. In the mean time, Charles Gustavus, count Palatine of Deux-Ponts, arriving from Sweden with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, undertook the siege of old Prague; and carried on his approaches with such vigour, that the place must have been taken, had not the emperor, dreading the loss of that capital, and of the whole kingdom of Bohemia, resolved in earnest to conclude the so long demanded peace.(1)

Hitherto the negotiations at Munster and Osnaburg had varied according to the vicissitudes of the war; but the French and Swedes being now decidedly victorious, and having no other enemy in Germany but the emperor, all the rest being either subdued or in alliance with them, it only remained for Ferdinand to receive law from those powers. Other circumstances conspired to forward the treaty. Sweden, notwithstanding the great success of its arms during eighteen years of hostilities, wished for peace; and the young queen Christina, so distinguished by her love for learning, was desirous of repose, that she might have leisure to pursue her favourite studies. The United Provinces, become jealous of France, had concluded, in 1647, a separate treaty with Spain; in which their independency was not only acknowledged, but the republic was declared a free and sovereign state, by the only power that had disputed it, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, with an obstinacy to which history affords no parallel, for the term of fourscore years. France, therefore, was left to sustain alone the whole weight of the war against the Spanish branch of the house of Austria; and cardinal Mazarine, her prime minister, being at the same time threatened with an intestine war, became more moderate in his demands at the congress, as well as more sincerely disposed to promote the tranquillity of Germany.(2)

In consequence of these favourable occurrences and corresponding views, the memorable PEACE OF WESTPHALIA was signed at Munster on the twenty-fourth day of October, in the year 1648. As it is a fundamental law of the empire, and the basis of all subsequent treaties, I must make you acquainted, my dear Philip, with the substance of the principal articles of it. In order to satisfy the different powers, the following important stipulations were found necessary; namely, that France shall possess the sovereignty of the three archbishopricks, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, the city of Pignerol, Brisac, and its independencies, the territory of Suntgaw, the landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alsace, and the right to keep a garrison in Philipsburg; that to Sweden shall be granted, besides five millions of crowns, the archbishoprick of Bremen and the bishoprick of Verdun secularized, Upper Pomerania, Stetin, the isle of Rugen, and the city of Wismar, in the dutchy of Mecklenburg, all to be held as fiefs of the empire, with three votes at the diet; that the elector of Brandenburg shall be reimbursed for the loss of Upper Pomerania, by the cession of the bishoprick of Magdeburg secularized, and by having the bishopricks of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, declared secular principalities, with four votes at the diet; that the duke of Mecklenburg, as an equivalent for Wismar, shall have the bishopricks of Scherwin and Ratsburg, erected, in like manner, into secular principalities; that the electoral dignity, with the Upper Palatinate, shall remain with Maximilian duke of Bavaria, and his descendants, as long as they shall produce male issue; but that the Lower Palatinate shall be restored to Charles Lewis, son of the deposed elector, in whose favour shall be established an eighth electorate, to continue till the extinction of the house of Bavaria.(3) All the other princes and states of the empire were re-established in the lands, rights, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the troubles of Bohemia, in 1619. The republic of Switzerland was declared to be a sovereign state, exempt from the jurisdiction of the empire; and the long disputed suc-

(1) Barre, tom. ix. *Hist. du Vie de Turenne*. Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x.

(2) Aubert, *Hist. du Card. Mazarine*. Puffendorf. Barre. Le Clerc,

(3) Du mont. *Corps Diplomat.* tom. vi. Pfeffel, *Abrégé Chronol.*

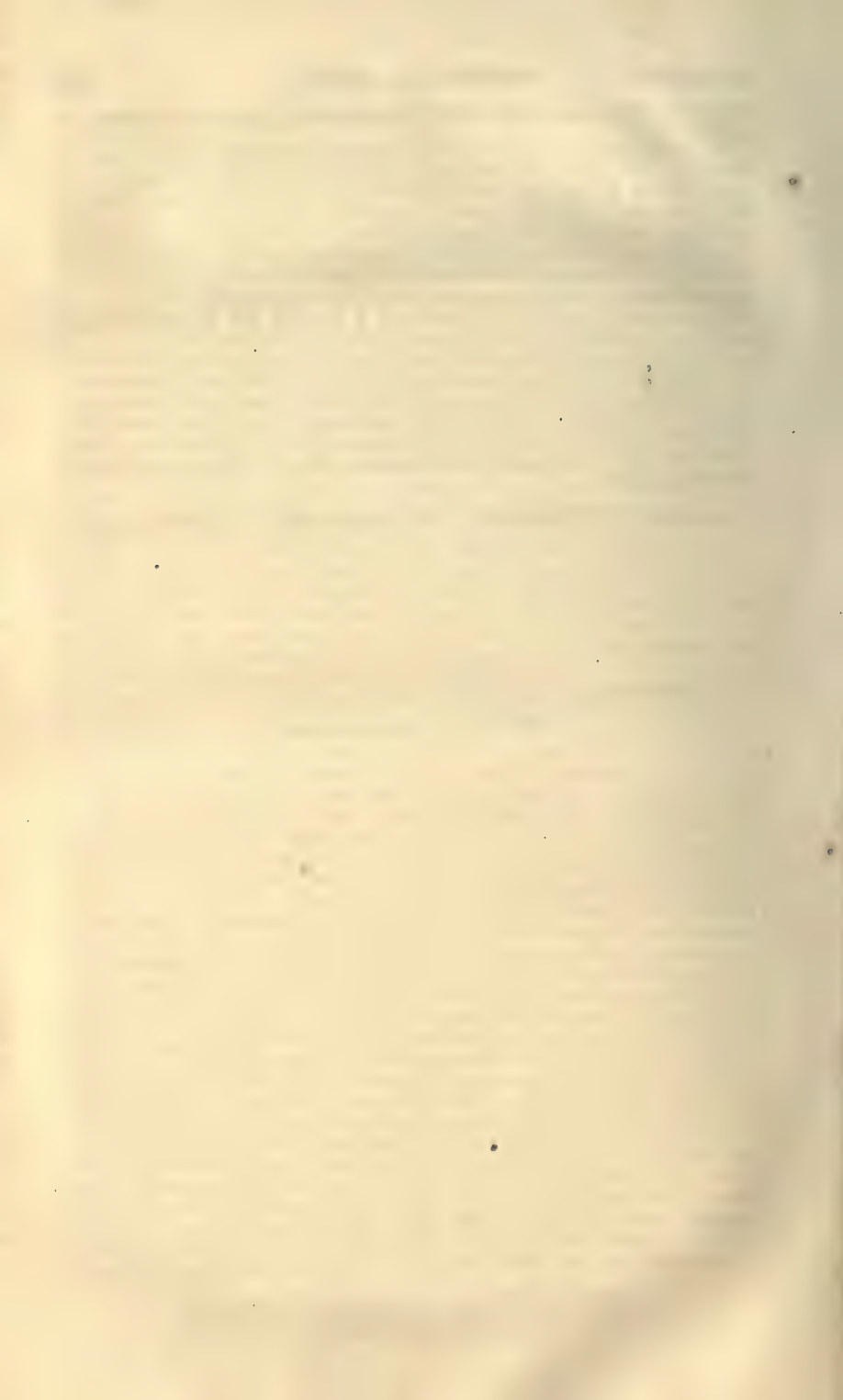
cession of Cleves and Juliers, with the restitution of Lorrain, was referred to arbitration.(1)

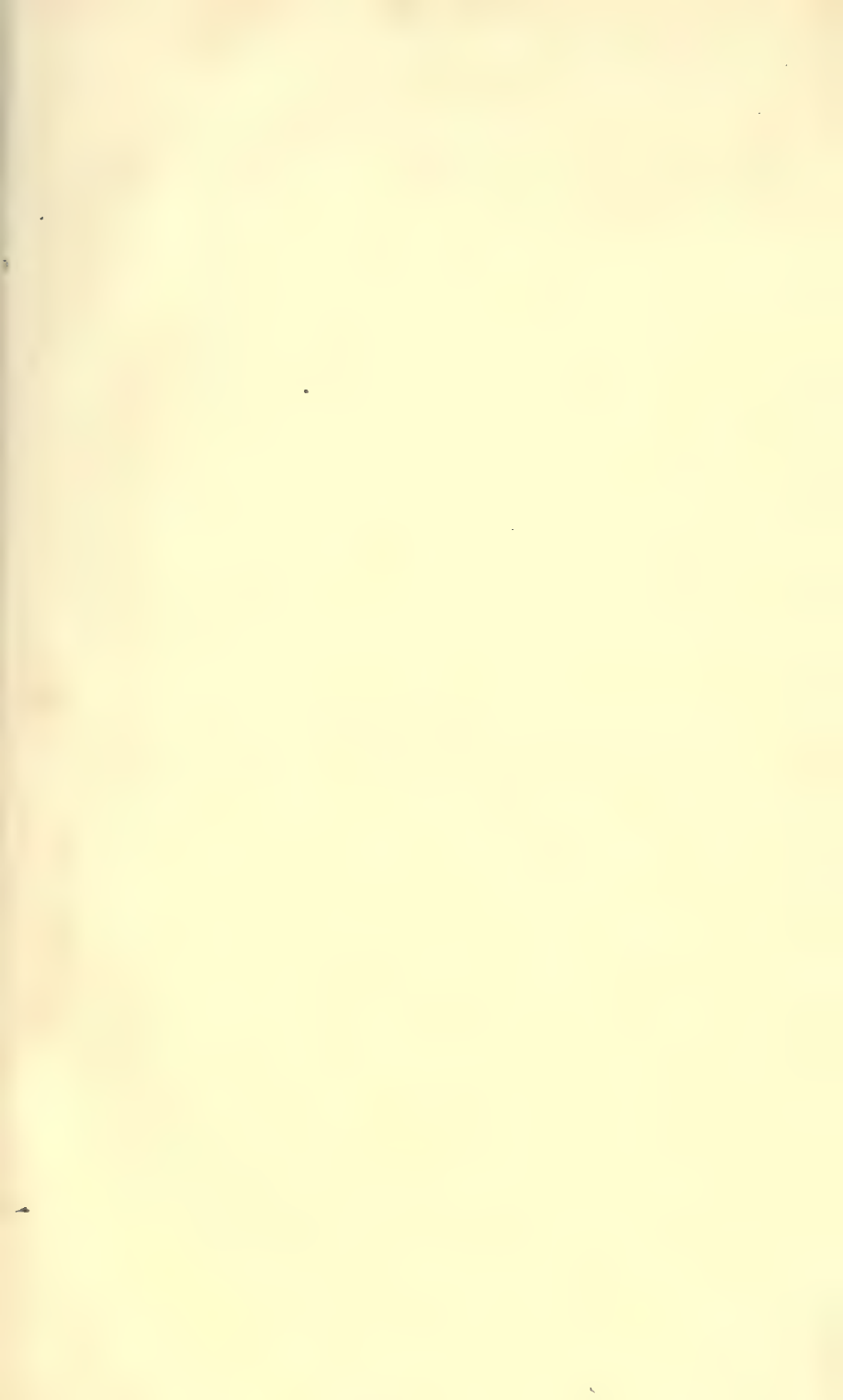
The stipulations in regard to religion were no less accurate and comprehensive. The pacification of Passau was confirmed, in its full extent; and it was farther agreed, that the Calvinists shall enjoy the same privileges as the Lutherans; that the imperial chamber should consist of twenty-four Protestant members, and twenty-six Catholics; that the emperor shall receive six Protestants into his aulic council; and that an equal number of Catholic and Protestant deputies shall be chosen for the diet, except when it is convoked on a cause that concerns one of the two religions; in which case, all the deputies shall be Protestants, if it respects the Protestants; and Catholics, if it relates to the followers of the Catholic faith.(2)

These are the great outlines of the peace of Westphalia, so essential to the tranquillity of Europe in general, and to that of Germany in particular. War, however, between France and Spain, was continued with various success, until the treaty of the Pyrenees, negotiated in 1659, when Lewis XIV was married to the infanta Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV., as I shall afterward have occasion more particularly to relate. In the mean time, we must make a pause.

(1) Du Mont. *Corps Diplomat.* tom. vi. Pfeffel, *Abrégé Chronol.*

(2) Du Mont. *ubi sup.*







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